Research Report

Social Media Use Needs Assessment for At-Risk Groups &
In-Depth Analysis of Use of Social Media in Indonesia

Draft version 5: 7 August 2018

Research conducted by:
Acknowledgments

This research was conducted by a Love Frankie team led by Ruici Tio, Fatima Astuti and Hannah Perry. Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted by Fatima Astuti, Nurhajjah A. Tahumil, Muhammad Djufryhard and Muhar Syahdi Difinubun with the support of several note takers.

The research team is indebted to many people who gave up their time as recruiters and interviewees and the following organizations and individuals who provided their time and expertise:

Airlangga Pribadi
Alliance for a Peaceful Indonesia (AIDA)
Cameo Project
Center for Inter-Cultural Study (LKLK)
Dr. Chairul Mahfud
Civil Society Against Violent Extremism (C-Save)
Fahmina Institute
Febiola Novita
Gita Savitri Devi
Gusdurian – chapters Solo and Purwokerto
Independent Journalist Alliance - chapters Solo, Bandung and Jakarta (AJI)
Islami.co
Nahdlatul Ulama TV9
Ikatan Pemuda Muhammadiyah
Parole Agency (Directorate General of Correction, Ministry of Justice and Human Rights) (BAPAS)
Peace Generation
Research Center of Islam and Society, Islamic State University Jakarta (PPIM UIN Jakarta)
Sabang Merauke
Sahabat Kapas
Sarah Nehriza
Universitas Jenderal Soedirman
Wahid Foundation
William Sudhana
Youth Interfaith Peacemaker Community (YIPC)
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Abbreviations and Acronyms

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<thead>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahok</td>
<td>Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, Former DKI Jakarta Governor</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIDA</td>
<td>Alliance for a Peaceful Indonesia</td>
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<td>ANAS</td>
<td>Anti-Shia National Alliance</td>
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<td>AJI</td>
<td>Independent Journalist Alliance</td>
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<td>API</td>
<td>Islamic Movement Alliance</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAPAS</td>
<td>Parole Agency (part of Directorate General of Correction, Ministry of Justice and Human Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BCG</td>
<td>Boston Consulting Group</td>
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<td>BNPT</td>
<td>National Agency for Combating Terrorism</td>
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<td>C-SAVE</td>
<td>Civil Society Against Violent Extremism</td>
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<tr>
<td>FPI</td>
<td>Islamic Defender Front</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>HTI</td>
<td>Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISIS</td>
<td>Islamic State</td>
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<tr>
<td>JI</td>
<td>Jamaah Islamiyah</td>
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<tr>
<td>KAMMI</td>
<td>Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union</td>
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<td>KPK</td>
<td>Corruption Eradication Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>LDK</td>
<td>Dakwah Campus Institution</td>
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<tr>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>Lesbian Gay Bi-sexual and Transgender</td>
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<tr>
<td>LUIS</td>
<td>Lascar of Islamic Ummah Surakarta</td>
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<tr>
<td>LKLK</td>
<td>Center for Intercultural Study</td>
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<td>MCA</td>
<td>Muslim Cyber Army</td>
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<td>NU</td>
<td>Nahdlatul Ulama</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organization</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<td>PeaceGen</td>
<td>Peace Generation</td>
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<td>PPIM UIN Jakarta</td>
<td>Research Center of Islam and Society, Islamic State University Jakarta</td>
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<td>PGI</td>
<td>Indonesian Churches Communion</td>
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<td>PKS</td>
<td>Prosperous Justice Party</td>
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<td>PLUD UKMK</td>
<td>Local Service Center for Micro Medium Business and Co-op</td>
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<td>Search</td>
<td>Search For Common Ground</td>
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<td>YIPC</td>
<td>Young Interfaith Peacemaker Community</td>
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Executive summary

Context
Indonesia has undergone dramatic changes since its economic crisis in 1998, including a transition from authoritarianism to democracy and subsequent successful democratic elections. In more recent years, extremist groups in Indonesia have been gaining more support within national, regional and local elections. Cities such as Surabaya have suffered an upsurge in violent terrorist attacks. Online platforms have become a significant arena for hate speech, attacks on minority groups and for galvanizing support for extreme ideas by both violent extremist and politically-motivated groups. In this context, government agencies and non-government organizations are seeking to design interventions that counter the impact of extreme narratives online as well as build resilience to such damaging messaging.

Purpose
This report summarizes the findings from a research study conducted by Love Frankie to inform Search for Common Ground (Search) in developing an implementation strategy for a 24-month project to reduce the influence of violent extremist narratives online, particularly targeted at youth and ex-juvenile offenders in Indonesia via social media.

Methodology
The research method was qualitative in nature and included the following: a literature review of research studies selected by Search; 28 in-depth interviews with law enforcement, media, religious and civil society stakeholders; in-depth interviews with 24 high school students; focus group discussions with 48 university students; and 4 in-depth interviews with juvenile offenders. Interviews were conducted in five cities across Indonesia.

Findings

Chapter 1: Who is at-risk of being recruited into extremist groups in Indonesia in 2018?
It was not possible to definitively conclude who is at-risk of being recruited due to the research limitations highlighted above. However, the following risk indicators were identified:

- Those who are new to an environment such as boarding school, university, workplace or community.
- Members of faith-based groups at universities with majors in hard sciences
- Those who live in locations with a history of inter-ethnic or religious violence
- Those who show support or participate in hardline groups, whether online or offline.

It was also possible to explore and identify the multitude of possible causes, platforms and narratives that could in turn be tested and prioritized in order to define at-risk groups.

The vast majority of young people are targeted by extremist groups on websites, social media platforms, and private messaging channels. Thus, they are all likely to be exposed to extremist content on social media. A young person is not actively choosing to look at or find extremist narratives but can be exposed to them by simply logging into an online platform – which the vast majority of young people do. Consequently, targeting particular audiences based on who might be exposed to such narratives, as originally assumed at the outset of this research, is futile. Instead, insight should focus more on who is more likely to be vulnerable to or persuaded by social media campaigns which are closely linked to the root causes of extremism and who are more or less affected by them.
The possible ‘root causes’ and drivers towards extremism are summarized below in terms of structural drivers, enabling factors and individual incentives. Specifically:

- **Structural factors** include: low investment in public education, digital literacy and lack of diversity in religious education; pervasive corruption and inconsistent application of laws across the country; frustrations due to inequality; urbanization leading to strain or gaps in support networks in urban areas.
- **Enabling factors** include: increased access to information and internet providing greater platforms for extreme actors to engage audiences online; the availability of external and internal actors promoting religious doctrines that challenge Indonesian pluralism.
- **Individual incentives** to pursue an extremist path include: needing a firm identity and sense of purpose for those experiencing significant life changes (e.g. internal migration); or a defensive response to perceived injustice faced by Muslims abroad or at home.

Government, civil society and religious organizations are combining the following approaches to tackle extremism: research, tolerance and peace training, tolerance and peace narrative creation, media literacy training, online fact-checking, legislation, and risk-reduction programs.

**Chapter 2: What are the specific platforms and channels used by extremists and/or that can be used for positive messaging to divert target audiences?**

Extremist groups use a variety of channels to reach and engage their target audiences that could also be used for positive messaging. These channels include:

- Facebook, Twitter and Instagram: all used to seed or gain exposure for their ideology
- WhatsApp, LINE or Telegram: all used for direct recruitment and more personalized one-on-one interaction, benefiting from the fact that they are private and encrypted channels

The research also found that parents and older family members are unknowingly acting as intermediaries for extremist groups’ messages by sharing their content with their younger relatives via private messaging channels like WhatsApp. Indonesian youth use all of the above social media platforms with differing levels of frequency and purpose. The research confirmed that:

- Instagram, Line, and WhatsApp are the top three platforms used habitually by youth.
- Facebook, Twitter and YouTube are used much less but still for specific purposes such as staying in touch with old friends, following the news, and watching educational videos.
- Facebook has fallen in popularity due to the level of false or ‘hoax’ content.

**Chapter 3: Who is seeking to influence young people online, what mechanisms and narratives are they using and with what success?**

An extremely high number of groups and individuals are seeking to influence young people online meaning that there is significant competition for their attention and a challenge to ‘cut-through’. Pressure to develop high quality content and to develop a significant audience on social media is very high. Competition includes:

- Commercial organizations seeking to sell services and products;
- Media platforms and entertainers;
- Government departments, politicians and opposition parties;
- Religious organizations and influencers; and
- Civil society organizations.

Individual politicians and religious influencers have garnered a much more sizeable following on
social media platforms than institutions. Furthermore, it would appear that proponents of positive alternative narratives have so far struggled to amass a competitive following online, with audiences that are a small fraction of those sharing ‘competitor’ narratives.

Broadly, intolerant or extremist actors are more adept at providing a clear and consistent narrative with clear benefits and ‘real-life’ implications for audiences. These consistent narratives include messages and guidance on how to be ‘a better Muslim’, how ‘Islam is under attack’, and that the political status quo is not working – with Sharia law and Muslim-only leaders as the proposed solution. Content is provided in multiple different formats with multiple different tones and approaches to messaging enabling a diverse number of entry-points for audiences.

Moderate actors with more tolerant messages offer confusing reactive messages which partly agree with extremists in some areas but disagree in others. Positive alternative narratives offer more abstract principles about how ‘Islam is equal to and should co-exist with other religions’ and that ‘means peace’. Such messages have not yet been translated into replicable expressions of attitudes and behaviors on a day-to-day basis in online channels. As a result, wider audiences appear to struggle to clearly articulate the benefits of this alternative positive point of view or rebut the arguments of those with intolerant messages. Overall, extremist groups appear to be more successful in gaining traction with young people via social media in 2018.

**Recommendations**

**Strengthen the foundations needed for effective social media campaign design based on findings from all three findings chapters**

- Clarify and affirm the definition of ‘the problem’ i.e. ‘extremism’ and ‘violent extremism’ in the Indonesian context with government actors and civil society partners. Ensure there is clarity on what and who represents this problem i.e. what attitudes and behaviors constitute extremism, and violent extremism in the Indonesian context.
- Agree on what success looks like for individual social media campaigns i.e. what specific problem can it seek to solve. For example, training young people with critical thinking or debunking extremist narratives or risk reduction of violent extremist narratives etc.
- Identify how the impact of the campaign can be measured i.e. what the indicators are there for success, such as a shift in the level of knowledge, shift in intent to share extreme content, etc.
- Agree and rank priorities for tackling extremism and violent extremism amongst civil society partners and ensure the objective fits with the organization’s sphere of influence e.g. a moderate religious organization is likely to be better placed to credibly tackle the use of religious scriptures to justify extremist or violent extremist attitudes or behaviors.

**Refine the target audience of interventions based on findings in Chapter 1**

- Target young people aged 16 to 30 who are more vulnerable to influence from extremist groups as indicated in the findings. Conduct quantitative research to test and narrow down the target audience further by their attitudes and interests which can mapped against digital behavior.
- Target messages to parents, older relatives, teachers, youth who interact with younger audiences on a regular basis including via private digital messaging channels.

**Improve the approach taken to social media channels, topics and influencers to promote positive narratives, based on findings in Chapter 2**
• Shift from a single platform to a multi-platform strategy for content dissemination to maximize exposure to messages. Ensure that the content shared has the appropriate tone and is in line with the objective for each platform as per the recommendations.
• Develop partnerships with new messengers who are better placed to reach and engage the target audience on topics of interest.
• Identify and engage individuals who might not necessarily create content but may share ad hoc content with an online network of young people, such as those who use Instagram, LINE, Twitter or YouTube, those aged 18 to 40, those who have over 100,000 followers or subscribers, individuals of Indonesian nationality and those who have moderate religious and political views.
• Engage young people who could use their own ‘authentic’ voices to re-create and reposition positive narratives in their relationships and networks through their engagement of the wider community in inter-religious activities such as sports, scouting or volunteering.
• Consider how the messenger can build trust and relationships with the audience over time, including the role of online moderation, Q&A functionality and private messenger channels.

Improve positive narrative messaging and mechanisms for engaging young people, based on findings in Chapter 3:

• Counter extremism (not just violent extremism) and promote ‘friendship’, ‘self-improvement’, ‘respect’, and ‘Indonesian culture’, in addition to abstract messages of peace.
  • Connect with an interest or need they already have, and introduce themes related to tolerance, respect, pluralism both directly through personal experiences and indirectly
  • Feature stories that reflect the experiences of other young people - ‘show’ rather than ‘tell’ their message
• Consider adding content with a lighter touch and shorter format that could be shared on platforms such as LINE or WhatsApp.
• Invest in achieving high quality aesthetics in the execution of the format.

Recommendations for building the capacity of those who promote positive narratives:

• Provide opportunities to develop more varied approaches to addressing extremist narratives, including experimentation.
• Provide opportunities to those new to the subject matter to familiarize themselves with issues first-hand.
• Provide mentoring or feedback opportunities by organizations or influencers with expertise in developing positive narratives.

Recommendations for Search and civil society organizations that focus on government-led action:

Search could consider:

• A campaign advocating for government-led changes pertaining to religious education in Indonesia.
• Advocating for media and digital literacy training in schools led by government or other civil society influencers.
• A campaign advocating for greater scrutiny of educational spaces by government stakeholders.
• Ensuring consistency in the application of the definition of extremism and violent extremism so that its misapplication does not undermine activities that seek to tackle it. Search could consider providing a press release for media organizations highlighting concerns whenever it would appear that the terms have been misused.
Introduction

Background

Indonesia has undergone dramatic changes since its economic crisis in 1998 including a transition from authoritarianism during the ‘New Order regime’ to democracy in the ‘Reform Era’ and the subsequent successful democratic elections. As the world’s biggest Muslim-majority country, Indonesia’s transition has been lauded as an example of a secular democracy that is able to successfully integrate a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. Historically, a key component of Indonesia’s approach has been to allow ‘hard-line’ organizations with conservative political and religious ideologies to participate in elections, including Islamist groups like the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). More recently, the government has taken a firmer stance towards such groups that advocate ideals and policies conflicting with Indonesia’s democratic institutions, cultural diversity and the principles of ‘Pancasila’.

In recent years, extremist groups have been gaining more support within national, regional and local elections. Support for less inclusive ideals was palpable during the governor elections in Jakarta between 2016 and 2017. During this period, the incumbent Governor of Jakarta, Basuki Ahok Tjahaja Purnama (known as ‘Ahok’), was politically targeted online and during rallies such as ‘the 212 rally’ for his faith (as a non-Muslim) and his Chinese ancestry. In 2017, such attacks appeared to be validated when Ahok was controversially tried for blasphemy against Islam. Such attacks are not restricted to prominent political figures and displays of intolerance and hate speech towards minority groups appear to be increasing. A number of public rallies have since been called, with a focus on the 2019 national Presidential elections, where groups have expressed socio-economic and political grievances using a traditionalist interpretation of religious teachings. Rallies have included calls for action in response to attacks on Islam both in Indonesia and overseas in Palestine and Syria, including support for fundamental changes to Indonesia’s democratic institutions as well as the exclusion of non-Muslims from political offices.

Indonesia has also borne an upsurge in violent terrorist attacks, including recent bombings of Christian churches in Surabaya in May 2018 undertaken by families including young children. Research has also highlighted increasing sympathy and support for radical activities. A 2017 study by the Wahid Foundation claimed that 2.4% Indonesians were either ‘willing to radicalize’ or were already deemed to be radical. The study also reported that 28% Indonesians would consider offering donations to support ‘radical’ activities. The drivers of these negative trends will be explored further in Chapter 1.

1 The official state ideology of Indonesia was drafted as part of the constitution following independence in 1945. Pancasila is defined by the principles of the belief in God, nationalism, humanitarianism, democracy and social justice. The first principle was changed from Belief in God (ketuhanan) to Belief in the One and Only God (ketuhanan yang maha esa). Defining monotheism in such a way that the five recognized religions (Catholicism, Protestantism, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism) all could fit into this definition.

2 The government recently disbanded Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI).

3 The ‘212’ rally, held on December 2, 2016, was organized to protest Jakarta ex-Governor Basuki Ahok Tjahaja Purnama’s alleged blasphemy.

4 Victims of such attacks include: women, members of the LBGTI community, certain faith groups such Jews, Shia Muslims and Christians, and Communists.

5 (Wahid Foundation, 2017) Radical activities were defined here as: Participate in planning or participating in raids on institutions considered contrary to Sharia law (discotheques, prostitution and gambling houses); Demonstrating against a group that is considered a stain or threaten the sanctity of Islam; Convincing others like friends or relatives to join the enforcement of Islamic law in Indonesia; Contributing in material form.
Online platforms have become a significant arena for hate speech and attacks on minority groups as well as for galvanizing support for extremist ideas by both violent extremist groups and politically-motivated groups. Though these groups have different interests, they share common narratives and ideologies in pursuing those interests such as branding opponent groups as kafir (infidels, non-believers), accusing them of ‘oppressing Islam’, promoting the enforcement of Sharia law, and advocating for the establishment of khilafah (Islamic state). Recent reports suggest that there are about 800,000 sites that have been disseminating hateful information related to the teachings of Islam and unsubstantiated news regarding how Islam is being persecuted by the State. Therefore, online platforms and narratives have become an important tool for ‘passive’, ‘proxy’ or ‘active’ support in Indonesia for radical ideals and activities both locally and overseas.

The challenge of finding effective strategies to counter extremist messaging online is not isolated to Indonesia. The international community has long grappled with designing and implementing strategies to counter global terrorist organizations such as ISIS and their online recruitment strategies. Attempts to counter extremist narratives have largely been adversarial and included highlighting the logical flaws in the interpretation of the religion. This effort has been countered by extremists through strategic ‘emotional’ propaganda to mobilize audiences.

In Indonesia, government agencies and non-government organizations are also seeking to design interventions that counter the impact of extremist narratives online as well as build resilience to counter such narratives. Search for Common Ground seeks to reduce the influence of online violent extremist narratives on young people and ex-juvenile offenders in Indonesia through a 24-month program that includes:

1. Launching a social media messaging campaign that uses diverse tactics to provide alternative messages to extremist ideologies visible on social media
2. Expanding the capacity of:
   - CSOs to adapt, develop and share alternative narratives on social media
   - Existing social media influencers to create content and use alternative narratives on social media
   - Young leaders and network of messengers to develop and share alternative narratives on social media

The success of this program depends on credible, locally-rooted, evidence-based and targeted messages to provide genuine alternatives that enable at-risk individuals and communities to address grievances and promote collaborative problem-solving. Therefore, prior to project implementation, an assessment is required to understand the drivers of extremism among at-risk groups (specifically in the Indonesian context), lessons learnt from prior counter-messaging efforts led by government and non-government agencies, and the appropriate mechanisms and platforms for positive messaging that can be mobilized by Search to divert the target audience away from extremist narratives.

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6 (Jordan, 2016)
7 (Cronin, 2015)
Research objectives

Search has commissioned Love Frankie to undertake a research study to inform these three interventions in line with the following research objectives:

1. Identify groups who are most at-risk i.e. “the target audience” for the campaign
2. Understand the appropriate mechanisms and channels/platforms for positive messaging that can be mobilized by Search’s resources (people, organizations, tools) to divert the target audience away from extremist narratives
3. Identify the specific drivers of radicalization and negative messaging tools, channels and narratives used by extremists
4. Employ a participatory methodology for research and create a curriculum and message content that will drive the project’s outputs

Research methodology

A number of different qualitative research methods have been employed in this study including:

- A literature review of pre-selected studies conducted by non-government agencies in Indonesia
- Primary qualitative research with a range of key stakeholders including:
  - 28 in-depth interviews with non-government actors such as civil society organizations, religious influencers and networks, traditional media, social media stakeholders and influencers, and government law enforcement and child protection agencies
  - 8 in-depth triad interviews with high school students (3 per group; 24 students in total)
  - 8 focus group discussions with university students (6-8 per group; 48 students in total)
  - 4 in-depth interviews with former juvenile offenders
- Additional desk research and literature review to supplement pre-selected studies to inform key concepts and identification of groups that are at-risk, as discussed in chapter 1
- Additional desk research to source online narratives, referenced during the primary research, to supplement gaps in data provided by respondents themselves

Fieldwork and sample

Respondent recruitment and fieldwork was conducted between Monday 26th March and Friday 27th April. Details of the research questions and instruments are included in the Appendix.

High school and university students were recruited based on their likelihood to engage in a positive influencing campaign. All students were active in student councils or other student leadership roles. An equal number of focus group discussions and interviews were conducted in Bandung, Solo, Surabaya and Jakarta. Groups were single-sex and an equal number of male and female group discussions were conducted. Quotas were set to ensure that groups included students from various subject backgrounds including both technical and arts-based subjects. Majority of the respondents were of Muslim faith and enrolled in public education.

In-depth interviews with government agencies and non-government actors based in Bandung, Solo, Surabaya, Jakarta, Cirebon and Purwokerto were conducted. The sample was predominantly based on respondents who were available at the time of interview. Other stakeholders included media influencers, NGOs, religious, academic and other experts, and government agencies dealing with current and former juvenile offenders. In-depth interviews with former juvenile offenders were
conducted face-to-face in Solo. It was not possible to conduct interviews with former offenders convicted of terrorism related offences at the time of the fieldwork.

