

## Social Capital of Former Terrorist Convicts (Ex-Napiter) in the Deradicalization Program in East Java

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**Abstract:** This research discusses the social capital having by former terrorist convicts (referred to as "Ex-Napiter") as a preventive modality against the threat of terrorist and radical groups in Indonesia, particularly in East Java under the deradicalization program. The Data was collected through in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions (FGD). Key informants for this study were selectively chosen from areas in East Java, namely Lamongan, Sidoarjo, and Malang. Once the results were obtained, a phenomenological approach was employed for data analysis. The research highlights two main aspects of the social capital inherent to Ex-Napiter: trust and networks. These can be incorporated into the deradicalization program in East Java. This includes a strengthened trust in the Indonesian state (NKRI) and a commitment to not affiliate with past radical groups, as well as networks that can bridge former terrorists with the deradicalization program or provide additional information to aid the government in formulating strategies to combat terrorism and radicalism in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Social Capital, Ex-Napiter, Deradicalization

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Radicalism embodies the perspective that demands profound changes to an original or pure doctrine. Unfortunately, this often takes extreme forms and, not infrequently, involves direct or indirect acts of violence. Radicalism isn't confined to a single social aspect but permeates multiple sectors like religion and politics. From such radical views arise extremist groups, like terrorists, who justify their actions under the guise of religious mandates. Terrorist and radical movements vehemently reject ideologies or cultures different from their own. Differences in culture and interests not aligned with these terrorist groups are perceived as foreign or, in some contexts, even associated with the United States (Widyaningrum & Dugis, 2018).

Religious understanding and affiliations have significant influence over their adherents. Those who align too strongly with their religious group's *in-group* thinking can struggle to adapt and coexist with different groups. Their lifestyle often revolves around their group's ideologies, dictating life choices, dietary habits, and social circles. Understandably, terrorism and radicalism, influenced by ideological factors - especially Islam - have led to the coining of terms like "radical Islam" (Mustofa et al., 2019). Radical groups have committed several terrorist acts. For instance, the first Bali Bombing was executed by four brothers from Tenggulung Lamongan: Ali Ghufron, also known as Mukhlas, Amrozi, Ali Imron, and Ali Fauzi. Ali Imron, arrested on January 13, 2003, in Pulau Brukang, Samarinda, East Kalimantan, evaded the death penalty due to remorse and being a *justice collaborator* with the authorities. He remains a key figure in addressing radical ideologies and acts of terrorism in Indonesia. Others, like Abdurrahman Ayub, a former advisor from the extremist group Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) in Australia, have collaborated with Indonesia's National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) as radical and terrorism experts (Romdlon, 2017; Saputra, 2022).

Several former terrorists who once belonged to these radical groups possess invaluable experience and social capital. These assets are crucial for addressing radicalism and extremism in Indonesia. Looking at the trajectories of several repentant former terrorists, such as Sofyan Tsauri, Wildan Bachresha, Hendro Fernando, Abdurrahman Ayub, Umar Patek, Ali Fauzi, Ali Imron, and Nasir Abbas, among others, it becomes evident that these individuals can be invaluable partners in tackling terrorist actions in the country. Many were integral members of their former extremist groups, holding significant positions that cannot be underestimated. Their roles ranged from leading roles such as the Head Bomb Assembly Instructor for Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) in East Java, members of the Syrian ISIS Militant Group, Advisor to the Fourth Governor of Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) in Australia, to being former leaders of Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) in Indonesia (Muttamimah, 2022; Rachmawati, 2021; Ramadhanty, 2021; Romdlon, 2017). When considering the experiences of former terrorists who have abandoned their radical ideologies, many of these individuals can be approached for collaboration in handling acts by radical and terrorist groups. Their assistance can be invaluable in preventive measures and active counter-terrorism actions. Such collaborations could involve various social institutions and government agencies, including the police, the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT), the Densus 88 Anti-Terror unit, and local communities.

This study is compelling and crucial because the social capital possessed by the former terrorists (Ex-Napiter) in East Java represents a key instrument in addressing and preventing acts of terrorism and radicalism in this country. The social capital of these reformed terrorists encompasses elements like social networks, trust, and organizational norms. These elements can foster inter-group connections, forming part of the strategy to minimize currently active radical groups. Essentially, their social capital can serve as a bridge in the collaborative processes between former terrorists and agencies like the police, BNPT, and Densus 88 Anti-Terror, all within the ambit of the deradicalization program. Based on the above exposition, this research addresses two primary questions: “*First*, what forms of social capital are possessed by the former terrorist prisoners (Ex-Napiter) in East Java? *Second*, how is this social capital of Ex-Napiter employed within the deradicalization initiative in East Java?”.