**Research limitations and environment**

The design of the research relied heavily on a number of assumptions. These assumptions are numbered below along with a corresponding evaluation of their validity.

1. **The existing research included in the ‘literature review’ answered the corresponding research questions in sufficient depth**

The pre-selected literature initially included in the study was found to be insufficient to identify who is most ‘at-risk’. As a result, the research team sought additional literature (referenced in the bibliography) and highlighted findings based on hypotheses or assumptions that require further research to answer the research question fully.

2. **Research respondents could recall the content that they had been exposed to**

High school and university research respondents were asked to recall the content they had been exposed to online, without any prompts. This approach was used to identify content that respondents could recall without the risk of bias in results when using prompts such as content examples. However, respondents could not recall pieces of the content in much detail. As a result, to allow for a more detailed narrative analysis (as presented in chapter 3), the research team conducted additional desk research to source content that was reflected in the narratives that were recalled.

3. **Research respondents were sufficiently comfortable in discussing their exposure to and perception of the content**

High school and university research respondents were invited to highlight content which made them feel “uncomfortable”, “sad” or “angry”, rather than content which they deemed “intolerant” or “extreme”. However, despite such precautions, it is highly likely that research respondents were reticent in highlighting content which they considered sensitive and, as a result, may have withheld certain content in order to avoid confrontation or embarrassment in front of their peers.

**Key definitions**

A key challenge both for this research and for actors seeking to tackle extremism in Indonesia is the ambiguity surrounding key definitions of the problem, the stakeholders and possible solutions, all of which are central to the design of effective communication campaigns. This section seeks to clarify such ambiguities.

**Defining ‘the problem’: extremism and violent extremism**

Extremist and violent extremist groups appear to target similar audiences and use very similar strategies and narratives. However, different audiences are drawn to different groups for different reasons. Thus, programs that seek to ‘Counter Extremism’ (CE), ‘Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) or ‘Reduce the Risk of people returning to Extremism (RR) must understand these differences.

‘Extremism’ or ‘extreme’ attitudes and actions will always have a highly subjective definition, relative to the prevalent norms in that context. A definition has been proposed here for the purposes of this report based on statements by the Indonesian government: “**Vocal or active opposition to fundamental Indonesian values (as defined in the Pancasila)** including democracy and mutual [8]

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8 The official state ideology of Indonesia was drafted as part of the constitution following independence in 1945. Pancasila is defined by the principles of the belief in God, nationalism, humanitarianism, democracy and social justice. The first principle was changed from Belief in God (ketuhanan) to Belief in the One and Only God.
respect and tolerance of people and groups of different race, religion, ethnic origin, national origin, disability, sexual orientation, or gender identity."

Counter Extremism (CE) programs must target audiences who may be exposed to extreme content and are therefore at-risk of supporting or perpetrating non-violent but extreme attacks themselves. It is to be noted that throughout this report ‘intolerance’ will be used interchangeably with ‘extremism’ and ‘tolerant’ will be used to describe someone who is ‘not an extremist’.

Violent extremism (VE) is defined by Search for Common Ground as: “The choice individuals make to use or support violence to advance a cause based on exclusionary group identities.”

Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) programs target audiences who are ‘at-risk’ of being a perpetrator or supporter of violent extremism. This is different from Risk Reduction (RR) programs that target those who have already been criminalized as a VE perpetrator or VE supporter and are now seeking to reintegrate into society.

**Defining ‘the actors’ and their relationship to ‘the problem’ in the context of extremism**

There are a number of terms used when identifying and distinguishing those who define their self-identity as belonging to a certain faith but who differ in the extent to which they:

- Have respect and tolerance of people and groups belonging to a different race, religion, ethnic origin, national origin, disability, sexual orientation, or gender identity;
- Support certain social and political values such as democracy and Pancasila in Indonesia;
- Support the use of violence to achieve those means;
- Use Islamic scripture to justify those attitudes and actions.

The following table represents some key terms in this context:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>‘Not extreme’ or ‘tolerant’</th>
<th>Extreme or ‘intolerant’</th>
<th>Violent extreme</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moderate Muslims</strong> are defined as those who practice the Muslim faith but believe Islam can be adapted to modern life and not necessarily adhere to all Hadith traditions or the Qur’an in every way.</td>
<td><strong>Hard-line Conservative Muslims</strong> are defined as those who practice the Muslim faith and believe that all components of the Qur’an and the Hadith traditions should be adhered to by all members of Indonesian society i.e. Sharia should be enforced.</td>
<td>‘Radical’ Muslims are defined as those who self-identify as Muslims and believe that it is acceptable to use violence or attack others in order to practice their beliefs.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Conservative Muslims</strong> are defined as those who practice the Muslim faith and believe that all components of the Qur’an and the Hadith traditions should be adhered to, irrespective of modern life.</td>
<td><strong>Populist Islamists</strong> seek to challenge perceived anti-Muslim elements of Indonesia’s political system.</td>
<td><strong>Militant Islamists</strong> reject the political system and seek to impose Islamic law and governance by the use of violence, including terrorist attacks against civilians.</td>
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**Defining ‘the behaviors’ in the extremism and violent extremism context**

(ketuhanan yang maha esa). Defining monotheism in such a way that the five recognized religions (Catholicism, Protestantism, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism) all could fit into this definition.

⁹ (Search for Common Ground, 2017)
The Wahid Foundation has provided a definition of behaviors that constitute extremist political or religious behaviors, including:

- Convincing other family members, extended relatives and friends to uphold Islamic sharia in Indonesia.
- Donating both monetary and material resources to an organization or group that is believed to support the implementation of Islamic Sharia in Indonesia.
- Being involved in actively sweeping bars, clubs, or places where prostitution occurs.

It also defines the behavior of a violent extremist as someone who directly violently attacks others based on their beliefs e.g. places of worship or funds others to do so. Please note that while the Wahid Foundation, in its 2017 paper, grouped extremists and violent extremists together, this research seeks to distinguish between the two groups to reflect their distinct communication objectives.

Classifying root causes of extremism and violent extremism (VE)
The root causes of extremism in Indonesia have been classified into three types:

- **Structural motivators** – closely connected with ‘push factors’ e.g. corruption, unemployment, inequality, discrimination, a history of hostility between identity groups, external state interventions in the affairs of other nations, and so on.
- **Individual incentives** – connected to pull factors e.g. a sense of purpose (generated by acting in accordance with perceived ideological tenets), adventure, belonging, acceptance, status, material enticements, fear of repercussions by VE entities, expected rewards in the afterlife, and so on.
- **Enabling factors** – also connected to pull factors e.g. presence of radical mentors (including religious leaders and individuals from social networks, among others), access to radical online communities, social networks of VE associations, access to weaponry, relative absence of state agencies, absence of familial support, and so on.

Understanding the distinction between enabling factors and individual incentives is important in the context of designing a communication-based intervention to tackle extremism. This research will highlight how social media platforms act as an enabling factor for recruitment into violent extremist groups, and how the content shared on these platforms may promote structural motivators as well as individual incentives of extremism in the target audience.

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10 Please note that actions such as ‘rallying against groups that have been accused in conducting blasphemy’ or helping Islamic groups in protesting against any group conducting blasphemy against Islam’ has not been included as such actions are not necessarily a reflection of personal tolerant/ intolerant belief but a belief that the law or justice needs to be implemented by the community and not/ in addition to the police (Wahid Foundation, 2017)
11 18% of women and 20% of men would be willing to convince others to strive for Islamic Shari’a in the country (Wahid Foundation, 2017)
12 28% of women and 29% of men would be willing to donate in material form to an organisation who supports the implementation of Islamic Shariah in Indonesia (Wahid Foundation, 2017)
13 7% of women and 15% of men would be willing to participate in the planning or participation in raids (Wahid Foundation 2017)
14 1% of women and 3% of men would be willing to participate in an attack on a worship place of another faith (Wahid Foundation, 2017)
15 The Wahid Foundation research uses the following definition: of: ‘direct attacks or efforts to convince or fund others to attack other groups deemed to threaten the sanctity of Islam or go against Sharia law’
16 (Zeuthen, 2016)
**Framework for defining long-term and short-term communication objectives**

Once a long-term communication goal has been defined, it is possible to then identify who the target audience should be and the short-term campaign objectives, e.g. shift in an area of knowledge, attitudes or behaviors. These short-term campaign objectives should not be linked to action-oriented changes, i.e. if an audience ‘feels’ a certain way, they will therefore ‘do’ something. Most often individual campaigns can achieve only one objective i.e. raise awareness/ knowledge or contribute to a shift in attitude or promote a certain behavior. As a result, campaigns include multiple phases as well as multiple formats or ways of achieving each short-term objective.

The following two tables show how a long-term objective, for example to tackle a root cause, could be translated into a short-term attitude or behavior campaign. The following table captures one such example of a campaign plan led by an extremist organization:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long term objective</th>
<th>Increase tension between Muslims and minority groups on campus so that extremist groups are seen as more appealing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Target audience</td>
<td>Young muslims on a particular university campus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**So, a campaign could target one of the following short-term objectives:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Awareness</th>
<th>Raise awareness about attacks on Muslims internationally, nationally and locally – even on campus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes</td>
<td>Indicate that minority groups are to be blamed for these attacks, that they hate Muslims, and thus promote a negative, defensive attitude towards minorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaviors</td>
<td>Model verbalized attacks on minority groups to show how someone could behave if they were ‘defending Muslims’ from attacks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table shows a plan for a ‘counter-extremism’ campaign that tackles a root cause of the problem – the need to ‘belong’ to a community – an alternative narrative of friendship:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long term objective</th>
<th>Ensure that new students in a university campus are welcomed and made to feel that they belong to a diverse community so that everyone feels that they belong and are therefore less vulnerable to extremist groups.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Target audience</td>
<td>New students on a particular university campus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**So, a campaign could target one of the following short-term objectives:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Awareness</th>
<th>Raise awareness about the number of people who are new on campus and highlight the extent to which everyone feels nervous about making new friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes</td>
<td>Promote the attitude that ‘the best students’ or the most faithful individuals are welcoming of others that seem different to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaviors</td>
<td>Demonstrate what welcoming and inclusive behaviors look like in a university context when meeting a group of new people e.g. introducing yourself to someone different to you etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Measuring success of influencers, narratives and specific campaigns**

The following methods of measuring ‘success’ or ‘influence’ have been used throughout the report:
Messengers are defined as influential on social media on the basis of the volume of their followers (Instagram, Facebook, Twitter), friends (LINE), or subscribers (YouTube).

A narrative (and underpinned pieces of content) is measured as well-received or successful based on the number of views, likes, retweets or shares, and positive comments.

However, measuring the success of a campaign would require key definitions in line with the above framework, i.e. the long-term campaign objective, target audience and an articulation of the individual campaign’s short-term objective. Only then is it possible to understand the baseline context and measure the impact of the campaign based on that baseline.
Findings

Chapter 1: Who is at-risk of being recruited into extremist groups in Indonesia in 2018?

Introduction

This chapter seeks to:

- Explore the broader root causes of extremism in Indonesia in terms of structural motivators, enabling factors and individual incentives.
- Identify the strategies taken by governments, religious institutions and civil society to tackle extremism and violent extremism, including online and via social media.
- Identify who is most at-risk (vulnerable) of being exposed to extreme content on social media and of being influenced by that content and developing intolerant attitudes.

Root causes of extremism in Indonesia

The root causes of extremism and violent extremism in Indonesia can be divided into three categories: structural motivators, enabling factors and individual incentives. It is vital not to view any of these factors in isolation as independent drivers for someone adopting extreme or violently extreme attitudes or behaviors. The outcomes are likely to be a combination of these causes, with one playing a stronger role than the other at any given point of time. The pathways to extremism are also highly individualized.

1. Structural motivator: Socio-economic factors

The rapid changes in the economic landscape in the last two decades have influenced the lives of Indonesians significantly. There are three interconnected shifts which must be taken into account: economic growth, rapid urbanization and increased income.

- Indonesia’s economy has grown considerably since the economic crisis in 1998, transitioning from an annual growth rate of -6.4% in 1998 to 5.1% in 2017. The bulk of its production has also considerably moved away from agrarian to manufacturing and construction. Such high economic growth (combined with other changes detailed below) symbolizes the tangible shifts in lifestyle experienced by a significant proportion of the Indonesian population, including urbanization, access to education and greater information flow.

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17 At this stage the proposed ‘individual incentives’ are hypotheses only, deducted from other root causes and have not yet been validated or informed by research.
19 In 1967 51% of Indonesia’s GDP came from agriculture and less than 13% from manufacturing, construction and mining & utilities. By 2009, agriculture had shrunk to just 16% of the economy and manufacturing, with construction and mining and utilities increasing to 49%. (Reserve Bank of Australia, 2011)
• Connected to rapid growth is Indonesia’s **rapid urbanization process** over the last few decades. According to the Indonesian National Bureau of Statistics (BPS) and the World Bank, in 2016, 55% of the Indonesian population lived in cities compared to 42% in 2000 and 31% in 1990. There are two main reasons for this ‘urban’ shift. **First**, internal migration, particularly of young people, to urban areas to work or to study in universities and then choosing to stay in cities for work rather than returning to their rural homes. **Second**, the reclassification of rural villages into urban areas as a result of development. Furthermore, given the rates of urbanization, some rural areas near large urban centers are referred to as ‘rural city clusters’, which ‘show characteristics similar to their urban counterparts’. Overall, this means that not only young people, but also adults who have grown-up and lived in rural villages for a significant proportion of their life, are experiencing significant changes in their local socio-cultural environment.

• With rapid economic growth, **household income has increased for a significant proportion of the population**. The share of those living below the poverty line, earning less than USD 1.9 per day, fell from 59% in 1990 to 6.5% in 2016. There has also been a marked increase in the level of consumption among the Indonesian population, and thus the emergence of a ‘middle class’ in Indonesia i.e. those spending between $2 and $20 each day.

Economic growth, urbanization and increased purchasing power have resulted in an increased appetite for social mobility leading to frustration among some parts of the population. A small number of civil society stakeholders hypothesized that there is a growing “anxiety” among the lower middle class Indonesians. “They perceive themselves as experiencing economic discrimination... and marginalized by the unfair distribution of development.” As a result, they are experiencing a “turbulent mind”, combined with social and consumer pressures. Another academic stakeholder commented that ‘the middle-class’ is: “...at-risk because they are in the squeezed position. They have a high education but limited access to employment. This has resulted in collective anxiety ... they will be angry and will be questioning their condition.” One civil society stakeholder also suggested that there may be discontent with the quality of public service provisions in over-populated urban areas, in turn causing frustration.

Such economic factors are not a direct cause of extremism but they represent one structural motivator that, when combined with other factors, could result in feelings of resentment towards the Indonesian government among those belonging to a low income background. This is not to say that those with a lower income are more likely to engage in violence against those with higher incomes. It simply means that there is a feeling of frustration with the status quo and a desire to change the government and the system. This is an important consideration given that political parties with an extreme agenda are offering significant change. However, this grievance as such is not the only structural factor.

2. **Structural motivator: State grievances and corruption**

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20 This urbanization is particularly felt in West Java where, in 2010, the urban population already represented 65.7% of the island’s population with key cities including Bandung, Bogor and Cirebon. (Indonesian Statistics Bureau (BPS), 2010); Urban population (%), (World Bank, 2016)

21 (McKinsey Consulting Group, 2014)

22 (Indonesian Statistics Bureau, 2017)

23 (Intolerance Among Youth During the Rise of the Muslim Middle Class in Urban Areas, 2017), Wahid Foundation, 2017

24 (Intolerance Among Youth During the Rise of the Muslim Middle Class in Urban Areas, 2017)

25 Please note that it has not been possible to source data to assess any trends of levels of inequality, nationally representative perceptions of inequality or perception of the quality of public services.
A second structural motivator for extremism is the continued struggle for reliable, corruption-free public institutions and justice system. Despite a new Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) established in 2003 to monitor the governance of the state and investigate and prosecute cases of corruption, Indonesia is still ranked 96 in Transparency International’s 2017 Global Corruption Index (down from 90th in 2016). Furthermore, as a result of the process of decentralization, ambiguous and difficult to enforce local laws are being enforced, in turn delaying the fight against corruption. It inability of public institutions to enforce laws consistently and deal with corruption contributes to the appeal of those calling for these institutions to be overhauled in favor of ‘purer’ institutions that are grounded in religious rather than secular values.

Religious groups, particularly hardline groups such as the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), have been advocating for the implementation of Sharia-based by-laws and regulations at both the sub-national and national levels. The dichotomy between Islam and the Indonesian state has a long and complex history. However, corruption and the subsequent impact on public trust in legal institutions could be leading to a surge in support for the enforcement of Islamic law. One civil society stakeholder commented that “the government’s image as one of being corrupt and unable to overcome injustices further strengthens the extremist narrative [for Sharia law].” While Sharia law in and of itself is not an example of intolerance or extremism, but its exclusive and enforced use, especially on non-Muslims, would represent a significant shift away from Indonesia’s secular democratic institutions.

Apart from law, public services is another area where religious groups are seeking to provide alternative support. For example, one civil society member suggested that Salafi groups who “are teaching a new understanding of Islam that promotes intolerance, radical attitudes and anti-state/government sentiments” are seeking to take advantage of vulnerability in public service provision and “providing basic services to society”. While it is unclear what “basic needs” are being serviced, it is not unknown for extremist groups to provide education or healthcare services in order to build relationships in local communities. For example, interviews with those who have travelled to join ISIS in Syria revealed promises of “jobs” and “free healthcare”. Thus, grievances with public service and justice systems seem to provide an opportunity to extreme groups to promote alternatives (such as Sharia law), which are in contradiction to the ideals of the Indonesian Constitution.

3. Structural motivator: Low quality education provision
When considering root causes driving extremism, it is also important to account for opportunities to improve resilience to extremism that may have been missed. Education can be one such factor improving resilience against extremist narratives and recruitment efforts, and yet the quality of education at the structural level in Indonesia is very low, particularly compared to other countries in Southeast Asia. Despite repeated commitments by successive governments, government spending in education has remained low with a share of 1% of the GDP in 1996, and only increasing marginally to 3.3% in 2014. This investment level is lower than Malaysia (4.8%), Thailand (4.1%)
and Vietnam (5.7%). As a result, the country’s results in international standardized assessments have been so poor that in 2014 Indonesia’s Minister of Education & Culture declared that “the country faces an education emergency”. Literacy in Indonesia (including reading, numerical skills and science) was ranked 64 out of the 72 countries surveyed by the OECD in 2015. 42% of Indonesians above the age of 15 failed to meet the minimum standards in all three areas covered by the test-reading, mathematics and science. Low literacy among young people as well as among the adult population is likely to leave the Indonesian people with less critical thinking skills, making them more vulnerable to extremist influence.

Furthermore, it would also appear that underinvestment in education, including teacher training, has meant that educators are easily incentivized to support the interests of political parties, rather than imparting a rigorous and unbiased education for Indonesian children. Teachers that don’t teach religion (under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Culture, different from the Ministry of Religious Affairs), are often targeted in local elections on the assumption that they can be incentivized to influence a wider community network. One media commentator reported that it is not uncommon for public school teachers backing losing candidates in elections to be ‘punished’ by the winning candidate by transferring them to isolated parts of the region. Alternatively, if the candidate they back wins, school principals’ terms may also be extended. A number of high school respondents highlighted teachers proposing school assignments that demonstrate intolerance and promote divisive politics in the classroom. For example, in Jakarta, female high school students highlighted two separate incidents involving their teachers in the context of online content that had made them uncomfortable:

“Even the teachers at school were trying to provoke... [their students] not to vote for Ahok in the governor election. I reminded the teacher that it is the personal right of the students to choose a candidate and that being provocative about religion is inappropriate in school because it is a place of study.”

“My friend had an experience where her post went viral on social media. A teacher had asked her class to post anti-LGBT content through IG [Instagram]. This content led to an argument on social media, and in 3 hours it went viral. Even the picture of my friend went viral through Line. I felt really sad when my friend came to me, upset about it.”

It appears that because of the structural lack of investment in education, young Indonesian students are not just less likely to be able to critically evaluate narratives but may also have been influenced, at an early age, to display intolerant or extreme ideals.

4. **Structural motivator: Low quality religious education provision**

The quality of inter-religious education is also low nationally. Commentators have highlighted how the** two state education legislative reforms, affecting state education between elementary and senior high, have spurred greater inter-religious misunderstanding.** In 1989, the government ruled that schools have no obligation to teach about more than one religion and/or teach about the interconnection of religions. A second law passed in 2003 also ruled that schools should ensure that a child is taught their religion by a teacher of that faith. This law was particularly favored by Muslim families who wanted their children to attend Christian schools with higher attainment levels and Muslim religious education teachers. Both laws undermine the principle of equality between

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32 (Baswedan, 2014)
33 (OECD, 2015)
34 (Kompas, 2011)
religions and deny young people the opportunity to understand different religions, how they are interconnected, and have common denominators.\(^\text{35}\)

There is a growing concern that religious educators in basic education may also be a key driver for increasing levels of intolerance in Indonesia. A high proportion of religious educators, under the Ministry of Religious Affairs, appear to reject the presence of other religious schools or Islamic schools of thought. For example, 89% rejected non-Muslim local leaders, 81% rejected the establishment of houses of worship in their local areas and 78% rejected the idea of non-Muslims teaching in Islamic schools.\(^\text{36}\) Religious educators enforcing such exclusionary ideas and promoting sectarianism raises concerns of intolerant values being passed on to young people, and subsequently to the broader society. Therefore, it appears that the approach to religious education in Indonesia may be a structural motivator towards extremism.

5. **Structural motivator: Low media and digital literacy**

Another key area where an opportunity to build resilience to extremism has been missed is digital literacy. The internet age, in the era of democratization, is providing Indonesians with the ability to access and freely consume a wide variety of information. Most Indonesians can readily access the internet, have multiple social media accounts, and consume and/or create content for radio, print, TV and online channels.

The role of social media in the dissemination of positive and negative narratives on intolerance and extremism will be detailed in later chapters. However, at this stage, it’s worth noting that in addition to the standard literacy highlighted above (subsection 3), digital literacy, i.e. the ability to critically analyze online material, is also a concern with easy access to different material and increasing vulnerability of different groups to negative influences.\(^\text{37}\)

During our study, young people seemed to find it difficult to distinguish between online content that they consider personally offensive but that isn’t unacceptable, from behavior or content that is unacceptable. For example, a number of respondents highlighted their discomfort with witnessing or experiencing what they perceive to be ‘cyber-bullying’ or trolling.

“[I was uncomfortable] when someone posted content describing the dangers of eating pork which is also related with the Islamic teaching that forbids eating pork. But, someone commented on the post by asking about their religion. That question was offensive and could lead to conflict.” Male school student, Surabaya

“I felt uncomfortable when my favorite public figure, Rocky Gerung, was bullied on Twitter by pro-Jokowi people.” Male university student, Solo

A few respondents also highlighted that they enjoyed debating with others online. It is unclear whether these debates are friendly and constructive, or if respondents are engaging in behaviors that might be perceived by other users as cyber bullying or trolling.

“I don’t like it when people use controversial language such as ‘radical’ [about something I’ve said]. Some people say that it means ‘being an extremist’ but I don’t think it is always a negative thing.” Female university student, Bandung

“I like to share my thoughts. If I have an opinion on an issue, I’ll put my thought first before I re-post the article online. If I want to share my own thought on an issue, I share it through Snap Gram in IG,

\(^{35}\) (Elihami, 2016) 
\(^{36}\) (Maulana, 2017) 
\(^{37}\) (Arafin, 2017)
so it will not be posted permanently on social media. My goal is to educate people and to open people’s minds.” — Female university student, Jakarta

Overall, there appears to be broad concern among young people about which views and online behaviors are acceptable and what is a sign of intolerance or hate speech. Therefore, regardless of the level of exposure of young people to extremist online narratives, there appears to be a consensus that young people need to be better prepared to critically assess online information and to respond to negative online behaviors. Hence, existing resilience and capacity to engage in critical online discourse may be relatively low.

6. **Structural motivator: Democratization, internet access and hate speech**

Over the last few decades, Indonesia’s democratization process has created political space, even for groups that oppose democracy. This has been coupled with a parallel increase in access to information through increased internet access and social media usage among Indonesians, particularly young people. **This powerful combination provides an enabling factor for extremism** since it provides for the free and legitimate exchange of extreme ideas and promotion both in public and private spaces.

In recent years, there have been a number of political events that have, in turn, fueled hardline conservative and radical voices both online and offline. Two recent examples have come to light of how such tensions have been stirred - first, during the Jakarta governor elections and the blasphemy case against the former Jakarta governor, and second, the upcoming presidential election in 2019. Young people, throughout this study, frequently highlighted the prominence of both issues:

“The case of Ahok became a very noisy issue with problems on social media. People were debating, fighting, arguing with each other instead of having a discussion. Rude words were being thrown around from one person to another. It was upsetting.” — Female school student, Jakarta

“The most tense situation was during the Jakarta Election. Many people were spreading false information about Ahok.” — Female university student, Jakarta

“Prabowo’s speech was provocative. The community could be led to believe that Indonesia would fall apart. It could lead to chaos in the community...It could lead to new issues such as the tagline that has spread lately; #Jokowifor2019 or #ChangePresident.” — Male high school student, Surabaya

Young people have also highlighted their interest in contributing to ‘positive content’ on the topic of religion or politics because they have seen how quickly posts can be shared and lead to backlash that can often spin out of control. One male high school student from Solo commented: “I never give any comments on a posting. I also seldom re-post a posting. I read it only for himself and also always remind my mother to cross-check any information she gets and not to share hoax [material].”

A number of civil society actors also commented that they hesitate to critique influential politicians when they share ‘false news’. The barrier to confronting these situations also appears to stem from a concern about being ‘confrontational’. For example:

“When there is a powerful person who has been distributing information publicly that is based on hoax or fake news, we/CSOs are not willing to take confrontational action in the public sphere. The commitment to say no should be strengthened as this will help educate the broader public.”

The comments above indicate that political debates and the online environment can be described as “provocative”, “leading to chaos”, “upsetting” and “tense”. Thus, indicating that while young people

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38 Prabowo Subianto, leader of political party ‘Great Indonesia Movement Party’ and potential candidate for President, made a speech in which he suggested that Indonesia would no longer exist in 2030 (Tempo, 2018)
realize the importance of participating in the democratic process, there is also a recognition that the online political discourse is increasingly polarized, influenced by misinformation and hoaxes and by religious rather than political justifications. This environment enables new audiences to engage with extreme ideas in an almost secure and supportive setting, particularly if those in positions of authority are reluctant or unable to provide compelling alternative points of view.

7. **Enabling factor: Appetite for religious information online**

Indonesia has a long history as a deeply religious society and has the largest population of Muslims in the world. While the society’s appetite for religious information and guidance may not have shifted, the sources where the population is seeking religious information from have changed. 68% of ‘middle class Muslims’ continue to use television as a source to obtain religious information and 54% from study circles near their homes. An increasing proportion is gaining information via digital means such as websites, messaging applications, and articles shared by social media. While it is much easier to gain access to a wider audience online, compared to study circles, a religious influencers’ reliability and reputation cannot be discussed and identified very quickly on online platforms. Therefore, there is the risk of the population being exposed to diverse religious voices that may be less reliable. This diversity suggests that a ‘one-size fits all’ approach is unlikely to be effective as online audiences are accustomed to consuming content that is highly tuned to their interests and points of view.

8. **Enabling factor: Availability and support for more conservative religious content and views**

There appears to be less commitment to moderate Muslim organizations that have been historically embedded in Indonesian society. The two mass Muslim organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, claim to have 50 million and 30 million members respectively, and promote a moderate interpretation of Islam through a network of mosques, schools, and universities. The provision of primary and secondary education by madrassas and pesantren has served a key function, particularly in areas where government schools did not exist. A 2017 study found that at least 70% ‘middle class Muslims’ align themselves with a moderate interpretation of Islam through their affiliation with one of the two mass Muslim organizations: Nahdlatul Ulama (60%) and

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39 (Alvara Research Centre, 2017)
40 Anecdotally, there have also been a number of reports that suggest that members of the NU and Muhammadiyah are themselves becoming increasingly conservative. The fact that such organisations are so large and decentralized could allow for this outcome.
41 (Cochrane, 2015)
42 Madrassas are Islamic schools usually run by mosques or Islamic organizations, such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Pesantren are boarding schools also often operated by mosques or mass Muslim organizations.
Muhammadiyah (11%).\(^{43}\) However, 26% of the population reported that they do not feel close to any Muslim organization.\(^{44}\)

It is not possible to gauge the extent to which the proportion of those aligning themselves with moderate Muslim organizations has increased or decreased over time. However, it is possible to observe a rise in the presence of revivalist forms of Islam, emanating primarily from the Middle East, that are challenging tolerant moderate organizations. This provides a new spectrum of choice to the Indonesian population by presenting an array of belief, objectives and tactics. Some of these often include a literalist interpretation of Islam and stand in contradiction to core values of the Indonesian society such as its indigenous religious and socio-cultural beliefs, secular law, tolerance of religious minorities and equal treatment in political, social and economic life.

Furthermore, Indonesia has also seen a rise in the number of Indonesians returning home who had previously travelled to Syria to fight for extremist groups like ISIS. Their return and reintegration provides an opportunity to present fresh stories and they may also serve as real-life mentors to those considering violence as a means of achieving their objectives. This is particularly challenging given that the Indonesian government lacks an effective legal framework for supervising their return.

It would appear that some groups have been able to amass considerable structural power in certain environments. For example, Dakwah Campus Institution (LDK), which acts as a quasi-official Muslim student body on campuses, has significant influence on the management of mosques on campuses despite it being the responsibility of the university administration. This has left campus mosques susceptible to external influence, including traditionalist and extremist groups. Groups such as Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union (KAMMI) are also said to be associated with political parties such as the Islamic Justice Party (PKS). The fact that over 96% of higher education institutions in Indonesia are privately run makes it particularly difficult for the government to intervene and/or influence tolerance agendas on campus.\(^{45}\)

Research also suggests that traditionalist Islamic or extreme organizations and individuals are winning support for their arguments among the wider Indonesian public. The following chart highlights the proportion of people that oppose typical Indonesian values of Pancasila, democracy and freedom of religion because of their apparent (perceived) conflict with Islam.\(^{46}\)

![Level of support for views which oppose typical Indonesian values](chart.png)
Thus, the presence of traditional organizations and their access to the Indonesian people online is another enabling factor for extremism. While their presence alone may not have had much impact, combined with the structural motivators detailed above, it is likely that it is increasing their popularity.

9. **Individual incentive: The need to belong - separation from the traditional family structure**

It is possible that those drawn to extremist or violent extremist groups are incentivized by the idea of belonging to a community with a strong sense of identity. The economic trends of the last two decades suggest that a higher proportion of young Indonesians are being educated or working away from home compared to previous generations. One study found that parents who have ‘recently joined the middle-class category’ will opt to pay for education for their children above any other ‘indulgence’. This corresponds to a significant increase in school enrolment in secondary and tertiary education from 50% in 1996 to 86% in 2016 as shown in the chart on the left. This also meant an increase in the number of young people being separated from their traditional family structures and support networks.

The role of family is particularly important in Indonesian culture. For example, a study by the Boston Consulting Group (BCG) found that ‘Indonesian consumers are extremely family-oriented.’ Indulgences are based on functionality and benefits to the family with 63% reporting that they never spend on themselves unless the needs of the family are met. Thus, separation from the family network (as described above) is even more likely to create a gap and the need for a new community where young people can belong.

A senior university stakeholder expressed that “Students from rural areas are coming to university in an urban area and are... looking for a comfortable environment. Pluralist or Moderate student groups have failed to reach out to these types of students. Students from rural areas say that it’s the intolerant groups that have made them feel comfortable, offered comfort when they are sick, or ‘sends them off’ when they have to return to their village.” Furthermore, it was reported that if the educational environment is not improved, “radical and extremist groups will take over.”

In addition to being separated from their family, young Indonesians moving to urban areas also have to adjust to living in an increasingly non-homogenous environment for the first time. As a result, they might feel a sense of social isolation. One senior university stakeholder commented that in urban communities, there are more social divisions. “Social relationships with those who have a different cultural, social or religious background are decreasing. Those new to urban areas will then easily join a group with a homogenous identity and can then be driven to fanaticism.” It is possible that young Indonesians feel both separated from their families and isolated in their local communities, and are thus looking for social networks or communities that offer them a sense of

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47 (Boston Consulting Group, 2013)
48 School enrolment secondary and tertiary education, World Development Indicators, World Bank 2018
49 (Boston Consulting Group, 2013)
belonging. Extremist or violent extremist groups may be the most effective in making them feel welcomed.

10. Individual incentive: Self-improvement
Some of the extremist or violent extremist groups claim to be preaching a form of Islam which is apparently ‘purer’ or closer to the origins of Islam. Thus, in line with a desire to educate oneself and improve the family’s standing in society, another possible reason for joining such groups could be to better oneself in religious terms. While an exhaustive analysis of online religious content was beyond the scope of this research, a cursory analysis of content and social media accounts during interviews and focus group discussions suggests that “being a good Muslim” is an important theme. Topics related to reconciling religion with modern life can serve as an entry point into deeper discussions on the role of religion.

11. Individual incentive: Altruistic or heroic defense of Islam
The consistent coverage of the suffering of people in conflicts around the world is troubling for any audience. However, those who are depicted as sufferers in areas such as Syria, Myanmar, Palestine or the Philippines all share the Muslim faith. There is a significant amount of coverage including extremely violent images from war-zones available on TV and online which could provoke a feeling of threat, sympathy, outrage, fear or a desire for revenge among those who feel personally affected. For example, one survey found that 15% of the Indonesian population ‘feels threatened’ in terms of ‘feeling suspicious of or attacked by an unwelcome party’. Respondents agreed with a number of statements including, for example, ‘terrorism is an issue to attack Islam’, ‘armed attacks abroad are fabricated to vilify Islam’ or ‘Muslims are in danger’. Such news coverage of international attacks “against Islam” may trigger some audiences to respond with violence towards those accused of such attacks. Thus, any group that offers the chance to stand up for those who have been harmed or have faced injustice, or presents the chance to be heroic and defend oneself and others might seem attractive.

Current approaches to countering extremism, violent extremism and risk reduction
The Indonesian government, moderate religious groups and civil society networks have all sought to adapt and respond to a rising tide of extremism in Indonesia. This section highlights the approaches used by these different stakeholders and the root causes each approach seeks to tackle. A diagram summarizing each of these approaches is captured here:

1. Research and evidence
A number of civil society organizations such as the Wahid Foundation and Alvara Institute have conducted research to understand and inform approaches to counter extremism. This includes research to identify:

- Media sources and sources of religious information among young people
- Assessment on levels of tolerance and/or support for extremist/radical views or groups
- Summary of the ‘middle class’ and reasons why they may adopt extremist attitudes

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50 This ‘feeling threatened’ data point is based on five indicators (described in the survey report): “terrorism is an issue to attack Islam; armed attacks abroad are fabricated to vilify Islam; Western culture corrupts Islam; Muslims are in danger; the enemies of Islam are waging war against Islam.” (Wahid Foundation, 2017)
2. Tolerance & Peace Education and Training

A number of civil society organizations sought to supplement gaps in state education provision on tolerance of faith, gender, sexuality, ethnicity etc. Organizations and their respective events and programs include:

- The Youth Interfaith Peacemaker Community (YIPC)\(^{52}\) runs ‘Student Interfaith Peace Camps’ in cities across Indonesia annually. This includes facilitated discussions on sections where the Bible and Quran highlight ‘peace values’. Participants should be able to identify what these are by the end of the Camp and highlight the short and long-term changes they can make in their day-to-day life to ‘achieve peace’.

- Lembaga Kajian Lintas Kultural (LKLK)\(^{53}\) conducts three types of education-based events: the ‘Culture and Nationalism Camp’, the ‘Tolerance Tour’, and Dhirosah Islamiah. The Culture and Nationalism camp is a three-day camp for over 100 youth, aged 16 to 22, from different religions to learn about their differences. The Tolerance Tour takes 60 students, aged 16 to 22, on a visit to different religious buildings and leaders so that they have a deeper understanding of commonalities and differences. The Dhirosah Islamiah is a one-week workshop for 40 ‘moderate’ and ‘radical youth’ to develop a business idea together.

- PeaceGen\(^{54}\) runs ‘Peacesantren’ – a program specifically designed to learn the 12 Basic Peace Values packaged in activities of Pesantren Kilat\(^{55}\) in the month of Ramadan. Peace Gen also runs PeaceZone which is an introduction to the same values via games. It also conducts ‘Peacetival’ – a collaboration program between PeaceGen and Convey Indonesia that supports 18 campus organisations and NGOs with different research projects and campaigns in areas including Bandung, Makassar and Jakarta.

- The Wahid Foundation has also launched the READY program\(^{56}\) which trains young people to become ‘peace agents’ or citizens who can enable the sharing of ‘peace narratives’ with target groups.

**Moderate Muslim religious organizations** such as NU and Muhammadiyah include a range of civil society organizations that are active in promoting tolerance and countering extremism, including the Wahid Institute, Gusdurian, NU Online, and Maarif Institute. These organizations implement a range of activities that include promoting moderate Ulama and Kyai, working with youth in schools, campuses, and in communities, and creating networks between villages and cities to promote best practices. Many of these efforts are couched under broader narratives of tolerance rather than directly addressing Islamic doctrine.

While the approaches of civil society and religious organizations are positive, the fact that this inter-religious dialogue and education is set outside the state-sponsored education system undermines the importance of religious tolerance and inter-religious dialogue at the heart of the Indonesian

\(^{52}\) (Young Interfaith Peacemaker Community (YIPC), n.d.)
\(^{53}\) (Centre for Intercultural Study (LKLK), n.d.)
\(^{54}\) (Peace Generation, n.d.)
\(^{55}\) Pesantren Kilat is a short course for Islamic religious studies typically held by schools, universities and mosques for students during the month of Ramadhan.
\(^{56}\) (Wahid Foundation, n.d.) The READY program supports 50-60 youth in Sukabumi (mostly university students, 19-25 y/o) diverse backgrounds and religions. It provides 3-days training before the young people return to conduct campaigns in their own community.
society and Pancasila. Furthermore, these inter and intra-religious dialogues are almost exclusively conducted face-to-face, thus limiting their impact to a small proportion of the population.

3. Promoting positive alternative narratives online
A broad range of actors are engaged in promoting positive alternative narratives both online and through other communications channels to complement ‘tolerance and peace’ education and to plug the gaps in religious education highlighted above.

Government agencies seek to support positive or peaceful alternative narratives online by providing guidance and supporting the creation of a high volume of content by young people. For example, in 2015, the National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT) launched the Peace Media Center (PMD), an anti-terrorism institution with two websites and a portal to enable information sharing.\(^57\) BNPT also launched a network of ‘CyberSpace Ambassadors’ who were 18 to 23 year olds with skills in blogging, design and website development. These Ambassadors were trained to create and share memes and write ‘peaceful content’ that could be shared online via websites.\(^58\) In 2016 and 2017, BNPT (in coordination with 32 local ‘Coordinating Forums for Countering Terrorism’ in local areas) also hosted a film competition to support the generation of films among high school students. Some commentators have criticized this work of the Indonesian government because of the view that it leads to duplication of work led of NGOs and that the funding would be more effectively spent by civil society or religious groups who offer a better and trusted channel to audiences.

In addition to the government, civil society actors and moderate Muslim religious organizations are also sharing positive alternative narratives online. Most of these approaches seek to build on the existing offline face-to-face educational approaches highlighted above by sharing shorter versions of these materials via individual videos or illustrations online. While there have been concerted efforts to adapt and increase the reach of the social media content, representatives from both civil society and religious organizations openly acknowledge the challenges (especially with respect to funding) that they face in matching the sophistication of intolerant extremist groups in leveraging the online space to engage and mobilize members.

Media literacy training
Young people also struggle to identify reliable and safe sources of information online. Training in media literacy and accurate citizen journalism is being conducted by civil society organizations such as the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), the Wahid Foundation (via their READY program) and Gusdurian. A number of respondents within our research indicated that they had undertaken similar trainings which helped them evaluate the reliability of information that they consume. For example, one female university respondent from Bandung commented: “I often use three platforms, Facebook, IG and Twitter, to compare one issue. For example, when 212 became a trending topic, many news articles were being provocative or included hoax material. So, I clicked on another website – TEMPO - and found information about what was a hoax or not.”

However, the fact that such trainings are provided face-to-face and have only recently been provided significantly limits the proportion of the population that is media literate.

4. Fact-checking online

\(^{57}\) The Peace Media Center have one informative website: damailahindonesiaku.com; one educational website: jalandamai.org, and a portal: www.damaid.id

Given the proliferation of ‘hoax’ information online and gaps in media literacy among the public, civil society and some media actors are proactively highlighting information that needs verification. For example, Tirto.id provides a number of assurances that it is independently funded and positions itself as a ‘fact checker’ during times of heightened tension. During a Central Java Governor Election in 2018 it offered a live ‘fact checker’ service via Twitter.\(^{59}\) It also sought to highlight the extreme allegiances of those involved in the ‘212 rally’ to protest the Jakarta ex-governor’s alleged blasphemy, including Habib Rizieq from the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI). AJI, with a number of local chapters, is also encouraging greater factual accuracy in the media, particularly by training young people to create accurate content themselves. Such approaches help create an online space where young people can trust the information they read or robustly verify the source of information.