## 2. LITERATUREREVIEW

The experiences of former terrorists are defined as social capital or a form of capital possessed by individuals or groups comprising experiences, networks, values, norms, cultures, social affiliations, and everything related to radical movements and terrorism. According to Putnam, social capital is a network, trust, and mutual norms that facilitate collaboration for mutual benefit. Putnam's concept of social capital depicts the strength of social networks and relationships between individuals in a community, which can impact that community's well-being. In society, one of the elements of social capital is trust, which can serve as a connecting network between various communities (Syahra, 2003). Broadly, Putnam's analysis posits that societal crime can be reduced, educational achievements can increase, and overall health can improve if the desired social capital is maximized. The involvement of individuals or groups in community organizations and spirited groups that encourage those in positions to participate actively is essential, as all these components form part of Putnam's social capital paradigm (Santoso, 2020).

The social capital held by former terrorist inmates (Ex-Napiter) in East Java is crucial in addressing and preventing acts of terrorism and radicalism in Indonesia. This is because the social capital these ex-terrorists possess, including their social networks, trust, and organizational norms, can bridge different groups. This means their social capital can be a conduit in the collaboration process between ex-terrorists, the police, BNPT, and Densus 88 Anti-Terror as part of the deradicalization program.

Law No. 15 of 2003 was deemed insufficiently robust, allowing terrorist perpetrators, especially radical groups, to continue their actions. The weakness of Law No. 15 of 2003 was its lack of provisions allowing law enforcement to arrest suspected terrorists before they commit a crime. As a result, the government decided to revise and replace Law No. 15 of 2003 with Law No. 5 of 2018 (Indonesia, 2019; Karolina, 2019). In line with regulations (kemhan.go.id, 2018) to provide a firmer legal foundation to ensure protection and certainty in preventing and eradicating acts of terrorism and to meet the legal needs and developments of society, there was a need for proportional amendments while preserving a balance between law enforcement needs, protection of human rights, and Indonesia's socio-political conditions. This resulted in changes to Law No. 15 of 2003.

According to Karolina (2019), the revision of Law No. 15 of 2003 to Law No. 5 of 2018 also stemmed from an evaluation of policies regarding the eradication of acts of terrorism, which were deemed incomplete since they did not encompass preventative measures such as deradicalization programs and ideological counteraction. The focus of Law No. 5 of 2018 isn't merely on physical eradication and then leaving the matter; doing so would only replicate the issues of Law No. 15 of 2003. Thus, Law No. 5 of 2018, in addition to physical eradication, emphasizes ideological eradication, continually monitoring and exerting total control over former terrorists to prevent them from repeating their actions.

The Deradicalization Program aims to prevent and revert radical or extremist understandings. Deradicalization is a planned, integrated, systematic, and continuous process undertaken by the government in collaboration with former terrorist inmates. The aim is to eliminate or reduce and reverse radical understandings to align with the teachings of Islam and the nation's legal framework (Azmi et al., 2019). Furthermore, according to the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT), deradicalization encompasses all efforts to neutralize radical ideologies through interdisciplinary approaches, such as law, psychology, religion, and socio-cultural perspectives. It targets individuals influenced or exposed to radical or pro-violence ideologies (Karolina, 2019).

### 3. RESEARCH METHODS

#### 3.1. Methods

This study employs a qualitative method focusing on understanding the perceptions, experiences, and actions of individuals or groups (Anggito & Setiawan, 2018; Kurniawan & Puspitaningtyas, 2016; Sarwono, 2006). The research approach uses phenomenology, intending to delve deeper into the issue of the social capital of former terrorists within the deradicalization program in East Java. According to Edmund Husserl, the phenomenological approach reflects first-person consciousness. It is seen from a first-person perspective, describing individual experiences, including thoughts, imaginations, emotions, desires, and other experiences (Tumangkeng & Maramis, 2022).

#### 3.2. Research Location

The research was conducted in several regions of East Java, including the village of Paciran in Lamongan Regency, East Java Province, Malang City, East Java Province, and Surabaya City, East Java Province. The chosen research locations are based on the presence of key informants, i.e., former terrorist convicts spread across these regions.