5. **Legislating and policing the online space**

The government has sought to tackle the use of hate speech and extremism in online spaces in a number of ways. This includes:

- New legal frameworks\(^ {60}\) to define hate speech and acceptable forms of communication
- Clarifying the definition of hate speech – which the **National Police has repeatedly sought to clarify.**\(^ {61}\)
- A new ‘Cyber-Security’ agency (BSSN) to assess online content that could be extremist.\(^ {62}\)
- Greater coordinated scrutiny of online communications during elections through Memorandums of Action between the election oversight bodies (Bawaslu, KPU) and the Ministry of Information, particularly for reporting extreme content on online platforms for removal.\(^ {63}\)
- Following a presidential decree (Perpu), in July 2017, political organizations that ‘threaten national unity’ were disbanded including the Islamist group, HTI.

Despite these efforts, a number of examples indicate that there is room for improvement in the government’s strategy of countering hate speech. For example, Demokrasi.id shared a post soon after the Surabaya bombings stating that: “Government invites ustadz, who are clearly intolerant, to their lecture gatherings or Friday prayers. I have seen a police officer smiling and taking pictures with HTI activists while they were waving (their) black flag!”\(^ {64}\) A monitoring report published by Wahid Foundation also found that the majority of violations against ‘freedom of religion and beliefs’ are by state actors, rather than citizens themselves.\(^ {65}\) Some civil society actors also suggested that the Police or Military have made false accusations regarding hate speech in the past and did not apologize or correct the damage such actions had caused. Respondents also felt that the government’s attempts to block hate-filled websites was not sufficient. The lack of satisfaction with government actions could be a result of inconsistency and ineffectiveness in implementation, particularly within and across the Indonesian police force and military. In turn, such gaps undermine

\(^{59}\) (Tirto.id, 2018)  
\(^{60}\) The Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP), the Law of Electronic Information and Transaction, the Law on Race and Ethnic Discrimination Eradication and the Law of Social Conflict Handling  
\(^{61}\) “Any actions – including defamation, provocation, incitement or circulating a hoax – conducted to provoke hatred toward individuals or groups because of their ethnicity, religion, race, gender, disability or sexual orientation”. (The Conversation) (Jakarta Post Editorial, 2017)  
\(^{62}\) (The Diplomat, 2018)  
\(^{63}\) (IFES) (Jakarta Globe)  
\(^{64}\) (Demokrasi.id, 2018)  
\(^{65}\) In 2015, 52% of 130 offences such as banning places of worship or hate speech were committed by the state such as by police, city government or regional government (The Wahid Institute, 2015)
efforts to tackle hate speech by legitimizing, or even worse, by fueling attacks on minority groups themselves. This softens and normalizes the intolerant narratives promoted by extremist groups and weakens the population’s capacity to identify what is acceptable and what is not.

6. Risk Reduction programs (RR)
From a legal perspective, the government has sought to implement a number of approaches to Reduce the Risk presented by those who have already demonstrated support for violent extremism. Their approach has included both changes to legislation and specific programs targeting former combatants.

The government has made revisions to Indonesia’s Anti-Terrorism law, originally implemented in 2002 and updated in May 2018. The Anti-Terrorism law defines the range of crimes that can be defined as terrorist acts and also provides law enforcement agencies and the judiciary with additional legal recourse.66 While it will provide broader powers to the police to detain suspects, it would also criminalize Indonesians that travel abroad to join terrorist groups. Furthermore, the new law would also criminalize undergoing military training at home or abroad, conducting terrorist acts, and joining or recruiting for a declared terrorist organization.67

Government agencies have also focused on rehabilitating and reintegrating those who have been formerly charged with terrorism-related crimes, particularly those returning after fighting on behalf of overseas terror groups. BNPT has:

- Facilitated face-to-face activities such as conducting reconciliation meetings between former terrorist inmates and survivors of terrorist attacks. For example, one event hosted 124 former terrorists and 51 terror survivors in February 2018.68
- Facilitated one-month long ‘de-radicalization programs’ at the Indonesian Peace and Security Center (IPSC) where former deportees are assisted in the “redefinition of their nationalism and religious views as well as provided assistance in their psychological care.69
- Formed partnerships with the Law and Human Rights Ministry and the Home Affairs Ministry in order to enhance its deradicalization program for current terrorist inmates and deportees, and building the capacity of others supporting inmates.70 71
- Cooperated with the Religious Affairs Ministry, with the support of around 45,000 ulama in providing assistance for deradicalization programs, with specific clusters of ulama focused on key areas prone to conflict.72

Another government agency, BAPAS, has also initiated ‘entrepreneurial development programs’, in collaboration with private companies, community individuals (e.g. Local Service Center for Micro Medium Business and Co-op, members of the House of Representatives Sukoharjo province etc.) and CSOs such as YPP and Search, in order to reintegrate individuals into structured social relationships.

Overall, a number of efforts have been launched to Counter Violent Extremism and Reduce the Risk of those returning from prison or conflict. However, such efforts appear to be focused on face-to-face and highly localized engagement rather than an online or a scalable communications-based effort.

66 (Simon Butt, 2009, #92679)
67 (Karlis Salna, 2018, #22390)
68 (Asumsi, 2018)
69 This program is supported jointly by the Home Affairs and the Foreign Affairs Ministries. (BNPT, 2017)
70 (Netral News, 2018)
71 (National Kompas, 2018)
72 (National SindoNews, 2018)
Vulnerable, ‘at-risk’ audiences
This section aims to suggest who may be more at-risk of being vulnerable to extremist or violent extremist narratives than others.

Exposed to extreme narratives
It is likely that the majority of the Indonesian population has been exposed to extreme narratives, given the pervasiveness of hate speech in both online and offline platforms including news media. It is therefore more important to evaluate who is more likely to lack resilience to such narratives.

At-risk of extremism
Those who are at-risk of extremism are very difficult to predict given the broad range of structural motivators, enabling factors and individual incentives that could draw someone to support extreme views. However, there are certain factors which may make someone more likely to be exposed to or share extreme attitudes. They are more likely to be individuals who are:

- Socially isolated e.g. those new to university, workplaces or communities and therefore looking for a new social network and sense of belonging.
- Young people aged 16 to 30. BNPT published that those most charged with ‘terrorist’ offences are typically aged between 20 and 30 years old.\(^7^3\)
- Living in certain areas or environments that are known to be targeted by extremist groups are also more likely to be vulnerable. Such environments could be universities, work-places or communities which have a history of nurturing violent extreme attitudes and behaviors and are likely to also maintain social networks that hold these attitudes in places.

Government agencies have already identified certain communities with histories of inter-religious or inter-ethnic conflict or histories of nurturing individuals who have gone on to demonstrate violent extremist attitudes. For example, experts have pointed to universities that host science majors as places particularly vulnerable to groups seeking to ‘impose their doctrine’.\(^7^4\) One expert pointed to groups such as the Dakwah Campus Institution (LDK) group, Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union (KAMMI) and the Kaffah Assembly who are very welcoming to new university members. As a result of this welcoming attitude, these groups (and new university members) are vulnerable to being targeted by external voices with specific agendas. Thus, it is possible to develop localized strategies based on historical networks and insight.

Certain attitudinal indicators include dissatisfaction with the status quo, opposition to Pancasila and support for the primacy of Islam above other religions in terms of the country’s leadership and governance. Or an individual’s feelings towards their own personal or family situation, such as a feeling of threat or fear about the future.

At-risk of violent extremism
It is difficult to identify what separates those with extremist views from those who have violent extremist views beyond the difference in attitude towards how they seek to achieve the outcomes of their ideology. It is hypothesized that those who are at-risk of violent extremism are likely to share all of the above traits but are also more likely those who are already, in some-way, known to the Indonesian security services. They are likely to already be deeply embedded within networks of

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\(^7^3\) National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT) quoted in (Jakarta Post, 2016)

\(^7^4\) For example: Sebelas Maret University (UNS), the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM), the University of Muhammadiyah, the University of Indonesia (UI), the Bogor Agricultural University (IPB), the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), the University of Diponegoro (UNDIP), and the Sepuluh Nopember Institute of Technology (ITS)
those who support certain terrorist organizations and engage in narratives and activities that has more firmly cemented their perspective.

Chapter 2: What are the popular social media channels and topics followed by young people that might be used by extremists or positive actors?

Introduction

Engaging young people online, whether as brands or groups promoting positive or negative content, requires utilizing the same social media platforms and channels. This chapter highlights:

- The popularity of different social media platforms among young people and their relative uses, irrespective of positive or negative narratives and behavior;
- Prominence of private spaces online in Indonesia; and
- Continuing importance of other communications channels.

Popular social media platforms

The top three social media platforms among young people are Instagram, Line and WhatsApp

Instagram is the preferred platform for high school and university respondents, both male and female. It’s used for staying up to date on trends, sharing status updates, and messaging with friends. Respondents described the platform as “inspiring”, “beautiful”, “simple” and “classy” and felt that it provides them with a means to “express ourselves”. Young people enjoy their ability to create content with live streaming videos, filtering photos and recording storyline features. They also enjoy following trends be it fashion, food or celebrity as well as more serious news and finding out information as well as online shopping. The platform appears to be equally popular among male and female respondents.

LINE is also extremely popular among young people. Whilst the number of features and usages are a key selling point, it appears to be particularly popular for messaging friends of a similar age. Young people find the platform to be “light-hearted” and enjoy being able to share “the funny stickers” and other entertaining content with one another. Respondents highlighted a number of online artists who create stickers or comic strips that can be shared via LINE that have amassed a significant online following. Respondents also highlighted that LINE allows for larger messaging groups, with as many as 300 participants. Young people also prefer LINE for staying on top of the news, reading articles shared in LINE Today, as well as school assignments through LINE Square.

LINE, as a messaging app, can be directly compared with WhatsApp which, whilst also frequently used by young people, was described as a more ‘serious’ platform. Respondents stated that WhatsApp was primarily for communicating with parents, teachers and study groups for school assignments. Whilst not at all as popular as LINE or WhatsApp, Telegram appears to be the platform of choice for sharing large files in secure environments and with very large groups. A number of young people commented on the ‘guarantee’ of confidentiality and the benefit of being able to have groups up to the size of 5,000 people compared to 250 on WhatsApp.

Facebook has fallen in popularity among young people (aged 16-24) in recent years for three key reasons. First, it’s now perceived as a platform for ‘older people’. One female, high school student from Solo commented: “I used to use Facebook in elementary school. Instagram is much more interesting [now].” Second, because of the amount of ‘noise’ in Facebook timelines because it’s difficult to control which friends’ posts appear on the timeline whereas, with Instagram, you only see the posts from people you proactively ‘follow’. One male university student from Solo commented:

75 Tahilalats is currently followed by over 2.7m people on Instagram (Tahilalats, 2018)
“On Facebook, every friend’s post will show up in your timeline, even if you don’t want to see it.” Third, because of the unreliability of a lot of the content shared on Facebook as a reason for no longer using it for news. One female university student from Jakarta commented: “I don’t get [news] updates from…Facebook because there is a lot of hoax [material] on there.” Whilst these three reasons mean Facebook has fallen in popularity, young people are likely to still have an account, it appears this is for specific purposes such as buying and selling products or staying in touch with old friends, but less for day-to-day consumption of content.

YouTube and Twitter are favored for particular types of content

YouTube is also frequently used by young people but notably for particular content i.e. if a user has decided to search for and watch a long-form video than what they would otherwise find on Instagram or for longform content on a particular topic of interest. Young people who described using YouTube could typically also name the specific channels they subscribed to, indicating a greater loyalty and capacity for recall than other channels mentioned. Similar to Instagram, users on YouTube are more likely to be exposed to the type of content and topics that they are directly seeking out. However, users are also more likely to engage with long content on YouTube, which can allow for more in-depth engagement on specific topics and areas of interest.

Twitter was only used by a small proportion of young people within our sample. However, among those that did use the app, it acted as a reliable source of up-to-date news information, particularly regarding local, national and international politics.

Social media platforms and private spaces

Youth respondents utilize different online spaces depending on the content or the subject matter being discussed. In this context, private environments (within the social media platform) i.e. Instagram and LINE direct messenger spaces and WhatsApp emerge as particularly popular.

A high proportion of young people commented that they tend to receive links and files via WhatsApp or another private messaging function, rather than via their public feeds. This is particularly the case when it comes to sensitive issues that touch on political, religious, social or cultural topics. For example, a female high school respondent from Jakarta commented: “I never like or share about political issue publicly. If I want to share something, I prefer to share it privately with a friend.” A male university respondent from Solo also commented: “Some of the contents on public platforms are often shared on private platforms. For example, the responses to Sukmawati poems on Facebook were shared, copied, forwarded and re-posted to WhatsApp groups. Comments on Zaadit on Twitter were also captured and shared to WhatsApp groups or direct messages with additional comments that would influence people to have a particular opinion or assumption.”

The sharing of ‘uncomfortable’ or sensitive content appears to be particularly prevalent in private family messaging groups. Given adults’ preference for WhatsApp over LINE, WhatsApp is typically the platform where these sorts of exchanges occur. A number of young people commented on how they received files from family members via a WhatsApp group that led them to feel uncomfortable or question the veracity of the content. One female, high school respondent in Surabaya commented that: “Hoax material is often shared through my family’s WhatsApp group, things such as fake news and about the Sukmawati poem. Another female student at university in Bandung

76 There was no particular evidence that YouTube was used for sharing content more so than any other channel.

77 Sukmawati Soekarnoputri, daughter of the first Indonesian president Soekarno, wrote a poem that a significant proportion of Muslims took offence to. Zaadit Taqwa is a student at the University of Indonesia who raised a ‘yellow card’ at President Jokowi after he gave a speech on his campus.
commented: “Most of the news that gets shared via private platforms like WhatsApp and LINE is hoax material. Some information does not get verified by the people who share it. This is especially the case for the information shared by older people, like family members.”

The volume and regularity by which content is shared via private platforms raises a number of challenges for those seeking to tackle negative narratives. First, the privacy of messaging apps renders it difficult to assess the scale of controversial content that may be being shared. Second, it pushes the burden of flagging content that may be false or dangerous to members of the chat groups themselves, who may feel uncomfortable directly addressing their concerns to others, particularly among such significantly sized groups. Third, while users could opt to leave groups to avoid being exposed to sensitive or controversial content, such a move could be seen as direct disagreement or judgement of those sharing the content and thus create unwanted conflict between peers or family members. Overall, while some users may simply choose to ignore content of this nature, building the capacity to critically analyze content can help ensure greater resilience.

Popular topics

Young people are drawn to the content which concerns a topic they are already interested in or is shared by someone they trust or favor already. In 2018, it is clear that young people (in leadership positions at university or high school) are particularly interested in educational content, particularly about English language or humanitarian issues, and any content relating to news and politics, religion and music.

Education and humanitarian issues appears to be of particular interest to young people in leadership positions at high schools and universities in Indonesia, both in terms of online consumption and content they would be prepared to create and share. Therefore, any content designed to relate to either of these two topics is likely to be of interest to young people. Furthermore, if content is shared by someone with an international perspective, ideally an Indonesian person discussing other cultures or social issues (at home and abroad), then this is particularly appealing. For example, a female university student from Jakarta highlighted that she enjoyed following “vloggers” who live in other countries because “they are always asking people in the country about many other issues”. Some civil society organizations that share positive and inspirational content such as Scouts was also mentioned. One Scouts video was described as showing how, “they welcome people to join without boundaries. Even if you are a disabled person scouts will welcome you to have a role in the organization.” Overall, inspirational and educational content that provides new or positive perspectives are appealing.

News and politics was clearly of interest to young people, whether international, national or local. Some of the Ministers mentioned, such as Ministers for Education or Environment, were highlighted in relation to the topics they tended to discuss online e.g. about education reform, that was of interest to the respondents.

Young people do show a strong awareness and appetite for political news and information. For example, politicians such as President Jokowi, Jakarta Governor Anies Baswedan, Minister of Maritime, Susi Pudjiastuti, and Minister for the Environment, Siti Nurbaya, as well as even more progressive figures such as Tsamara Amany (from the PSI Party) and Agus Yudhoyono. Young people commented that such figures appear more “open” and “responsive” than previous members of the cabinet.

However, such topics were frequently perceived to be ‘sensitive’ or cause discomfort among respondents. Political debates, in particular, are said to quickly become “upsetting”. They also
commented on how the politicians they follow “frequently receive posts from angry ‘netizens’”. There appears to be a fine but an important line between political and authentic. For example, the son of Jokowi, KaeSang is admired for being authentic. Whereas Ridwan Kamil was admired for his authenticity, but he has now become ‘too political’. For example, a female university student from Jakarta commented: “I follow @ridwankamil because he has a good approach to the young generation. He is an architect of a mosque in Bandung... and a creative person. But I’m now filtering his posts since he became a candidate for the Governor election of West Java Province and is on the road [promoting].”

Exceptions to this climate and tone included instances of humor or engagement with politicians in more authentic or ‘real’ moments. Some influencers like the Cameo Project succeed in sharing political messages in a simple and enjoyable manner. A female school student from Jakarta commented: “Cameo Project encourages a good spirit among the young generation. [They share] videos on why we should love our country, to respect Bhineka Tunggal Ika, and Pancasila. They’re funny and provide a serious topic in interesting way which is understandable by all ages.” Therefore, fresh and playful or light-hearted discussions on the topic of news and politics appear to appeal.

The same can be said for religious content. Young female students also appeared to enjoy reading light-hearted religious content, particularly inspirational or motivational quotes or short messages that are based on their faith, in addition to other positive sources. For example, a female school student from Solo commented why she enjoys following Melodi Dalam Puisi because: “she shares videos on Islam, with random wise words in the background. It’s like a one minute preach that could open people’s hearts.”

Music was also prominently mentioned by a number of both male and female students who highlighted their pleasure in watching music videos, particularly DJs or bands online. Sports was also highlighted by male respondents, particularly motor-biking and hiking.

Female students appeared to be particularly interested in fiction and poetry, both following related individuals as well as creating their own content and sharing it online. A female high school student from Surabaya writes stories and uploads them onto Wattpad apps: “I get my ideas from reading comics. I’ve created a female tomboy figure and written long stories about her.” A female high school student from Jakarta writes short stories and poems on her blog in a Weebly app. “I write using English and Indonesian on my blog.” Before Tumblr was blocked, she used to get inspiration from quotes she found there.

Similar to the educational or international content discussed earlier, female students also appeared to particularly enjoy following vocal female entrepreneurs or mothers online. A number of different voices were named in the context of women who discuss their families, approaches to parenting and relationships, as well as their business/work. Female audiences appeared to regard such women as role models and enjoy the intimacy and inspiration they take from their lives. They also commented on how they enjoyed watching videos about fashion, particularly hijab fashion, and also cooking and recipes for the home.

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78 Female university student from Jakarta regarding followers of Jokowi and Anies Baswedan
79 KaeSang is President Jokowi’s son
80 The Cameo Project are a production company that seeks to create often humorous content that has a social impact. Their YouTube channel has over 361,000 followers. (Cameo Project, 2018)
81 This means ‘Unity in Diversity’ – it is an Indonesian motto inscribed on Indonesia’s national symbol, Garuda Pancasila.
Social media - one of many communications channels

Stakeholders have recognized that a communications campaign must factor in and connect with more than one communications channel e.g. TV, direct email, events etc., not just social media. Whilst social media is clearly popular among young people, a number of studies have highlighted that audiences are not exclusively using social media as a ‘media’ form, especially when it comes to religious information. One study found that whilst 67% of high school students in Jakarta and Bandung use the internet more than any other source in order to get general ‘information’, 29% continue to use TV and 0.6% use newspapers or magazines. Thus, other communications channels such as TV, radio, print and offline educational relationships remain an important component of communications-based interventions.

Furthermore, a number of civil society respondents highlighted that certain outcomes depend on offline and longer-form relationship building over time. For example, when tackling the ‘individual incentive’ of ‘belonging to a social network’, relationships must exist offline, in the physical world to have an impact. For example, one stakeholder commented that: “It is important to open up space for different groups to interact outside of social media. We tend to make enemies of things we don’t know or understand such as communism, LGBT so to reduce this, we have to try to get to know each other.” Offline relationships also appear to remain important in a religious context. For example, with respect to religious information, respondents indicated that traditional offline information sources remain important, with 48% of respondents indicating that ‘religious teachers’ were their primary source for information compared to 12% who use ‘information media’. Thus, it’s important for any communications-based intervention to also consider how it links with offline relationships and how these are developed after the ‘message’ has been received online.

While there is an important distinction between different online information sources, such as social media content posted by individuals versus content from news sites, organizations and blogs, these lines can be easily blurred in the eyes of readers. Social media is frequently described as the primary source for news for many users, but it is not always clear which headline has come from what news source, thereby making a quick evaluation of whether a certain ‘source’ is reliable or not more challenging. This is compounded by the ease with which peers can appear or claim expertise through creating their own articles and videos.

Overall, social media is clearly a powerful influence among young people. However, the role of other media environments, be they online or offline, remain very important. This is especially the case for engaging fully with religious figures, educators and peers, particularly in their role of enabling audiences to critically evaluate content they have heard elsewhere.

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82 (Setara Institute, 2015)
83 The detail of what is included in ‘information media’ is unfortunately not detailed in the research report. (Setara Institute, 2015)
Chapter 3: Who is seeking to influence young people online, what mechanisms and narratives are they using, and with what success?

Introduction

Simply defining content in binary terms as ‘positive’ or ‘negative’ oversimplifies the nuance and variety of messages that are employed to engage and influence audiences, particularly young people. Furthermore, the complex spectrum of messages, particularly those from intolerant actors, are often presented through benign topics that may not be overtly controversial or risky, or they may not be shared by individuals that are directly associated with intolerant or extremist ideologies.

This chapter brings the different objectives, narratives, formats and tactics into one section and evaluates them from the perspective of the target audience.

This chapter therefore seeks to:
- Identify the actors that are contributing different narratives online and their suspected networks, both positive and extreme, and what makes them attractive
- Identify the narratives that are shared online that aim to influence young people and their relative effectiveness, both positive and extreme
- Identify the formats, modalities and tactics used by actors online to convey their narratives, including those that seek to glamorize extremism

Actors seeking to influence young people online and their relative success

The online environment is a highly competitive space in which a variety of messengers are competing for the attention of young people. Throughout our research, young people tended to highlight messengers that discussed a topic they were interested in e.g. politics, religion, poetry etc. and had a significant online ‘following’.  

Influencers with ‘Positive’ Messages

A comparative analysis of the full list of all the influencers highlighted throughout the research suggests that young people associated ‘influence’ with individuals or entities that had 100,000 followers or more on at least one social platform e.g. YouTube, Instagram. This may suggest that a larger following is associated with greater authority or credibility. Research participants also highlighted a number of influencers with over 1 million followers on at least one social media platform including:

- Political leaders such as President Jokowi, Ridwan Kamil and Ganjar Pranowo, and notably President Jokowi’s son who uses humor commentary on Indonesian political life
- Individual Muslim influencers: Felix Siauw, Hanan Attaki, Mustofa and “Gus Mus” Bisri

Popular media platforms such as Tempo, Tirto.id and the Indonesian website of Vice, as well as religious organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah were also highlighted by young people. However, the lower reach of these organizations compared to individual influencers suggests that youth may be more attracted to content from individuals whose approach is more personality-based and versatile compared to the more formal style employed by organizations. For example,

84 Please note that it was the individuals themselves that were highlighted and it was not possible to identify which particular account respondents followed in association with that individual e.g. if it was their personal or official Ministry account.
85 Governor of Central Java
86 An NU cleric who releases poetry and has written articles on religious tolerance and pluralism in Indonesia
individuals like Alissa Wahid and ‘Gus Mus’ Bisri garner significantly more followers than NU or Muhammadiyah.

Civil society organizations such as PeaceGen, the Young Interfaith Peacemaker Community and Islami.co, seeking to share positive narratives, have a significantly smaller comparative following, i.e. below 1,000. As a result, the organic reach of their content is likely to be much more limited.

Some individuals or entities with similarly moderate views and positive narratives have managed to build a sizeable following, between 100,000 and 500,000. Individuals and entities such as Cameo Project, Melody Dalam Puisi, Gita Savitri Devi, Fiersa Besari, Korea Roemit and Syarif Zapata were all mentioned by young people and share narratives that touch on topics of interest in a light-hearted and accessible way.

Overall, it is important for those sharing positive narratives to consider how they can build their reach and thus their influence, in the social media environment. This is particularly true for efforts to reach audiences that may disagree with the message of these positive narratives in the first place.

**Key narratives (tolerant, extreme and violent extreme)**

The research has identified seven meta-narratives (and their sub-narratives) that are used by key messengers to achieve certain long-term objectives in the tolerance, extremism and violent extremism landscape online. These have been detailed below including references to who is using them and how successful this narrative appears to be with the target audience.

**Positive or Moderate Narratives**

**Narrative 1: Islam is equal to and should coexist with other religions in Indonesia**

This narrative appears to be shared by: moderate religious influencers such as NU and Muhammadiyah; civil society actors seeking to encourage inter-religious dialogue e.g. PeaceGen, Islami.co, Young Interfaith Peacemaker Community, Search, Sabang Merauke, Wahid Foundation, C-Save; and a number of prominent political figures e.g. Jokowi, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI). Those sharing this narrative typically aim for audience members to: feel pride for the diversity of faiths in Indonesia; believe in freedom of religion and consider other religions as equal; be tolerant and believe that women should have equal citizenship rights; and to encourage audiences to think, feel and act in a tolerant way.

**1.1 Indonesia means Pancasila and that means we should show ‘unity in our diversity’**

This sub-narrative is clearly linked to the meta-narrative but can be interpreted as more political given that this narrative is directly tied to the state ideology. While Pancasila is nearly universally accepted among Indonesians, the narrative can pose challenges in practice:

- The message is often associated with certain political actors or the state and thus does not necessarily reflect the language or lived experiences of young people
- The utilization of the Presidential Decree, now law, that allows for the disbanding and banning of groups deemed to be anti-Pancasila could further alienate supporters of hardline groups such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)

**1.2 Islam means peace and therefore we should co-exist peacefully**

This sub-narrative is the one used online more by moderate religious influencers such as Islami.co and civil society organizations such as PeaceGen. It’s also used offline, be it more focused amongst a much smaller audience, by organizations such as Sabang Merauke, YIPC and C-Save, who all seek to

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87 An account that shares poetry on a variety of topics
encourage peace, tolerance and interfaith dialogue and do so with a range of activities and materials.

Examples of this narrative include the ‘Learn Peace’ campaign by Peace Gen which seeks to help young people ‘Learn Peace’ in 7 Pages (pictured left). Islami.co also shares online messages such as: “Violence and cruelty are not from Islam. Islam with Allah as God who is Most Loving and Merciful and come for the grace for all. Violence and cruelty are born from ignorance and are instigated with malice slander.”

✓ Young people clearly highlighted an appetite for religious information, frequently stating that they follow religious leaders and sermons via Instagram or YouTube.

× It appears to tackle ‘violent’ behaviors rather than extremist or intolerant attitudes or behaviors and so this may fail to translate to the majority of people who equally disagree with violence, but may still support intolerant attitudes.

× There appears to be low recall of this narrative among the target audience

Narrative 2: Open your mind and appreciate other cultures

This narrative is typically shared by online influencers on YouTube and Instagram, particularly young Indonesians who have spent significant time abroad such as Gita Devi Savitri, Syarif Zapatah, or Korea Reomit. Indirectly, this narrative is also shared by those seeking to share educational material on language as well as international music and sports stars. The organizers behind the ‘Asian Games 2018’ have also drawn on the Pancasila motto of ‘Unity in Diversity’ and yet extended it away from politics and into the sports sphere.

This narrative aims to broadly elicit feelings of positivity; pride in the diversity of Indonesia; belief in freedom of religion; viewing other religions as equal, embracing tolerance and behaving in a tolerant way. It is very much connected to narrative 1, yet it approaches these outcomes from a different angle by expanding the scope beyond simply religion. For example, in a blog observing her gratitude to her mother and different signs around toilets, Gita Savitri highlights the benefits of being considerate to others: “One of the things [my mother] taught me first was to try and understand or be good to others and then I can expect the same benefits back. This is the case whether it’s other people or the environment. Apparently, that lesson really got into my head because it encouraged me to meet more and more people.”

Another strong example of this is the branding and messaging surrounding the Asian Games that will be hosted in Jakarta and Palembang in 2018 which seeks to represent ‘Unity in Diversity’ through the mascot and associated content. The International Games Broadcast Services (IGBS) has even invited students to create video content highlighting this key theme creatively but have emphasized that diversity can represent not just people but also ‘environment, food... and music.”

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88 (Peace Gen, 2018)
89 (Islami.co, 2018)
90 https://www.instagram.com/gitasav: 609K followers; YT: 390K subscribers; Blog: A Cup of Tea
91 (Devi, Posts about the Toilet blog, 2018)
92 (Asian Games 2018, 2018)
interpretation of Pancasila highlights how it can be extended outside of the political environment and into a space that feels less controversial and sensitive.

✓ Used by messengers who are already popular among young people
✓ Touches on topics of interest to young people e.g. social issues and culture
✓ Achieves the same goals as the positive alternative narratives without explicitly referring to politics and religion
✓ Could be incorporated into a range of youth-led approaches such as creative writing, educational assignments, music, or even sport.

Narrative 3: There is a lot of misinformation on the internet which should be corrected

This narrative is shared by civil society actors focusing on media e.g. the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), Mafindo, and some media sources such as Tirto.id who intend to educate audiences on media literacy.

Young people appear to be highly aware of ‘hoax material’ online and highlighted how sad and angry it made them when they could identify it. However, it’s unclear to what extent awareness of hoaxes is translating into increased critical thinking to distinguish between true and false information. The common usage of the term ‘hoax’ also leads to a confluence between content that may be false and content they simply may disagree with.

✓ High recall and understanding among young people that this is a problem online
× There is a risk that this message can be misapplied and inadvertently undermine all online communications, including positive narratives
× The terminology can be subjective especially when applied to news, concepts, or ideas that are up to interpretation

Narrative 4: Extremism, violence and terrorism are signs of weakness – survivors are the heroes

This narrative is employed by BNPT, some civil society actors with access to former terrorists such as AIDA, and some political leaders. Such narratives typically aim for audiences to: feel sympathy towards others who are under threat and for audiences to act on their tolerant or intolerant beliefs in a non-violent way. For example, there are a number of pieces of content shared by different organizations and individuals that present stories of the survivors or victims of terrorism.

✓ Humanizes the issue and enables audiences to understand how violent extremism can affect people’s lives.
✓ Undermines the message that terrorists are martyrs and instead shows the damage they do, offering the victims as the actual heroes.
× The focus on terrorist events leads to a lack of content that highlights the impact of non-violent, but still extremist and intolerant acts on others

Conservative or Intolerant Narratives

Narrative 5 – You can be a better Muslim

This narrative appears to be particularly prominent among the more conservative religious influencers who appear to encourage audiences to: feel positive and hopeful about the future; believe women should not have the same citizenship rights/ are unequal to men; believe LBGTI people should not have the same citizenship rights/ be equal to heterosexual people; and encourage others to support intolerant beliefs including participating in activities that act on or promote those beliefs, but without violence.
A number of young people have highlighted some of the challenges they experience when exposed to content or situations that they perceive to challenge their faith. For example, a female university student in Bandung struggled with seeing a woman from her university not wearing a hijab: “UIN Bandung is an Islamic university where people think that the female student should wear a hijab. But, a female student was pictured online without a hijab and people were upset about it.”

Young people also described their discomfort with messages about feminism as well as different sexualities. For example, one male student in Solo commented: “I am uncomfortable with the opinions shared about feminism...[it’s] about women who want to be equal with men but in a selfish way.” A recent study by the Wahid Foundation has also found that a significant proportion of Muslim women have concerns about how support for the LGBTI community might threaten their more traditional concept of family life. Thus, there is a clear need for young people to understand how they can ‘be a good Muslim’ through experiences where they are exposed to those who are different to themselves and perceive this to be a challenge or even a threat to their faith.93

This narrative could be used to offer guidance and examples of how to show tolerance and positive behaviors. For example, a number of influencers have referred to the ‘hijrah’ which has significant religious connotations and has become a central theme to those promoting greater religiosity. While the literal definition of hijrah refers to the Prophet Muhammad’s migration from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD, the term also refers to emigration to more pious practices or withdrawing from sin.94

Moderate Muslims such as Islami.co have shared posts on Instagram such as: the ‘hijrah’ should mean you are “fearless to differences...respectful to women...consider non-Muslims as one nation’s brothers and sisters.”95 Some more conservative influencers such as Hanan Attaki are closely connected to the “Pemuda Hijrah” movement, which runs a popular series of youth-focused social media channels on YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, and through their own mobile app. Linked to the Al Lathif mosque in in Bandung, the group is dedicated to proselytizing Islam to urban Indonesian youth through videos, sermons, and images that are tailored for online audiences. The more conservative messages appear to be much more compelling given that Attaki has 2.9 million followers on Instagram – and another 1.6 million followers on Pemuda Hijrah’s Instagram – compared to Islami.co, which has 10.3k.

Thus, the narrative:

✓ Connects with audience’s aspirations and desire to improve themselves
✓ Connects with challenges audiences might be facing if exposed to new a cosmopolitan environment where they’re exposed to different expressions of faith, gender and sexuality
× Is dominated by conservative or extremist messengers and thus risks leading audiences towards intolerant attitudes

**Narrative 6: Islam is under attack and must be defended**

This narrative is supported by a number of sub-narratives which, in turn, build the strength of this overarching narrative. These sub-narratives are very confusingly shared by a broad range of actors including: humanitarian networks, politicians, news outlets, religious actors, religious influencers and even extremist groups. Those using this narrative likely seek for audiences to respond in any one of the following ways: feel threatened, nervous about the future and/or feel sympathy towards others who are under threat; believe in freedom of religion but not believe that all religions are equal in

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93 Wahid Foundation KII, 2018
94 Saefullah, 2017.
95 (Islami.co, 2018)
Indonesia; support those in need; encourage others to support your intolerant beliefs including participating in events; encourage others to support your intolerant beliefs but in a non-violent/indirect way, or even act on your beliefs in a violent way.

Young people highlighted their awareness and exposure to content of this nature and described it in two very different ways. Some view the narrative and content with sadness, anger or discomfort as they find seeing violent content online uncomfortable and upsetting. A number of young people indicated that they try and avoid such content or filter it out. For example, one female school student from Surabaya commented: “I see online videos of the war between Palestine and Israel. The pictures of the victims really hurt me. I don’t know why people share that kind of content.” Another female university student from Bandung also commented: “I find it difficult when I see on Instagram Explore that there are photos and videos of wounded children with blood in Syria.”

Others see the narrative and content from a humanitarian perspective, in terms of highlighting their concern and support for those experiencing suffering and wanting to do something to help. For example, one male university student from Bandung commented: “[I am sad when I see] information about Palestinian men murdered in the Israel/Palestine conflict. I’m sad and angry that the conflict never seems to end, when there is news about children becoming victims and that the international community doesn’t seem to help the situation or find solution.” A female university student from Surabaya commented: “I feel sad when I see information about the victims of the Syrian war. I can’t stand it when I see the children as victims of war. I hear about it from the ACT for Humanity Facebook account and have been collecting donations for them.”

These two divergent and emotive reactions offer a foundation for the sub-narratives summarized below:

6.1 Muslims are suffering at the expense of other religions and need more support – sympathize with and support Muslims in Palestine and Syria

The sympathetic narrative, towards Muslims in Syria, Palestinians and the Rohingya, is one that is shared by a broad range of actors, including moderate Muslims and non-Muslims, even if they disagree with the broader meta-narrative it’s often used to support i.e. that Islam itself is under attack. For example, a broad range of groups supported the latest ‘Aksi’ rally on May 11 where it mobilized Indonesians, and ‘especially Indonesian Muslims,’ to go beyond simply showing solidarity for Palestinians. All supporters of the rally shared the same branding for the event (depicted above).

However, this rally was not just one of sympathy and solidarity with Palestinians following the move of the US Embassy to Jerusalem but also sought to provoke actions such as: ‘undoing ‘recognition of the existence of the State of Israel’ and ‘strengthening ukhuwah Islamiyah’ in order to achieve the goal of the Baitul Maqdis liberation struggle and the return of Al-Aqsa Mosque to the hearts of Muslims.”

Muhammadiyah released a number of videos via its Instagram account with a range of hashtags that linked the defense of Palestinian Muslims and the defense of Muslims in Indonesia.

This language highlights the intention to associate the need to defend Palestinian Muslims with the need to defend Islam overall. The action brought together moderates like Muhammadiyah with

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96 Islamic brotherhood i.e. a friendship based on Islamic foundations and shared values
97 (Indo Pos, 2018)
98 #Aksi115, #AlQudsRedLine, #Free Al-Aqsa Mosque #Unified Islam #Islam and #Indonesia
harder-line figures, such as Bachtiar Nasir\textsuperscript{99} and Arrahmah\textsuperscript{100} who called for Jihad in association with #BebaskanBaitulMaqdi. The humanitarian aspect of these types of crises can lead to occasions where moderate and intolerant groups share the same meta-narrative, which may inadvertently legitimize sub-narratives that are intolerant or call for violence.

\textbf{6.2 People who fight for Muslims in Palestine and Syria are heroes}

Expert stakeholders also highlighted how international attacks or wars involving Muslim victims also provide content that supports radical organizations such as Al Hayat Media. This content is used for the glamorization of those that are seen to defend Muslims by attacking others and dying as martyrs. For example, one expert commentator highlighted:

“There are videos like the one picturing a man, presented as a hero, on top of a tank and attacking the land in Syria with a Nasheed song over the top and used with glorifying messages. There’s another example of a young man with a backpack and the caption, ‘left the tough country’, and ‘welcome to Islamic State’. That kind of picture is very attractive, and the setting was pretty cool.”

The symbolism and visuals of this content depict a sense of adventure, action, and heroism that are often appealing to young people.

\textbf{6.3 Attacks on non-Muslims in Indonesia are done in order to vilify Muslims}

This narrative is also used domestically in Indonesia, particularly when there is a negative seemingly inter or intra-religious event in Indonesia, to promote negative sentiment towards other groups. The response to the May 2018 attacks in Surabaya highlights how attacks on minority groups and the subsequent discussion can be perceived as an attack on Muslims.

\textsuperscript{99} Bachtiar Nasir is the General Secretary of Majelis Intelektual dan Ulama Muda Indonesia (MIUMI, Indonesia Youth and Intellectual Clerics Council)

\textsuperscript{100} Posts about the rewards given to anyone who conducts Jihad with quotes from Quranic scripture and heroizes the face of ‘Islamic fighters’ (Arrahmah, 2018)
Arrahmah.com shared the following image on its Instagram feed with the question: “Islam is a peaceful religion, as shown by the 411, 212, 115 rallies which were well-organized, clean and peaceful; so, who is the terrorist?” This provocative post led to comments such as: “Terrorists are actually Atheists who wanted to destroy interreligious relations.” Similarly, influencers such as Felix Siauw made comments online such as: “If this kind of action has been made to defame Muslims or any other community, then may Allah give back [bad reward] to them” that received over 77,000 Likes over a period of 6 days. Even followers of Gita Savitri Devi (a moderate influencer), in her ‘Beropini’ (Comment) video about the Surabaya bombing titled #PrayForUs, were highlighting their concerns. For example: “It seems so strange to me that people (Indonesians) that have emphasized those incidents as the fault of Muslims in general, are the same ones who say Israel should not be blamed for what the Zionists have done.”

Therefore, it’s clear that this narrative can reinforce the view that Muslims should feel threatened and under attack, but also encourages suspicion of ‘other’ groups, leaving the audience free to interpret who this group(s) might be. Overall, this narrative is very compelling because of:

- High recall and understanding that there is a view that Muslims are under attack around the world
- A high volume and diversity of content that underpins the message and offers a negative, ‘violent’ story and a positive, ‘humanitarian’ story
- A highly emotive narrative that encourages a response from a broad range of actors

Narrative 7 – Muslims should democratically support Islam playing a stronger role in the leadership and governance of Indonesia, i.e. Muslim-only leaders and Shari’a law.

This narrative unites the political and religious strands of Indonesia by encouraging participation in the democratic process, initiating a level of dissatisfaction with how Indonesia, be it nationally, regionally or locally, is led and governed, and then providing a solution which infers the primacy of the majority religion. This particular narrative seeks to make the audience feel threatened and nervous about the future. They believe in freedom of religion but do not believe that all religions are equal in Indonesia. They also participate in democratic elections, encourage others to support their intolerant beliefs, and motivate or ask people to participate in events and act on those beliefs, but not in a violent way.

Within the context of these different elections, a number of conservative influencers have been able to gain supporters for their belief that Indonesia should be governed only by Muslims and under a Caliphate.

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101 The “411, 212, 115 rallies” are rallies named after the date they were held e.g. The ‘411 rally’ was held on the 4th November. The rallies were mobilized each for multiple purposes and hosted speakers highlighting different motivations and needs. However, the common theme of those attending was the defense of Islam or Muslims under attack.
102 Poster shared by Arrahmah on IG following Surabaya bombings. (Arrahmah, 2018)
103 Felix Siauw commenting on Instagram after the Surabaya bombings: (Siauw, Felix Siauw Instagram, 2018)
104 A follower’s comment to a video of Gita Savitri Devi speaking about the Surabaya bombings: (Devi, Pray For Us, 2018)
• Felix Siauw has made statements supporting that the government system be changed to a Caliphate. He said “Muslims have to show a message to Muslims around the world that they are still protected under the Caliphate and it will always be that way. Thus, we need the return of that protection that is the leadership of Muslims under the Caliphate.”

• Abu Muhammad Jibriel has used forums and networks such as the ‘Alumni of the 212 rally’ to encourage Indonesian Muslims to call for ‘Islamic law’, since “we are the majority in Indonesia… if the Sharia of Islam is enforced, then Indonesia will be a prosperous and safe country.” He also suggested that with Islamic law, there would be “no tyranny like (in the case of) Buni Yani” and it would be possible to “avoid injustices like (in the case of) Ustadz Alfian Tanjung.”