#### 3.3. Selection of Research Subjects

Subjects for the study were selected based on predefined characteristics to ensure a concentrated and relevant pool of key informants. The selection method termed *purposive sampling*, prioritizes specific criteria over mere quantity. If only numbers were considered without aligning with the essential criteria, the results might not align with the researcher's objectives. Thus, this study concentrates on three subjects chosen based on several criteria: former terrorists who have since realigned with the Indonesian state, their proximity and relationship to the researcher, their expansive connections, and their origins from different parts of East Java.

#### 3.4. Data Collection Technique

The data collection techniques include observations, in-depth interviews with key informants, and supporting secondary documentation. The following are the data collection methods used:

##### *In-depth Interviews*

The phenomenological approach of this research is derived from in-depth interviews conducted with several former terrorist inmates in East Java, including ZH from Lamongan, ER from Sidoarjo, and WB from Malang. These interviews aim to understand the phenomena informants experienced in their past. The researcher postponed any judgments to ensure the results were derived from the informants' perspectives.

##### *Observation*

The researcher began by seeking information online, attending FGD (Focused Group Discussion) sessions with professors who invited former terrorist inmates in Malang, participating in an FGD

hosted by Bappas Central Java in collaboration with the LingkarPerdamaian Foundation in Lamongan, visiting the residences of former terrorist inmates, and observing the living environments of former terrorist inmates in Lamongan, Sidoarjo, and Malang.

### *Documentation*

The collected information from this documentation includes supporting photos for research data, such as interview pictures, activity photos of former terrorist inmates, online news, books, or online articles supporting this research. It's also noteworthy that in this research, the most valuable documentation was the recorded interviews, serving as the originality of this research.

### *Focus Group Discussion (FGD)*

The Focus Group Discussion was conducted in Lamongan with several participants and speakers. Participants included several former terrorist inmates, representatives from the Muhammadiyah community in Solokuro Village, Lamongan district, the village head of Tenggulun, the youth leader of Tenggulun Village, and community members influenced by radical ideologies. Moreover, two speakers attended the FGD: Dr. Ali Fauzi Manzi, the Director of LingkarPerdamaian Foundation (YLP) in Lamongan, and Aiptu M. Hamzaid PS, the KanitIntelkam of Solokuro Police in Lamongan. Several critical points from the FGD related to the social capital of former terrorist inmates in the deradicalization program in East Java included: *First*, the experience of former inmates during their association with radical and terrorist groups was based on a lack of comprehensive religious understanding. They operated primarily on fervor without profound religious knowledge. *Second*, social media and friendships were primary factors influencing radical perspectives. *Third*, former inmates are no longer associated with their former radical groups. *Fourth*, through the organization of former terrorists in Tenggulun Village, ex-terrorists have been significantly assisted in reintegrating with the community.

Additionally, it was pointed out that deradicalization has two bases: ideology and economy. The economic foundation must be collectively addressed to ensure former inmates don't revert to their old groups due to economic difficulties and daily necessities. Similarly, Aiptu M. Hamzaid explained that local police stations do not deal directly with deradicalization programs, as BNPT and Idensos manage these. However, the local police or national police force focuses on Counter-Radicalization, primarily targeting the younger generation and fostering love for religion and the nation.

### **3.5. Data Analysis Techniques**

The data analysis technique employs the procedure of phenomenological studies, adapting from the thoughts of Stevick, Colaizzi, and Keen as described by Creswell and Moustakas. This consists of several stages, including the initial description of the research phenomenon, horizontalization, *clustering of meaning*, and the essence description stage (Hasbiansyah, 2008).

### **3.6. Data Validation**

Data validation employs source triangulation, validating or probing the integrity of information using alternate data sources. After interviewing the key and additional informants, the data is validated with source triangulation involving two experts who understand and are knowledgeable about the deradicalization program and, in particular, terrorism issues in East Java. The two people who were met included First Inspector M Hamzaid PS, Head of Intelligence and Security Unit, Solokuro Police, Lamongan Police, and the second was Abu Sholeh, Head of Tenggulun Village, Lamongan Regency.

## **4. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS**

Social capital is something possessed by every individual in societal life. Each individual will interpret the concept of social capital differently, as, in reality, many are influenced by the by political, economic, social, or cultural conditions of the former terrorists. Depending on an individual's accumulated experiences throughout their life, the concept of social capital held by former terrorist inmates is diverse and highly complex.