• Salim A Fillah has also called for #gantiPresident2019, “for the sake of our affection for a leader and his people, for the future of a better nation, from now on we should propose a #ChangePresident2019.” One comment on this post has interpreted the messenger’s goal accurately: “if Islam is not political, then it is the unjust who will rule and oppress us. Like the Rohingyas.”

These examples highlight how the political landscape, as well as attacks on Muslims abroad (as discussed above), is used by influencers to advocate for Muslim-only leadership and laws in Indonesia which, in turn, risks legitimizing intolerant attitudes and behaviors. These narratives were also readily recalled by young people throughout our research. For example, one male university student from Jakarta commented: “Prabowo told people that Indonesia will fall apart in 2030. It created a new movement on #gantipresident2019… Felix Siauw is saying that the government system in Indonesia should be changed into Khilafah.”

✓ High recall and understanding that Muslims could have political primacy
✓ A high volume and diversity of content that underpins the argument for this in a legitimate ‘democratic’ context

Narrative 8 - Muslims must fight in order to establish the Caliphate

This narrative is one used by those who have clearly transgressed into ‘extreme’, ‘radical’ or ‘terrorist’ territory and are seeking to influence audiences to commit violence in order to achieve their objectives.

Those sharing this narrative include: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), Laskar Umat Islam Surakarta (LUIS), Muslim Cyber Army, Front Pembela Islam (FPI), Aliansi Pergerakan Islam (API), Organization of the “Anti-Shia National Alliance” (ANAS), Islamic State (ISIS), Jamaah Islamiyah (JI),

The narrative seeks to make audiences feel threatened and nervous about the future, feel sympathy towards those who are under threat, feel pride in Indonesia, not believe in freedom of religion or the equal citizenship rights of women, people with different sexualities within Indonesia, and act on one’s beliefs in a violent way.

The more extreme narrative (8) was rarely mentioned by young people during the study, who when discussing which narratives made them uncomfortable preferred, instead, to highlight the narratives 6 and 7). Both narratives 6 and 7 seek for audiences to feel the same way as narrative 8 i.e. threatened as Muslims, nervous about the future and sympathetic towards those who are under

105 (Felix Siauw Instagram, 2018)
106 (Panjimas.com, 2017)
threat abroad. However, a key distinction is how those feelings are then translated into attitudes and behaviors in communication. The more extreme narrative (8) seeks to transfer feelings of threat and fear beyond just the belief in the primacy of Islam for political leadership and governance, but it states that Muslims cannot live in a country with freedom of religion because ‘Indonesia’ and ‘Indonesian Muslims’ are not safe in that context. Hence, freedom of religion must be rejected, peaceful political processes must be rejected, and violence promoted instead. Whilst this narrative is clearly separate and distinct, it builds on the same initial steps and ‘feelings’ enabled by ‘safer’ narratives like 6 and 7.

This narrative is broadly reiterated around the world by global terrorist organizations such as ISIS. However, it is translated into the Indonesian context by local groups with the argument that ‘the state’ cannot protect the safety of Indonesian Muslims, whereas belief in Islam can provide that guarantee. The word ‘jihad’ in particular is commonly used to reiterate this message. In the Indonesian context, this argument infers that ‘Pancasila’ is not the ‘final’ constitution for Indonesia because it cannot ensure the safety of Indonesian Muslims. Thus, it seeks to open up the debate about Pancasila and seeks to undermine its legitimacy. Elections as well as ‘terrorist attacks’ appear to be key moments when this narrative is reiterated. The ‘Ahok case’ was also a key trigger of momentum for this narrative, as highlighted by a number of key influencers during our study:

“From what I saw, most of it began after the Ahok case. There were many posts that said, for example, "non-Muslims are infidels". In Instagram there are so many posts, including videos that try to brainwash us into believing that diversity must not exist.”

A recent study by the Wahid Foundation found that the majority of Indonesians (82%) continue to support Pancasila. However, there is the potential for further events to trigger increased concern about national safety and thus support for this narrative and associated extremist groups.

Mechanisms used by influential voices

Influencers seeking to gain support for their more conservative or hardline ideals use a number of tactics to make their messages more compelling.

Multi-layered narratives communicated by multiple and diverse stakeholders at scale

As highlighted above, there are a number of shared narratives that have gained momentum with target audiences. These messages have gained traction because they are shared by a broad spectrum of ‘messengers’, across a wide variety of channels and in a wide variety of formats. The key here is that different audiences can engage with the same message in a way that suits them and be exposed to it frequently in all the different channels they’re using. Over time, such a message becomes familiar and normalized in their day-to-day lives and thus easier to access, understand and even share with others.

The fact that not all messages are consistent, ensures that audiences do not need to agree with all of the messages but can still broadly agree with the ‘meta-narrative’ that one or two messages underpin. The same applies for the messengers – if they agree and like one or two messengers associated with the meta-narratives, it’s still acceptable for them to not agree with all of them. Thus, the meta-narrative is greater than the sum of its parts.

Sharing events and platforms

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107 ‘Pancasila and the Constitution are the best for our life as a nation in Indonesia’, (Wahid Foundation)
108 See Appendix 1 for an illustrative diagram expanding this point with content examples.
A number of key events or ‘moments’ have been used to draw together certain messengers and narratives enabling the strength of the ‘meta-narrative’. For example, a diverse array of stakeholders were involved and supported rallies ‘212’ and ‘114’ and therefore are assumed to support some of the ‘sub-narratives’ associated with it e.g. sympathy for Palestinians or even a desire for a change in President. The fact that extreme actors have also associated themselves with this event makes it much harder for audiences, and in turn analysts, to draw the line between what they do and don’t support. The 212 rally and the 114 rally have been supported by both the FPI and Muhammadiyah, for example.

A number of media channels also host influencers with divergent views, i.e. some influencers who are highly tolerant and others who could be considered extreme. For example, YufidTV\(^{109}\) shares videos from a broad array of ulama, some of whom have connections with more extreme channels such as Rodja TV. It also has a wide network of national and local stations and ‘sub-brands’ who each provide different messages, some tolerant and some extreme.\(^{110}\) Again, this sharing of platforms with diverse messages, and the master brand and sub-branding, and/or national and local split of diverse messages makes it difficult for audiences to identify and recognize what is and isn’t extremist or who is and isn’t extreme (and when).

Some messengers who share intolerant and/or extremist narratives can be extremely difficult to separate or ‘classify’ particularly when they are frequently pictured together and sharing one another’s content online. Attaki and Felix Siauw are a key example of this. Attaki, ostensibly a conservative with tolerant attitudes, frequently shares platforms with individuals such as Felix Siauw, AaGym and Abu Jibril (father of Muhammad Jibril, director of Arrahmah.com). Attaki himself has sought to both associate himself with more extreme religious influencers such as Felix Siauw and separate himself from associated narratives. For example, the two influencers have been frequently pictured together, at events and in association with support for attacks on Muslims abroad.\(^{111}\) And yet, he also seeks to clarify their differences with picture captions such as: “We are different "mazhab", but in one heart. … We may be different, but one thing is certain, we both love this country and want the best for it …”\(^{112}\)

Audiences themselves have also sought to ‘verify’ Attaki’s narratives. He was frequently highlighted by young audiences as someone they follow, both on YouTube and Instagram, and yet also clarified that they seek to “verify the information against his account”, if they see it shared elsewhere, like in a WhatsApp group.\(^{113}\) This highlights that young people are concerned about whether his narratives are ‘safe’ or ‘valid’ or not because of how else they can be interpreted.

\(^{109}\) Yufid TV YouTube channel: [Yufid TV, 2018]


\(^{111}\) Hanan Attaki frequently posts links inviting donations for organizations supporting Muslims abroad.

\(^{112}\) 12 May Hanan Attaki Instagram post

\(^{113}\) Female university student, Surabaya
Felix Siauw is also difficult to ‘classify’ as he both proactively states that he disagrees with the use of violence and is yet also associated with HTI who promotes the enforcement of Sharia law. While HTI does not overtly support violent actions, they have been closely associated with terrorist organizations and had their charter revoked by the Indonesian government because of its incompatibility with government regulations on extremism and national ideology. Overall, it can be very difficult for audiences to identify who is ‘safe’ and acceptable to follow and who isn’t.

Using shared scriptures, symbols and history

A number of the messages provided by extremists use quotations from the Quran, Islamic symbols or even Indonesian or Nusantara history to explain their points. By doing this, audiences are able to see something that is familiar and trustworthy connected with something that is new and thus make the ‘new’ message more easily acceptable. A broad range of actors sharing ‘negative messages’ appear to do this with very few voices seeking to contradict them, using the same source material, because to do so would cause conflict over something that is shared and precious.

Providing individual incentives and visible role models

Negative messengers offer a variety of ‘pull factors’ or components to their messengers which make ‘joining them’ feel attractive. Firstly, they offer role models such as influencers or stories of martyrs that they can idolize and seek to emulate. Secondly, they offer rules and structure for how someone should and should not live, providing clarity amidst the complexity and noise of modern day life. In turn, they glamorize those who do choose this lifestyle, present them as strong and brave individuals, and make their lives sound like they’re living in a fantasy. Thirdly, they offer friendship and support to those that agree with them which in and of itself can be a very attractive prospect to someone who may be struggling to feel like they belong somewhere or to something. This is paired with the suggestion that joining them will also more likely give them access to heaven in the after-life. Finally, they offer a clear push factor by attacking and victimizing those that do not agree with them, suggesting that they are weak and neglectful of their morals.

Using and sharing fake information

When exploring the content young people were exposed to, students consistently highlighted their frustration and discomfort with the ‘hoax material’ they find online, via social media. When describing the content that makes them ‘uncomfortable’ online or what makes them ‘sad’ or ‘angry’, the most frequent theme was “hoax material”. It’s clear that this is a tactic used by those seeking to shift opinion or behavior online. For example:

“I find [material] about ideology that includes hoax material [uncomfortable]. For example, from the PKI about communists or hoax news about politics in general.” Male university respondent, Bandung

“It’s possible for hoax material to cause chaos on religious issues. For example, there was a [TV] broadcast from a doctor who gave 10 reasons why Islam is the most correct religion. The broadcast included a picture of the doctor wearing improper clothes.” Female university respondent, Jakarta

“There is a lot of hoax material spread through Instagram. It’s a bit hard to identify the owner of the account because some people don’t use their real name or they share something from an unknown source.” Male university respondent, Surabaya

The presence of ‘hoax material’ makes it difficult for young people to identify what they can trust as authoritative and acceptable and what has been created with the specific intention of reinforcing a specific narrative. It also increases the chance of young people consuming negative and false information about positive messengers or narratives. It’s also worth noting that this challenge is not...
limited to just young people. For example, some commented that they needed to help others, like their parents, identify what is real and what isn’t.

“When I check content on my parent’s mobile phone, I often find a lot of hoax material on their WhatsApp group. It’s one of the platforms where negative stories spread more than Line.” Male, school respondent, Jakarta

Thus, the use of hoax information appears to be an effective tool used by negative influencers to denigrate and undermine those seeking to share positive or counter-alternatives.

Conclusions

This section highlights the conclusions of our research in line with the key research questions raised by Search for Common Ground.

Who is at-risk of being recruited into extremist groups in Indonesia in 2018?

What are the root causes of extremism and violent extremism in Indonesia?

The key stakeholders engaged in tackling extremism and violent extremism in Indonesia appear to lack consensus or research and evidence of the root causes of the problem, which is at the core of the challenge faced by those designing counter extremism interventions. This research has identified a number of possible interlocking causes. These would ideally be tested and validated before the ‘Theory of Change’ for tackling them is finalized and appropriate activities such as a social media campaign and key messages are agreed upon. The hypothesized causes are summarized below:

- Structural factors such as: low investment in public education, digital literacy and lack of diversity in religious education; pervasive corruption and inconsistent application of laws across the country; frustrations due to inequality; urbanization leading to strains or gaps in support networks in urban areas.
- Enabling factors such as: increased access to information and internet, providing greater platforms for extreme actors to engage audiences online; the availability of external and internal actors promoting religious doctrines that challenge Indonesian pluralism.
- Individual incentives such as: the important sense of identity and purpose that can come from belonging to a group; the desire for fulfillment or self-worth.

It is not possible to draw out any single cause with greater priority over another, as it is the confluence of these motivating factors and incentives that contributes to an environment on which extremist groups are able to capitalize. Furthermore, it is not possible to be conclusive on what are the priority causes for individuals to develop extreme or violent extreme attitudes or behaviors at this stage. A significant quantitative study would be needed in order to conclude this.

What are the state policies, laws or practices that may push people towards extremism?

There are no direct state policies that push people towards extremism, however there are problems or weaknesses in the governance system and policies that, when unaddressed or underinvested, can manifest as structural factors that can contribute towards extremism. This includes:

- Under-investment in state education including teacher training such that critical thinking skills and digital literacy remain very low, particularly when compared to other countries.
- Current legislation surrounding religious education that prevents Indonesian young people from understanding the importance of multiculturalism to Indonesian society and inter and intra-faith relationships, rather than obligating them to do so.
● Consistent application and interpretation of what constitutes hate speech and extremist acts, which applies at the national and various sub-national levels, as well as across the range of government and law enforcement actors tasked with tackling these challenges.

● The current governance structure or lack of partnership between BNPT and universities which appears to be disabling government actors from the effective prevention of the involvement of extremist groups on university campuses.

What is the government’s approach to preventing and countering extremism?

There are a wide range of Indonesian government actors that provide a broad approach to preventing and countering violent extremism that includes downstream efforts that deal directly with extremist groups and individuals to more upstream efforts aimed at prevention and promoting resilience to extremism ideologies. It includes:

● The National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT), tasked with coordinating efforts to countering terrorism, has primarily focused on engaging former terrorist combatants and those charged with terrorist offences through de-radicalization and reintegration programs. Part of BNPT’s remit also includes coordinating across government agencies to ensure a cohesive approach to addressing violent extremism and ensuring a cohesive strategy to reintegrating former violent extremists into society.

● BNPT has replicated its de-radicalization and reintegration approach by screening similar content or ‘peace messages’ designed for violent extremists to those who have not yet indicated any allegiance to violent ideologies or groups. It is also seeking to replicate the approaches of civil society by supporting young people to create positive alternative communications content for online consumption.

The government does not currently appear to be implementing a cohesive strategy to tackle the issues that government institutions are best placed to address, such as structural motivators to extremism related to education, consistency and clarity on defining what constitutes hate speech or extremist acts or setting clear policies to address vulnerability to extremism on university campuses.

Who are the young people currently exposed to extreme content on social media?

All young people are likely to be exposed to extremist content on social media because it is pervasive across all social media platforms, including private messaging platforms with family and friends. Furthermore, it is also extremely likely that young people are exposed to extremist messaging offline too, be it at school, university, in the workplace or even throughout public or political debates and spaces.

However, there are attributes which may make someone more vulnerable to persuasion by extremist groups including:

● Someone who is recently separated from their support networks and therefore seeking a community to ‘belong’ to. This is more likely among those who have recently joined a new environment e.g. at universities or new housing developments in urban areas

● Young people, roughly aged between 16 to 30

● Communities that have already been identified by BNPT as having embedded networks of extremists

What are the needs of at-risk youth to divert them from VE to positive actions

The needs of ‘at-risk’ youth are highly connected to the ‘root causes’, or specifically the individual incentives, discussed in chapter 1. Young people seek belonging through social and peer groups that support them and provide a shared identity, they need to feel like they have the opportunity to
improve themselves and sustain themselves, and they need to have the power to support others or be afforded some sort of re-affirming status in society.

**What are the popular social media channels and topics followed by young people that might be used by extremists or positive actors?**

**What are the social media networks or platforms that promote or reject extremism or violent extremism or promote positive alternatives in Indonesia?**

Instagram, LINE and WhatsApp are the most popular social media platforms overall among young people, particularly individual-led profiles or channels, or personal networks. These services seem to be utilized more frequently day-to-day, whereas Facebook, YouTube and Twitter are used for more specific proactive purposes.

Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and Twitter are the social media platforms being used by different influencers or entities seeking to reject violent extremist narratives. However, the most dominant platforms being used by those who are seeking to directly counter extremist narratives are often limited to ‘owned channels’ such as a particular organization’s or individual’s website or page on Facebook or Instagram, which are then reliant on developing a significant following or audience to ensure reach and engagement.

Extremists, as well as commercial brands and media organizations, instead invest time in disseminating content into other channels (websites and social media profiles) where audiences are already spending time or discussing topics of interest to them. They invite other individuals or organizations with significant followings to share or repost their content in order to increase their reach and engage new audiences, while ensuring exposure to their particular ideology.

Extremists, particularly violent extremist networks, also depend on the use of private or encrypted channels, such as WhatsApp, LINE or Telegram, to engage in further recruitment that rely on more personalized one-on-one interaction. Stakeholders seeking to promote ideologies that counter or reject violent extremism need to consider similarly holistic approaches to engaging audiences.

**Who is seeking to influence young people online, what mechanisms and narratives are they using, and with what success?**

**Who are the ‘messengers’ of positive alternative narratives on social media platforms?**

The messengers of positive alternative narratives on social media platforms can be divided into two groups:

- **Group 1:** those who share content that is designed to engage an audience on a topic they’re already interested in, which indirectly offers an individual incentive to reject extremism because it builds perspectives and skills that enable resilience to extremist views. For example: influencers such as Gita Savitri Devi and Korea Reomit.
- **Group 2:** those who share content that is designed to encourage the audience member to reject extremism but lacks an overriding connection to something the audience member is already interested in or appeals to those that don’t already agree with them. For example: civil society organizations, religious organizations and government bodies whose narratives are explicitly about ‘peace’ and rejecting violent extremism.

**Who are the social media influencers (organizations/ individuals) who could be engaged to share positive narratives?**
The research identified the individuals who are currently popular among young people who also overlap with positive narrative messages, i.e. ‘group 2’ above. However, the research also identified that there are significant gaps and poor recall of influencers who share positive narratives in a memorable and appealing way for young people. Thus, new influencer relationships are likely to be needed to help share positive narratives with a more sizeable audience and to help inform the design of content in a way that will be more appealing.

**What are the prevailing positive (peace) narratives?**

It would be inaccurate to describe current positive narratives as prevalent, as recall of these narratives was very low among the target audience. However, the following positive narratives do exist:

- Those explicitly about peace, and therefore designed to counter violent extremist narratives largely center on the message that: ‘extremism, violence and terrorism is a sign of weakness and goes against Islam’.
- Those promoting tolerance which express that: ‘Islam is equal to and should/does co-exist with other religions in Indonesia.’ This is connected to any narrative which focuses on the importance or benefit of Pancasila to Indonesia and demonstrates how Islam equates to or translates to peaceful co-existence with people from other cultures and religions.
- Those connected to the equality of Islam and Indonesia’s appreciation of ‘unity in our diversity’ e.g. through the message of ‘opening your mind and appreciating other cultures’. This narrative has an indirect connection to the positive alternative to extremism but provides a more open platform to connect to other topics of interest to young audiences, such as appreciating other fashion, music, or food.

All of the positive narratives are either quite abstract in nature - and hence difficult to translate into concrete, replicable behaviors in day to day life - or they’re more targeted at a much smaller group of violent extremists. These narratives are much less objectively compelling than the extremist discourses.

**What are the prevailing violent extremist discourses that are popular among young people in Indonesian society?**

The prevailing extremist discourses are highly connected to at least one of the root causes of extremism discussed in chapter 1, be it by publicizing the problem and/or publicizing a solution which includes a clear individual incentive.

- The ‘you can be a better Muslim’ narrative offers self-improvement as an individual incentive and is not in and of itself an ‘extremist narrative’. However, its connection with certain conditions or symbols can make it more extreme. For example, a rejection of signs of Western culture, specific forms of dress, or the explicit rejection or attack on those who do not adhere to these behaviors or attitudes.
- The ‘Islam is under attack and must be defended’ narrative is easily validated by news stories about overseas conflicts in Palestine and Syria, for which a broad range of actors share sympathy and concern. However, it also offers an individual incentive of a feeling of altruism because by supporting the narrative and the overall group, you are supporting those who are suffering. It also provides an excuse for attacking others e.g. via hate speech because it is ‘in defense’ of a group under attack or in need of assistance.
The ‘political status quo in Indonesia is not working – change is needed’ narrative in and of itself is a commonly shared narrative and of huge interest to a broad array of groups. However, it is the use of this narrative paired with the solution of Muslim-only leadership or the enforcement of Sharia law that can lead to more extremist narratives.

As shown above, all three narratives are legitimized by a wide array of actors and grounded in experiences that reflect geopolitical and local conditions. However, it’s their use in combination with certain arguments, conditions, or solutions which then add the potency of extremism. The fact that the narratives are highly connected to everyday events also ensures that they can be constantly adapted and refreshed to suit an ever-evolving narrative.

The narrative which is much more explicitly extreme is one which argues for a ‘fight’ to establish a Caliphate in order to improve society as a whole, defend against those who threaten Islam, and as a solution to that fact that ‘the status quo is not working.’