### **4.1. Social Capital of Trust**

The convictions held by former terrorists regarding their past actions have been recognized as a grave misunderstanding. Acts of terrorism, such as bombings, intimidation towards the state, and propagandist actions, have had profound and lasting impacts. Much of this is instigated by



propagandistic materials or documentary films that provoke and persuade viewers to join radical groups. For these former terrorists, labeling someone as an "infidel" or "apostate" seemed justifiable. From their perspective, anyone not sharing their beliefs, precisely not aligning with their group, was deemed an enemy or a legitimate target. Labeling someone an "infidel" or "apostate" should follow certain religious protocols; it's not as simple as labeling those who don't align with a radical group's beliefs. Such reckless labeling is not condoned in Islam.

In line with Putnam's theory, social capital contributes to collective actions. It elevates the potential costs for political defectors, reinforces norms of reciprocity, streamlines information flow, provides insights into the reputation of participants, references past collaborative achievements, and acts as a roadmap for future collaborations. All these elements are intended to benefit the sustainability of a social system (Field, 2003).

It is hoped that the social capital possessed by these former terrorists, especially in East Java, can serve as a collaborative resource to address the persistent issue of terrorism. This encompasses trust, networking, reciprocal norms, cultural practices, and political strategies. All of which could significantly contribute to building a peaceful nation and minimize extremism and insurrection. Arrow once stated that trust is pivotal in social interactions, laying the foundation for positive and mutually beneficial relationships (Santoso, 2020).

The measure of trust in social capital is gauged by the strength and intensity of the social connections between individuals, the frequency of communication, and their mutual dependency. As a result, a level of trust is hard to dissipate since it reaches a phase of mutual benefit, devoid of suspicion and an inherent belief that the trusted individual will remain loyal.

Former terrorist inmates undergo a phase of reflecting on their future actions. According to Cohen and Prusak, trust, mutual understanding, and shared values bind community members, facilitating cooperative action within organizations. In reality, the absence of well-established relationships and a lack of communication within an organization indicate mutual mistrust among its members (Santoso, 2020)

Reflecting on their grim and turbulent past full of self-inflicted torment, these ex-terrorist inmates have decided to realign with the Republic of Indonesia, ready to abide by the nation's laws, especially refraining from acts of bombing. They have realized that their past actions only resulted in immense devastation and loss of lives. This aligns with Putnam's theory on trust, suggesting that trust as social capital can bridge the gap between ideologically diverse groups and reinforce community empowerment's importance (Syahra, 2003).

The agreement forged within the community stems from a conscious acceptance of other members who differ ideologically or in ethnicity and culture. The sole aim is to foster a strong, supportive community. When the community strengthens each other, outcomes such as tolerance, identity appreciation, acknowledgment of differences, and cooperative endeavors to maintain national unity emerge.

For the ex-terrorist inmates who have rejoined the Republic of Indonesia, trust remains a paramount issue to address with themselves, the community, and the state. This means that these ex-inmates need to earnestly rebuild the trust they once breached, proving their commitment to the nation unequivocally and vowing never to revert. The way forward involves integrating seamlessly into the community and optimizing their roles as citizens by assisting in maintaining the security and order of the Indonesian state. After all, according to Putnam, this trust-centric social capital relates to the deep-rooted ties of culture, ethics, and morals, culminating in mutual assistance behaviors (Santoso, 2020)

#### **4.2. Social Capital in the form of Networks**

The former terrorist inmates undoubtedly possess vast social networks or connections. It's implausible for these ex-inmates to execute their operations or actions without backing from a larger group behind them. Therefore, significant contributions surely come from larger groups like the JAD network in Indonesia affiliated with ISIS, followed by JI and other terrorist groups. All of these form part of the social capital ex-inmates possess, which could bridge the gap between former terrorists and the deradicalization program, or provide additional information for the government to strategize counter-terrorism and counter-radicalization in Indonesia.

Drawing on Bourdieu's theory, social capital represents resources possessed by individuals or social groups within a network that can benefit each other in social relations, either institutionally or non-institutionally, aiming to create positive outcomes for all parties involved in the said social capital (Dollu, 2020). The networks held by these former terrorists are highly beneficial, especially for the Indonesian government. With these ex-terrorist networks, it's easier for entities like BNPT, Densus 88, the police, and the general public to identify potential future terrorist threats. This means these networks can connect the dots for the deradicalization program and positively impact national security.