What are the approaches that are attractive to youth (as an audience)?

Young people are attracted to content or people that:

- Exist on a platform or page they’re already visiting or using, or is shared within a social or peer network that they trust or are familiar with
- Connects with an interest they already have such as fashion, creative writing, music, or religion, politics or humanitarian issues
- Is presented in an accessible, often more light-hearted manner, shorter duration content that may address complex topics in a friendly or easily digestible manner
- Is visually appealing or ‘beautiful’ i.e. images or video that use high resolution, shot with a clear understanding of perspective and proportion that is tailored to specific social media platforms, and may draw on current trends of what is perceived to be attractive or ‘cool’
- Shared by someone who is similar to them e.g. a similar age, faith, background (university alumni), or gender
- Appears authentic, honest and fresh - i.e. not overtly ‘designed’, positive, repetitive
- Offers a genuine, human relationship

What are the capacity needs of those who could promote positive narratives?

What are the needs of current positive narrative influencers?

While the capacity gaps of those already producing positive narrative content online vary greatly, there are commonalities in terms of needs including:

- Greater clarity and consistency on the definitions of ‘the problem’ and the root causes they seek to tackle, including the causes they seek to tackle specifically with communication activities
- Greater clarity on the objectives and design of each of their communication campaigns e.g. long-term and short-term objectives and target audiences
- Greater clarity and definitions of the measures of success for campaigns
- Greater understanding of the opportunities and needs for a multi-platform strategy
- Capacity and resources to match the volume and diversity of content by those promoting extremist ideologies
- Greater capacity to develop compelling messages and creative formats that achieve the desired objective and are appealing to young people.
What are the needs of those not currently sharing positive narratives?

Among those organizations and influencers not already actively sharing positive narratives, there were shared factors that led to a reluctance to engage in positive narratives, such as:

- Concerns regarding potential online backlash
- Concerns regarding a perceived lack of credibility with a particular issue
- Concerns regarding their lacking detailed knowledge on a particular issue
- Not believing that they have a role to play in relation to addressing a specific topic.

Influencers creating positive online narratives often cited personal experiences or exposure to the work of a particular organization as their impetus to engage on a particular issue. Hence, while certain organizations may not be ideally placed to shift the attitudes of those that do not already agree with their perspective or ideology, their credibility by virtue of their legacy and continued efforts in addressing a particular issue can be a significant asset in engaging others.

Furthermore, those online influencers that are already engaging in positive narratives can play an important role in addressing the reluctance of those that may be engaging in these topics for the first time.

What are the needs of Indonesian youth to engage and/or create positive narratives?

The interviews with young Indonesians revealed that while they are keenly aware of issues related to hate speech and extremism, they are also often reluctant to either engage in online discussions on these topics, whether on social media or private messaging platforms. This leads to a small proportion of young people that engage in an online discourse that addresses topics related to hate speech or report or flag content that can be categorized as hate speech. Hence, an even smaller proportion actively engages in creating their own positive narrative content online.

While exposing and getting young people to engage with positive narrative content may be desirable, it is worth noting that different behaviors and perceived privacy of particular online platforms should play an important role in determining the objectives of a youth-focused intervention. For example, positive modeling of critical thinking and media literacy may ultimately be more effective than promoting young Indonesians to actively comment and share positive narrative content, which could put them at greater risk of backlash from peers or even targeting by those with nefarious intent. That said, for those youth that are keen to engage with or create positive narrative content, providing training to build their capacity can be an effective approach to promoting more youth-focused perspectives.

Recommendations

This section highlights the research-based recommendations for Search for Common Ground and others seeking to use social media to tackle extreme narratives online.

1. **Recommendations based on Chapter 1 and refining the objective and target audience of interventions**

The social media campaign approach is one of many activities planned to tackle extremism and violent extremism in the country, yet there’s a lack in the foundational infrastructure and capacity typically required before activities are defined and launched. The following recommendations
highlight what is needed and would typically be in place to inform the approach to the design of a social media campaign:

- **Clarify and affirm the definition of ‘the problem’ with government actors and civil society partners**: It is vital for actors to agree on a set of definitions of extremism and violent extremism in the Indonesian context. This will enable anyone designing strategies for tackling the problem to be clear on what part is most effective for them to focus on. It will also enable messengers to share clear and consistent messages with audiences so that they can identify what is and is not ‘extremist’ or ‘violent extremism’ themselves, rather than relying on formal structures to do so. It also enables those seeking to conduct research or measure ‘the problem’ or the impact of its strategy to use consistent approaches and provide data that is useful to all parties.

- **Clarify and affirm the definition of what and who represents ‘the problem’ in terms of attitudes and behaviors with government actors and civil society partners**: It is also vital for those seeking to tackle ‘the problem’ to clearly identify how that problem translates into certain ideas, expressions and behaviors that are familiar to audiences so that they know what extremism ‘looks like’. This definition can then be shared consistently by all actors in order to repeatedly empower communities to spot, tackle, or reject those ideas in any environment.

- **Agree on what success looks like**: developing clear targeted and measurable outcomes are key. Distinctions between goals aimed at fostering positive narratives versus promoting critical thinking or countering or debunking extremist narratives must be clear. Organizations should be careful not to conflate these objectives and also develop ‘user journeys’ or a theory of change that indicates how a specific audience or beneficiary will change their behavior, attitudes, or knowledge as a consequence of a series of interventions over time.

- **Agree how you measure what success looks like and establish a baseline**: establishing a baseline of existing audience or beneficiary knowledge, attitudes or behaviors, will help provide measurable outcomes. Practitioners should avoid relying on anecdotal evidence (e.g. a second-hand report of a radical preacher) to inform the design of interventions and instead seek to collect insights, whether through primary or secondary sources, to assess key indicators such as vulnerability, exposure to VE content, resilience, etc.

- **Agree and rank priorities for tackling extremism and violent extremism**: by agreeing on a shared set of priorities, civil society organizations can ensure funds are channeled in the most important areas. This is particularly needed in the case of supporting the strengths and approach of moderate religious organizations who are uniquely placed as credible messengers for narratives that debunk or tackle the use of religious scripture to justify extremist or violent extremist attitudes or behaviors.

- **Ensure campaigns have sufficient funding that they can be sustained over more than 3-month bursts**: campaigns and key messages must be sustained over longer than three-month periods to ensure audiences have the chance of being exposed to them repeatedly. It is only when messages become familiar that they are more easily absorbed and considered. Thus, Search must ensure key messages are repeated continuously and consistently throughout the twenty-four month period and that other partners are provided with the capacity to continue these messages or access the campaign assets after the program closes. This does not necessarily mean having to constantly create new content, but rather ensuring that there is regular optimization of a content dissemination strategy with a particular focus on utilizing influencers or, if possible, advertising budget.
Recommendations for the target audience of the 12-month social media campaign period includes those who are likely targets for extremist groups as well as those who may be unknowingly acting as intermediaries or messengers for extremists:

- **Target young people aged 16 to 30 who are more vulnerable to the influence of extremist groups.** These youth include:
  - Those new to an environment such as boarding school, university, workplace or community.
  - Members of faith-based groups at universities with majors in hard sciences
  - Live in locations with a history of inter-ethnic or religious violence e.g. Poso, Maluku or Papua.
  - Show support or participation for more hardline groups, whether online or offline.

- **Conduct quantitative research to narrow down the target audience by interests which can be mapped against digital behavior.** However, better targeting could be achieved by conducting a national quantitative survey with a robust sample that uses cluster analysis to identify patterns in extremist attitudes and other demographic, attitudinal and behavioral attributes.

- **Target messages to parents, older relatives, teachers, youth** who interact with younger audiences on a regular basis including via private digital messaging channels. These audiences can help monitor online channels and ensure that, as young people’s reference groups, they are role modelling and positively reaffirming good behaviors – as well as taking extra care over their own digital literacy.

2. **Recommendations based on Findings Chapter 2 for identifying the best social media channels or platforms, topics and influencers for promoting positive narratives**

- **Shift from single platform to a multi-platform strategy for content dissemination to maximize exposure for your messages.** Ensure content is shared with the appropriate tone and objective for each platform:
  - Use Facebook as a content hub or as an opportunity to engage parents, not as ‘the single platform’ for content or to engage younger audiences
  - Use Instagram or LINE as a channel to engage younger audiences with lighter touch storytelling, highlighting attendance at events or with community members and short, up-to-date visual content (e.g. photos or less than 1 minute videos or positive quotes)
  - Use YouTube for short and long form video content and share it via your other channels
  - Use Twitter for more serious news or political commentary
  - Use Instagram DMs, WhatsApp and LINE to maintain direct relationships and share content with this ‘select’ network to forge stronger ties and a shared identity between group members

- **Identify which messengers are best placed to reach and engage audiences and develop partnerships:** Given the number of civil society organizations who appear to be struggling with resources and capacity to effectively power a multitude of strategies to tackle extremism, consider discussing and identifying opportunities to work together. Working in partnerships will also aid and ensure consistent application of terminology.

- **Identify and engage individuals who might share ad hoc content with an online network of young people.** Influencers would ideally:
  - Share content on Instagram, LINE, Twitter or YouTube
  - Be aged 18 to 40
  - Have over 1,000 followers or subscribers
  - Be Indonesian and moderate (religiously and politically)
  - Be new to the field of tackling or countering ‘extremism’ and ‘violent extremism’ and therefore have access to a ‘new’ online network of young people
For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics of interest and a positive social media narrative</th>
<th>Example influencers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion and ‘being a good Muslim’</td>
<td>Duo Harbatah sing light-hearted songs on how to ‘be a good Muslim’ during Ramadan. Their YouTube channel has over 700k subscribers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion and friendship</td>
<td>Melodi Dalam Puisi who has 2 million followers on Instagram and was frequently mentioned for her inspirational quotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion and humanitarian causes</td>
<td>Moderate religious organizations could provide opportunities for members to contribute to their local community and strengthen their relationship with individual young people networks this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion and ‘attitudes to the hijab’</td>
<td>Gita Savitri Devi, also mentioned by respondents, has discussed how new friends from different backgrounds respond to her hijab.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport and friendship</td>
<td>Indonesian team sports-stars could be invited to speak on the benefits of diversity and team spirit in sports to appeal to young Indonesians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and media literacy</td>
<td>AJI journalists could create interactive educational materials that could enable young people to quiz themselves and identify their ‘level of education and media literacy’, achieve a level of accreditation or certificate for completing some online modules etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative writing and empathy</td>
<td>Indonesian fiction authors or poets</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Engage young people who are already actively engaged in an interest that is likely to involve a wider community or network that could be inter-religious** (e.g. sport, Scouts, volunteering) who could:
  - Use their own ‘authentic’ voices and points of view to re-create and reposition positive narratives in their own relationships and networks
  - Help ensure that new people in local communities are included and develop a shared sense of identity and belonging
  - Help role model and engage in positive online behavior across multiple networks
  - Identify, flag and debunk hoax or hate speech material to their peers across multiple networks
- **Consider how the messenger can build trust and relationships with the audience over time**
  - Support civil society organizations to identify spokespeople who appear more relatable and familiar to a youth audience - e.g. younger age, from the local area etc.
  - Consider the role of moderation on social media platforms
  - Consider enabling Q&A functionality
  - Consider the tone of ad hoc speech e.g. warm, friendly and accessible rather than formal and hierarchical
  - Consider the role of direct messages on social media and routes to building a one-on-one relationships over time - i.e. converting or ‘recruiting individuals’ to support the message, share it or even attend an event or training.
3. **Recommendations based on Findings Chapter 3 for improving positive narratives and mechanisms for engaging young people via social media**

- **Tackle extremism (not just violent extremism) and promote ‘friendship’, ‘self-improvement’, ‘respect’, ‘Indonesian culture’, rather than more abstract messages such as ‘peace’**
  - Connect with an interest or need they already have, such as fashion, creative writing, music, or religion, politics or humanitarian issues and introduce themes related to tolerance, respect, and pluralism in indirect ways and through personal experiences
  - Test content concepts and messages with youth (offline or online) to identify and validate the themes related to respect and culture that reflect their own social experiences
  - Feature stories that reflect the experience of other young people, particularly those that they can relate with when it comes to themes around religion, adolescence, and shared identity. These stories can ‘show’ rather than ‘tell’ the message.
  - Place importance on the tone and style of the message. Encourage individuals to present messages in ways that are authentic to their persona or style as this will come across more credibly to their existing audiences.

- **Consider adding content that is lighter touch, shorter format and could be shared on platforms such as LINE or WhatsApp**
  - Is presented in an accessible or light-hearted manner, often short duration content that may address complex topics in a friendly or easily digestible manner
  - Gets the message across quickly and explicitly
  - Uses humor to overcome taboos that may be associated with more serious topics and themes
  - Experiment with images or gifs, as these are more easily shareable on Messenger apps

- **Invest in achieving high quality execution of the format**
  - Consider how to make a video or image more visually appealing and, critically, tailoring this content to specific online platforms (e.g. matching the visual aesthetic of Instagram, optimizing video length and style for YouTube)
  - Experiment with different design or visual elements to find what resonates with specific audiences e.g. images that depict urban environments, music, and other symbols from subcultures such as skating, outdoor adventure, etc.
  - Seek consistency in format, particularly with video, as this can encourage audiences to return to your channel regularly. For example, a regular interview, vlog, news or documentary series can help establish credibility and also ensure return visitors to your channel or page

4. **Recommendations for building the capacity of those who promote positive narratives**

- **Provide more cross-learning opportunities** among a diverse range of those already promoting positive narratives online. These should focus on specific topics related to the above gaps

- **Provide opportunities to develop more varied approaches to addressing extremist narratives**, including experimentation with different formats, messages, and dissemination strategies.

- **Promote more opportunities for credible organizations** to be exposed to or partner with online influencers, including those that may not have previously produced or engaged in positive narratives

- **Provide opportunities for those new to issues related to extremism to get to know issues first-hand** either through exposure to the work of organizations or opportunities to find their own personal connection to a particular issue
● **Provide mentoring or feedback opportunities** from organizations or influencers with greater expertise or experience in developing positive narratives

● **Ensure that online influencers** are aware of available resources to help them deal with potential backlash

5. **Recommendations for Search that focus on government-led action**

These are recommendations for government-focused campaigns that could either run outside of the 24-month social media campaign period or be one component of the messaging campaign which would tackle the root causes of extremism. Social media campaigns and civil society-led education provision cannot be the only source of education on religious tolerance and digital and media literacy. Such education should be integrated into the education system by the government if long term change is to be achieved. In order to achieve this outcome, Search could consider:

- **A campaign advocating for government-led changes to religious education in Indonesia.** Reports referenced throughout this research demonstrates a number of structural motivators for extremism based on vulnerabilities in the religious education system which implicitly exclude an understanding of more than one religion. By building support and advocating for religious tolerance as a key component of the public-school system (rather than seeking to replicate it via messaging outside of the system), Search would be directing energy towards what appears to be a key root cause of extremism.

- **A campaign advocating for media and digital literacy training in schools.** Another clear problem in Indonesian society is a lack of resilience to misinformation or hate speech and reluctance to engage in positive online behavior. Such vulnerabilities can also be tackled with media and digital literacy training but such training needs to be offered at scale, i.e. via the public-school system, rather than through ad hoc campaigns. Thus, Search and other civil society organizations should advocate for the government to integrate such education into the public curriculum or engage partners that can scale these types of interventions.

- **A campaign advocating for greater scrutiny and regulation of university and secondary school spaces.** Given that universities and schools appear to be environments where extremism is able to flourish, it is clear that greater scrutiny is needed to identify and tackle the root causes of these issues within each university and school environment. Search and other civil society organizations should advocate for such attention from the government in order to assess the policy or structural changes that could prevent schools from acting as enabling environments for intolerant groups or ideologies.

- **Be the guardians of consistency in application of the definition of extremism and violent extremism and associated behaviors:** Once definitions are agreed upon, it is also vital to ensure that the definitions are applied fairly and consistently, including punitive measures taken in the context of extremist and violent extremist acts. Any misapplication or ambiguity about its application e.g. someone being accused of being extremist despite the action falling outside of the definition, without recourse from other civil society actors, immediately undermines the definition of the term and thus any activities that seek to tackle it. Search could consider providing a press release for media organizations highlighting the concern whenever it would appear the terms have been misused.
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Appendix 1: Supplementary analysis

Online influencers highlighted by young people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Influencer</th>
<th>Volume of followers/subscribers per platform (000). No visible presence (TBC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Instagram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>President Jokowi</td>
<td>10300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>Ridwan Kamil</td>
<td>8300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>Ganjar Pranowo</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion &amp; pol.</td>
<td>Felix Siauw</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educ. / social</td>
<td>Arief Muhammad</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>Agus Yudhoyono</td>
<td>2600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion &amp; pol.</td>
<td>Hanan Attaki</td>
<td>2900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>YufidTV</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educ. / social</td>
<td>Melody Dalam Puisi</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>KaeSang</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Mustofa “Gus Mus” Bisri</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion &amp; pol.</td>
<td>Tempo</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>Goenawan Mohamad</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music/ social</td>
<td>Fiersa Besari</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>Jonru Gintang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educ. / social</td>
<td>Gita Savitri Devi</td>
<td>722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>NU</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Rodja TV</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variety</td>
<td>Cameo Project</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educ. / social</td>
<td>Emha Ainun Nadjib (‘Cak Nun’)</td>
<td>216 (quotes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion &amp; pol.</td>
<td>Tirto</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion &amp; pol.</td>
<td>Vice</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

114 Arief Muhammad is young YouTube vlogger, blogger and author
115 Editor of Tempo as well as a poet and essayist
116 Folk musician
117 Jonru is a public supporter of Prabowo, an opposition candidate to be Indonesia’s new President and has been prosecuted for hate speech on social media
118 Indonesian poet
119 An Indonesian film, Sang Pencerah, telling the story of Ahmad Dahlan and how he came to found the Islamic organization Muhammadiyah was also mentioned by one respondent
### Possible content objectives

**A: Content designed to make an audience ‘know’ something or ‘feel’ a certain way:**

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(A1)</strong></td>
<td>Feel positive and hopeful about the future</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(A2)</strong></td>
<td>Feel secure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(A3)</strong></td>
<td>Feel threatened</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(A4)</strong></td>
<td>Feel nervous about the future</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(A5)</strong></td>
<td>Feel sympathy towards others who are under threat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(A6)</strong></td>
<td>Feel pride in Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B: Content designed to make an audience ‘think’ a certain way or develop a certain attitude:**

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(B7)</strong></td>
<td>Do not believe in freedom of religion or the equal citizenship rights of women, people with different sexualities, within Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(B8)</strong></td>
<td>Believe in freedom of religion and consider religions as equals – be tolerant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(B9)</strong></td>
<td>Believe in freedom of religion but not believe that religions are equals in Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(B10)</strong></td>
<td>Believe women should have the same citizenship rights/ be equal to men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(B11)</strong></td>
<td>Believe women should not have the same citizenship rights/ are unequal to men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(B12)</strong></td>
<td>Believe LBGTI people should have the same citizenship rights/ be equal to heterosexual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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120 Moderate Muslim influencer who speaks regularly on multi-culturalism and human rights
121 Syarif Zapata is also a young YouTube vlogger
122 Former lawyer and now chat show host
123 Former Minister for Energy and Mineral Resources in Indonesia
C: Content design to make an audience do a certain thing or behave in a certain way

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(C13)</th>
<th>Act on your tolerant beliefs but in a violent way</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(C14)</td>
<td>Act on your tolerant beliefs but in a non-violent way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C15)</td>
<td>Encourage others to think, feel and act in a tolerant way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C16)</td>
<td>Participate in democratic elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C17)</td>
<td>Encourage others to support your intolerant/ extreme beliefs incl. participate in events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C18)</td>
<td>Act on your intolerant/ extreme beliefs but in a non-violent/ indirect way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C19)</td>
<td>Act on your intolerant/ extreme beliefs in a violent way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C20)</td>
<td>Support those in need</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Illustrative diagram of how different layers of narrative and channel can be used by extremists

The following diagram illustrates a sample of intolerant to violent extremist messages targeted at young Indonesians, which can range from general lifestyle content that introduces more conservative ideologies (e.g. Hanan Ataki’s *Pemuda Hijrah* YouTube channel) to more overtly intolerant messages (e.g. Felix Siauw, arrahmah.com) and extremist content such as the type of localized ISIS content that can be found on encrypted channels such as Telegram. This is not to suggest that conservative ideologies lead to more extreme ones, nor that radicalization is linear or that it necessarily occurs online, but rather it intends to provide an illustrative example of how multi-layered narratives can be used to introduce young people to intolerant ideologies through indirect messages.

The diagram also shows how user journeys may start on public online channels, such as public YouTube and Instagram pages, to more encrypted messaging channels where violent extremist content can more easily be disseminated. Lastly, this diagram also illustrates how the online space
facilitates a pathway whereby audiences are exposed to intolerant narratives and ideologies before they are exposed to particular extremist organizations. Prior to the advent of the internet, it would have been more likely that an extremist organization or sympathizer would introduce an individual to a particular narrative or ideology directly, but now the network, often virtually, can act as a highly effective avenue for extremist organizations to recruit new sympathizers or members.