The implementation of social capital possessed by former terrorist inmates in the East Java deradicalization program is evident in the frequent participation of former terrorists in national events, such as Indonesia's Independence Day celebrations, national seminars, FGDs (*Focus Group Discussion*) on terrorism, radicalism, and deradicalization, establishing ex-terrorist communities under government or police supervision, joining AIDA (Alliance for Peaceful Indonesia), and setting up small communities of students collaborating with ex-terrorists to identify indicators of radical groups, among other activities. The involvement of these former terrorists in these activities and groups showcases their proactive stance against terrorism and their systematic and strategic efforts to anticipate terrorist movements.

Several former terrorists aspire to educate the public and the younger generation to avoid terrorism and ideologies opposing national sovereignty. They primarily focus on identifying tendencies of a group or individual being labeled as potential terrorists or joining radical factions. Sometimes, these former terrorists might face limitations in terms of access or funds. As a result, they do what they can by establishing small communities or serving as speakers in national seminars and writing articles on the dangers of terrorism, radicalism, and extremism.

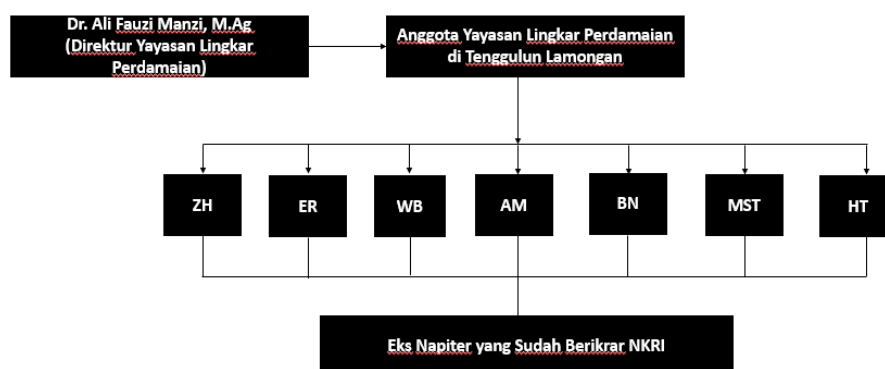


Figure1. Networks of Former Terrorists in East Java

The changes shown by former terrorists in Lamongan were also reinforced by the statements of Aiptu M Hamzaid and the Head of Tenggulun Village, namely Abu Sholeh, that many of these former terrorists had changed, they just needed to be educated about national insight, strengthening the values of the Republic of Indonesia, and the most important thing was that they were always ready. To assist the government and surrounding communities in dealing with and anticipating the problem of terrorism and radicalism as a form of prevention and security, especially in the field of ideology.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Robert Putnam's concept of social capital can bridge the gap between groups with differing ideologies and strengthen the consensus on the importance of community empowerment. This social capital is not just utilized in economic aspects alone but also proves invaluable in political, social, and cultural dimensions, especially when facing a heterogeneous society with all its social complexities. Putnam classifies social capital into three categories: trust, networks, and norms of reciprocity. These can enhance societal efficiency, thus ensuring actions that result in beneficial outcomes and have a significant positive impact, owing to their well-coordinated integration into social life. When these three types of social capital are applied effectively and efficiently in social life, it can nurture a mentally and materially balanced society.

The social capital held by former terrorist inmates in East Java can be categorized into two types. The first is the Social Capital of Trust, which can be determined by the strength and intensity of social relations between individuals or those established between ex-terrorist inmates and their surrounding communities, and collaborations formed between the ex-terrorist inmates and entities like BNPT, Densus 88, and the police in realizing the peace and security of Indonesia. The second is the Network Social Capital possessed by these ex-inmates, which can serve as a bridge connecting former terrorists with the deradicalization program or as an additional information source for the government in formulating strategies to handle terrorism and radicalism in Indonesia. The implementation of this social capital of former terrorist inmates in the East Java deradicalization program is evident from the frequent participation of these former terrorists in national events such as Indonesia's Independence Day celebrations, national seminars, *FGDs* on terrorism, radicalism, and deradicalization, establishing ex-terrorist communities under government or police supervision, joining AIDA (Alliance for Peaceful Indonesia), and forming small student communities that collaborate with ex-terrorists to identify indicators of radical groups.

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