Appendix 2: Further detail on research methodology and team

Research recruitment approach
Students were recruited by Love Frankie and offered a small cash incentive for their time. All groups were recruited with the assurance of anonymity. Key stakeholders were nominated and recruited by Search for Common Ground. Interviews were conducted by Love Frankie in Bahasa Indonesia, predominantly face-to-face, though a small number were conducted remotely over the phone.

Former juvenile offenders were recruited with the support of Sahabat Kapas, an NGO based in Solo, Central Java. Despite our best efforts, it was not possible to interview offenders formerly charged with terrorist offences.

It was not possible to engage government stakeholders outside of law enforcement or non-moderate religious organizations during fieldwork.

Research instruments
Stakeholder KII's
Please note that there are certain sections for certain types of stakeholders highlighted within the guide.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Probes/Prompts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>Please could you describe the government’s current approach in general i.e. specific policies or activities aimed at preventing extremism among young people?</td>
<td>PROBE: Which ones do you think are working well at the moment?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 0.2 | What do you think are the main reasons young people are supporting extreme views in Indonesia? | PROMPT:  
- Certain laws  
- Certain social/ economic/ cultural factors  
- Social media  
PROBE: What do you think the govern |

Governments, CSOs and social media influencers (including those who are not yet sharing positive narratives) who engage with young people
Please can you tell us more about your organization...

*If you work with those who also work with young people e.g. teachers, other CSOs, please also tell us about their activities.*

| 1. (NOT GOV) | What are your / your organization’s main activities:
  - [For those already working on it] ... that seek to prevent or combat extremism (if any)?
  - [For those not working on extremism already, leave open] | PROBE: Which of these focuses on young people specifically; and why?|
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PROBE: Why has your organization chosen to focus on those activities specifically?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2. [ALL]    | To what extent do you use ‘communications’ strategies as part of these activities e.g. via social media, TV, radio, events? | PROBE: Please describe your communications activities including:
  - The channel i.e. TV, radio, social media (Facebook, YouTube)
  - The type of content you share on those channels e.g. videos, images, blogs |
|              | [For those who only use communications strategies]: Please describe the channels you use and the type of content? |
| 3.           | What are the goals of each of these activities, that focus on young people, specifically? | PROBE: Does this activity seek to tackle:
  - A particular extreme organization?
  - A particular narrative (that may be shared by more than one VE)
|              | PROBE: Please can you describe that organization and/or their main narrative/ message? |
| 4.           | Which young people do you target with these activities specifically? Please can you describe them? | PROMPT:
  - What age?
  - Gender?
  - Location?
  - Faith?
  - What is their background?
<p>|              | PROBE: Please can explain why your organization chose to focus on that |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>audience specifically</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 5. | And which young people would you say most engages with/ enjoys your content? | PROMPT:  
   - Who are they?  
PROBE: Do you have any available data or research that shows the level of engagement?  
PROBE:  
   - Why do you think this audience enjoys your content more than other audiences? |
| 6. | Please could you share some examples of your own positive content that you have used on social media in the past? For example, anything that talks about peace, tolerance, diversity. | PROMPT:  
   - Messages  
   - Images  
   - Videos etc. |

**C. AT RISK AND RESILIENT AUDIENCES**

Now please can we talk more about potential audiences in general i.e. outside of your organization...

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
</table>
| 7. | Which young people do you think are most vulnerable to be influenced by extreme narratives or organizations, in Indonesia? Please describe them. | PROMPT: Please describe the young people you think are at risk.  
PROBE: Why do you think these groups/ these things make people more vulnerable? |
| 8. | Which young people do you think are less likely to be vulnerable to these narratives/ organizations? Please describe them. | PROMPT: Please describe the young people you think are less at risk in general.  
PROBE: Why do you think that is? |
| 9. | To what extent do you think social media content makes young people more at risk or less at risk? | PROMPT: Does being exposed to ‘extreme’ content automatically put them at risk?  
PROMPT Does being exposed to ‘positive’ content automatically make them less risky?  
PROBE: Why?  
PROBE: What type of social media content has an impact on audiences, and what doesn’t? |
**D. EXTREME MESSENGERS & NARRATIVES**

Now we would like to talk more about the extreme narratives and messengers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10.</th>
<th>Which organizations or ‘people’ online are the most influential when it comes to extreme content?</th>
<th>PROMPT: ● Friends ● VEOs ● Religious leaders PROBE: [For each organization] Why do you think it has influence? PROBE: What examples could you share that shows that they have influence?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>What are the particular places e.g. websites, online groups etc., where these organizations share this kind of content?</td>
<td>PROBE: Which young people are drawn to these websites/places in particular and for what purpose? PROBE: How do you think young people find these sites/places?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Which extreme messages/stories do you see shared with young people who are at-risk? Please could you describe the different messages?</td>
<td>PROBE: Why do you think these messages have so much influence? PROBE: Do you see these stories shared on social media? If so, how are they shared? ● On what platform e.g. Facebook, YouTube? ● A public/private area ● What key-words or language do they use? ● Images/video? ● Particular people/characters?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.A</td>
<td>Which extreme messages/stories do you think are most popular or affective with young people?</td>
<td>PROMPT: Could you tell me more about them? PROBE: Why do you think these messages are the most popular?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.B</td>
<td>Would you say that there is some content that glamourizes extremism or radicalization?</td>
<td>PROBE: How do you think they make it seem glamorous?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Prompt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Would you say that different extreme content is influential on some at-risk young people and not others?</td>
<td>PROMPT: Please could you describe which is influential with who?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>E. POSITIVE NARRATIVES &amp; MESSENGERS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Who else are you aware of that is seeking to create and share positive stories and content that help build resilience among young people, against the extremist content?</td>
<td>PROBE: Where do they share their content?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>[Other than your own] Which positive messages/stories do you see shared with young people who are at-risk i.e. that could deter them away from extreme views?</td>
<td>PROBE: Please could you describe the different messages?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Who is sharing them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● On what platform e.g. Facebook, YouTube?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● A public/private area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● What key-words or language do they use?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Images/video?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Particular people/characters?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Which positive messages/stories do you think are most popular or affective with young people?</td>
<td>PROMPT: Could you tell me more about them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Would you say that different positive content is influential on some at-risk young people and not others?</td>
<td>PROMPT: Please could you describe which is influential with who?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Would you be able to share a link or images of the kinds of positive content you have seen before please?</td>
<td>PROMPT: Mesages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 20. | To what extent do you currently share other organizations’ content to prevent extremism? | PROMPT:  
- Other NGOs  
- Religious leaders  
- Individual social media influencers  
PROBE: Which content would/ do you share? Please describe it (and whose it is and explain why you would share it?  
PROBE: Which content would you not share? Please describe it and explain why you would choose not to? |
| 21. | To what extent do you currently create your own content to prevent extremism? | PROMPT:  
- Videos  
- Images  
- Infographics  
PROBE: Is there anything you do not currently create and share, and why? |
| 22. | What other strategies have you considered trying e.g. on social media to further your impact? | PROMPT:  
- Facebook;  
- YouTube;  
- LINE  
- etc. |
| 23. | What challenges do you/ would you expect to face when using social media to prevent/ combat extremism? | PROMPT: (for example)  
- Having an impact  
- Measuring impact  
- Reaching the right people  
PROBE (for those who have used social) - how have you overcome these challenges?  
PROBE: How might you overcome these challenges with the right support/ resources? |
| 24. | Who/what organizations would you say are using social media well in promoting positive |
narratives (and who isn’t)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| 25. NON-GOV ONLY | Do you think the government could do more to prevent extremism and/or support those organizations who are seeking to prevent extremism? | PROBE: What do you think the government could be doing differently, in order to prevent extremism? |
| 26. | If you were to receive some help in furthering your activities on social media, what would you need? |

**Student Focus Group Discussion Guide**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>PROBES/ PROMPTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. WARM UP ACTIVITY: BRAND/ AD RECALL</td>
<td>15min</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Think of a <strong>brand</strong> that you like, what do you like about it?</td>
<td>PROMPT: What makes it stand out to you personally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>What do you think is the brand’s main <strong>message</strong> or the thing about it that stands out?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><strong>Why</strong> do you think that is its main message? What have you noticed about <strong>how</strong> it conveys the message?</td>
<td>PROMPT: Colors, Images, Videos, Statement or certain words, Famous character it uses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Do you <strong>see</strong> this brand advertising <strong>online</strong> e.g. in your Facebook feed? What do you notice about the adverts you see online, what stands out to you there?</td>
<td>PROMPT: Colors, Images, Videos, Statement or certain words, Famous character it uses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. SOCIAL MEDIA USAGE</td>
<td>15min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>What social media or messaging platforms do you use day to day?</td>
<td>PROBE: What do you use the most frequently?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[NOTE ON FLIPCHART]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Which do you use to do ....</td>
<td>PROMPT:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[NOTE ON FLIPCHART]</td>
<td>● Talk with your friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Find out information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Why do you use that platform for that purpose....?</td>
<td>PROMPT:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Safer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Images/ videos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Can share it...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>What content/ people do you always look at/ like when online?</td>
<td>PROMPT:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Particular person on YouTube/ Facebook/ Twitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Type of video?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Blogs or forums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>What sort of topics do you tend to share with others e.g. your friends?</td>
<td>PROMPT:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Comedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● News</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C. EMOTIONAL CONTENT</th>
<th>15 mins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 10| When was the last time you saw something that made you sad online e.g. a video, or a photo? | PROBE: What was it?  
PROBE: What was it about it that made you feel sad? |
| 11| When was the last time you saw something that made you angry, online?               | PROBE: What was it?  
PROBE: What was it about it that made you feel sad? |
<p>| 12| When was the last time you something that                                           | PROBE: What was it? |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Made you happy, online</th>
<th>PROBE: What was it about it that made you feel happy?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### D. EXTREMISM CHANNEL AWARENESS & EXPOSURE

**30mins**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13</th>
<th>Think about your last week...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have you seen anything online e.g. Facebook that has made you feel uncomfortable?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>[BRAINSTORM ON FLIPCHART]</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Why would this content make someone feel uncomfortable?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Who would agree with this kind of content or share this content?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>For those who do agree, why do you think they agree with it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Where do you think young people might be exposed to this type of content?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Do you think young people see this on some ‘public’ pages and forums too? If so, which ones?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BREAK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>15m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E. POSITIVE NARRATIVE AWARENESS &amp; EXPOSURE</td>
<td>20m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Do you see positive messages online about the topics we discussed earlier (e.g. race, religion, family?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Who or what type of organizations are sharing this positive content?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Which young people are more likely to be exposed to this content, do you think?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Where do you think young people might be exposed to this type of content?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F. SHARING, COMMENTING &amp; CREATING</th>
<th>10m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 23 | Would you ever comment on a piece of positive content like this? If so, when and why? | PROBE: What topic would it be about?  
  - Family  
  - Race  
  - Religion  
  PROBE: Why/ why not? |
| 24 | Would you ever share a piece of positive content like this? If so, what topic would it be about? | PROMPT:  
  - Family  
  - Race  
  - Religion  
  PROBE: Why/ why not? |
| 25 | Would you ever create a piece of content like this? | PROBE: Why/ why not?  
  PROBE: if you were to create a positive piece of content, what would it be? |
| 26 | Under what circumstances would someone create content like this? | PROBE: Why/ why not? |
Would you share something from that organization/person?

PROBE: Why/why not?

CLOSING - THANK YOU & WRAP UP

Highlight the commonalities at the end of the day

Ex-Juvenile Discussion guide

Please note this guide had been written on the assumption we were speaking with respondents who have committed offences which relate to extremism or terrorism. Questions refer to attitudes and behaviors prior to that offence - rather than current - on the assumption that their attitudes and behaviors have likely changed since their incarceration and/or would be unlikely to discuss any current ‘extreme behavior.’

BACKGROUND ISSUES & OTHER INFLUENCES THAT IMPACTED ON THEIR BEHAVIOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Probes/Prompts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>ABOUT YOU - WARM-UP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Where did you grow up? What was it like?</td>
<td>PROMPT:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Urban/rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Diverse/multi-cultural or not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Could you tell me about your family life?</td>
<td>PROMPT:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Big/small family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Living together/nearby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>How long did you attend school for? Did you (want to) go onto further education?</td>
<td>PROMPT:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• What grade/age did you leave?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• What studies were you pursuing, if any?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>What did you want to do when you were older? Did you have particular ambitions or hopes for the future?, at any stage?</td>
<td>PROMPT:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• A certain job/type of work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Live in a certain kind of place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Family etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## B. CHALLENGES IN LIFE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Prompt</th>
<th>Probe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 5. What were the things you really enjoyed doing when you were growing up? | - Music  
- Sport  
- Reading etc. | - Were similar things happening to your friends/ family?  
- Was there anything else happening that made it harder/ more frustrating? |
| 6. What were the things that you found more difficult, for example, things that made you sad or frustrated? | - Money or jobs  
- In your/ things that happened to your family or friends  
- Things that happened in your community  
- Things you hear about in the news  
- Things you saw that were changing around you? | - Could you share some examples of things that made you sad or frustrated? |
| 7. Thinking about [THE THING YOU MENTIONED], could you say more about why it made you sad/ frustrated? | - Were similar things happening to your friends/ family?  
- Was there anything else happening that made it harder/ more frustrating? | - Could you share some examples of things that made you angry or frustrated? |
| 8. What about other things that you found difficult, for example, things that made you angry? | - In your/ things that happened to your family or friends  
- Things that happened in your community  
- Things you hear about in the news  
- Things you saw that were changing around you? | - Could you share some examples of things that made you angry or frustrated you? |
|   | Thinking about [THE THING YOU MENTIONED], could you say more about **why** it made you angry? | PROBE: Were similar things happening to your friends/ family?  
PROBE: Was there anything else happening that made it harder/ more angering? |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>C. PUBLIC INFLUENCES OFFLINE/ ONLINE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Please could we talk more about the types of things and media you were using at this time?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 10. | Where did you tend to get information about the following things:  
- Religious information  
[NOTE TO INTERVIEWER - ENSURE THE TOPIC IS RELEVANT TO THE AREA THEY SAID THEY FOUND FRUSTRATING] | PROMPT: Was it mainly:  
- TV, radio  
- Social media  
- Particular individuals  
PROBE: Please could you name particular:  
- TV channels/ stations or shows;  
- Particular websites or ‘pages’,  
- Particular types of people/ groups  
PROBE: Why did you like these sorts of channels/ websites? |
| 12. | Where did you tend to get information about the following things:  
- Political/ news information more broadly  
[NOTE TO INTERVIEWER - ENSURE THE TOPIC IS RELEVANT TO THE AREA THEY SAID THEY FOUND FRUSTRATING] | PROMPT: Was it mainly:  
- TV, radio  
- Social media  
- Particular individuals  
PROBE: Please could you name particular:  
- TV channels/ stations or shows;  
- Particular websites or ‘pages’,  
- Particular types of people/ groups  
PROBE: Why did you like these sorts of channels/ websites? |
| 13. | Was there any information you consumed e.g. videos, images, news stories, that really connected with your feelings of frustration, sadness or anger? | PROMPT:  
- TV, radio  
- Social media  
- Particular content  
PROBE: Please can you describe it and why you think it connected with you? |
| 14. | Did you find that the things you watched or listened to, changed over time?  
For example, did you become more interested in certain websites, blogs, WhatsApp groups etc.? | PROMPT:  
- What did you see/ become aware of when you were first feeling frustrated/ angry?  
- Why did you like this particular channel/ type of content?  
PROBE:  
- What did you start to watch/ use more of, after a longer period of time?  
- Why did you like this particular channel/ type of content? |
| 14. | Were there particular role models (public people) that you liked listening to or reading about during this time? | PROBE:  
- Who were they?  
- Where did you first hear about them?  
- Where did you find more information about them?  
- Why did you like that? |

**D. FRIENDS AND SOCIAL CIRCLES**

Now, can we talk more about those you spent time with during this time (either in day-to-day or maybe via your mobile and/or on social media)

| 15. | Who did you tend to speak with most, during this time, who you felt shared the same feelings as you? | PROBE: Can you describe these people, what were they like:  
- Age  
- Gender  
- Religion etc.  
PROBE: Did they have the exact same difficulties/ feelings as you or were they
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Prompt</th>
<th>Probe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>How did you first find people who you felt shared your feelings?</td>
<td>PROMPT: ● Particular forum, LINE/ WhatsApp group etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 17 | Why do you think you felt able to speak with these people, more so than others? | PROMPT: ● Similar background ● Safe environment to speak  
PROBE: Why do you think you were able to trust these people and not other people? |       |
| 18 | Did you then meet more people this way or was that through other sites or groups? | PROMPT: ● Different sites or the same all along?  
PROBE: How did different sites/ groups differ e.g. were some about certain topics, certain types of people etc.? |       |
| 19 | What sorts of things would you talk about with these friends, who shared your feelings of frustration? | PROMPT: ● Your own feelings ● Other/ new things that made you angry ● Actions you might take ● Examples of what others had done  
PROBE: Please could you share examples |       |

**E. MOTIVATIONS & BARRIERS TO BEHAVIOR**

Please can we take now about what you think were the reasons why you did [WHAT YOU DID]

<p>| 20 | What would you say were the main reasons why you, did what you did? |       |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>PROBE:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 21. | Were there things that you say encouraged you or made you feel more comfortable about doing it? | What were those?  
    |                                                                          | Why did those particular things encourage you?                        |
| 22. | Was there anything that made you pause or made it difficult for you to do what you did? | What were those things, could you give examples?  
    |                                                                          | Why did it give you pause?                                             |
| 23. | What do you think are the reasons why others who might think about doing what you did, don’t? | What could those things be?  
    |                                                                          | Why would you say those things didn’t affect you, or others like you? |
| **F. RECOMMENDATIONS** |                                                                 |                                                                      |
| 24. | If you were going to try and persuade someone to not do what you did, what would you do? | Where would you find them?  
    |                                                                          | What would you say?  
    |                                                                          | How would you say it e.g. find someone they trust (who would that be)? |
| 25. | And if there was one thing that might have stopped you doing what you did, what would that be? |                                                                      |

Thank you
Sample
In addition to the information shared above in the introduction, the sample has been disaggregated by geographic location below:

**Students (16 groups in total)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jakarta</th>
<th>Bandung</th>
<th>Solo</th>
<th>Surabaya</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Triad</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>interview</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>FGD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>FGD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key informants (28 in total)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jakarta &amp; international</th>
<th>Bandung</th>
<th>Solo</th>
<th>Surabaya</th>
<th>Cirebon</th>
<th>Purwokerto</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>KII</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious org</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media expert/influencer</td>
<td>KII</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other expert</td>
<td>KII</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov agency</td>
<td>KII</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four in-depth interviews with former juvenile offenders were conducted face-to-face in Solo only.
Research team biography
Love Frankie’s research team included:

Ruici Tio, Team Leader
Ruici Tio has over ten years’ experience working on social behavior change initiatives in Asia. As the Counter Violent Extremism Lead and Head of Innovation at Love Frankie, Ruici is currently leading a range of research approaches for a regional Google CVE program in Asia, with a focus on Indonesia, India, Malaysia and Australia. This has included traditional quantitative and qualitative research methods as well as big data approaches to design and evaluate P/CVE programming across the region. He is currently working with civil society partners in Indonesia to develop P/CVE education curriculum, toolkits and training materials, focused on engaging youth and building their social resilience to hate speech and intolerance.

Ruici is proficient in Bahasa Indonesia and holds a Master’s Degree in Governance from Georgetown University, where he wrote his thesis on “The Rise of Secular Islamic Education in Indonesia”. He holds a Bachelor’s in Political Science from the University of Chicago where his academic work was on “Democracy and Identity Conflict: How Ethnic, Religious, and Youth Identity Lead to Terrorism.”

Fatima Astuti, Lead CVE Researcher
Fatima is a researcher with over five years’ experience conducting research projects on the subject of counter terrorism. For three years, she led a social intervention program for the deradicalization of former combatants in Poso, Central Sulawesi. She also led a counter violent extremism campaign through movie screening and discussions in Indonesia where she was heavily involved with stakeholder consultations and toolkit development. Fatima holds a Master’s Degree in Strategic Studies from RSIS at Nanyang Technical University in Singapore where she wrote her thesis on “Indirect Strategy in Countering Radicalization in Indonesia: A Strategic Response for Radical Publications.”

Hannah Perry, Lead Analyst
Hannah is a social and behavior change communications research specialist with extensive experience conducting multi-country studies to inform communications interventions for both the public and hard-to-reach audiences. She has nearly ten years’ experience conducting mixed-methodology research engagements (including semiotics, ethnography and media research) for communications agencies and clients including Girl Effect, UNICEF, Gates Foundation, DFID and USAID in markets including Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysia, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Malawi, DRC, India, Pakistan, UK and US. She previously supported global education providers to engage new and hard to reach audiences and supported global quantitative agency, YouGov, develop new research methods including social media analytics.