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Handling Former Terrorist Convict in Cirebon Region: Analysis of Collaborative Governance

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ABSTRACT

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The case of former Terrorism Convicts has had almost minimal review due to the lack of scientific power to develop concepts in this case. Through analysis of the Collaborative Governance theory. This research uses qualitative methods. The results of the research show that with the collaborative governance analysis, various actions have been carried out, including collaboration between agencies carried out through joint decrees. Then there is an important role at the Cirebon Class 1 Correctional Center (*Bapas*), providing guidance because the majority of former terrorist convicts are on parole and are required to report every month. The Idensos Team's next role is to provide support through various efforts, for example fully supporting and assisting them in entrepreneurship to achieve a level of economic independence. The involvement of private actors through PT Syang Hyang Seri where they provide assistance in agricultural extension in collaboration with former terrorist convicts in the Cirebon area, as a form of de-redicalization. Meanwhile, changes in community stigma were carried out by involving Bapas officers, then village heads, to support social reintegration. The limitations of this research are only in the context of the Cirebon region and the use of qualitative research methods. So it cannot explain the percentage contribution of each actor.

INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is a phenomenal issue perpetrated by individuals or groups, involving various acts of terror in different regions worldwide. According to Dewi (2019) terrorism is a transnational crime driven by radicalism and religious and territorial stigmas. Additionally, Schmidt (2019) suggests that terrorism is a criminal act based on extremism, characterized by excessive nationalism towards a state, leading to terroristic and anarchistic actions or violent acts against others (Ludigdo & Mashuri, 2021; Rohayana & Sofi, 2021). Terrorism violates numerous laws and threatens the safety of many people due to its destructive and devastating impacts (Omelicheva & Markowitz, 2021; Stanton, 2019).

Terrorism cases occur not only in liberal countries but also in those considered among the safest in the world. In March 2019, an incident in Christchurch, in New Zealand's southern region, resulted in 51 deaths at two mosques, Al Noor Mosque and Linwood Mosque. This case drew significant global attention as the perpetrator carried out numerous acts of terror and broadcasted them live on the internet (Comerford et al., 2021; Prastya & Dewi, 2020). Terrorism cases do not only occur in developed



countries, which are considered to have high levels of security, but also in other developing countries. This includes Indonesia, according to *databoks.katadata.co.id* in 2020, the trend of terrorism in Indonesia from 2000 to 2020, based on data from the Global Terrorism Database, recorded 638 cases in Indonesia, with the highest number being 106 cases in 2001 and only 2 cases in 2007. This data places Indonesia as the 24th most affected country by terrorism with a score of 5.5 points, whereas Afghanistan topped the list in 2022 as the most affected country with a score of 9.109.

One of the regions with the highest levels of terrorism in Indonesia is West Java Province. According to the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) report in 2022, this region is among the top five with the highest terrorism risk index. West Java was the primary focus for preventing the spread of ideology, radicalism, and terrorism in Indonesia from 2021 to 2022 (news.detik.com, 2022). Cirebon area is a primary target for BNPT in West Java, which is understandable since Cirebon is a center for Islamic scholars, surrounded by numerous Islamic boarding schools. Many of the perpetrators were students at these extremist boarding schools. Such as the 2019 suicide bombing at the Cirebon Police Station and the 2011 Cirebon bombing (Kompas.com, 2023). Additionally, there have been other terrorism cases outside Cirebon, including the Sarinah bombing, where the main perpetrator was from the Cirebon area and served as an informant in this study.

Therefore, it is essential to have various post-criminal handling and rehabilitation mechanisms implemented by stakeholders. Specifically, the Directorate General of Corrections (*Ditjen Pemasyarakatan*) of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia (*Kemenkumham Indonesia*), through the Class 1 Cirebon Correction Center (*Bapas Kelas 1 Cirebon*), plays a crucial role in guiding former terrorist inmates. In 2023, at least 9 former terrorists will undergo an accompaniment program from Bapas. This is notable because almost all of them were highly sought-after former terrorists who once lived in Nusakambangan, a high-security prison. They have the potential to significantly influence those around them, requiring special efforts to ensure they remain free. Besides receiving standard guidance at Bapas, former terrorist convicts are also provided with the means to start a new life and become self-sufficient in meeting their daily needs. To prevent them from repeating their actions (recidivism), efforts are continually being made by collaboration. *Ditjen Pemasyarakatan*, through the *Bapas*, collaborates with the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) and other agencies, such as Detachment 88 Anti-Terror (*Densus 88*), which is a unit within the Indonesian Police for Counterterrorism.

This inter-agency cooperation mechanism is undoubtedly a very positive development, especially within the concept of Collaborative Governance. In this concept, collaboration is not limited to inter-governmental organizations but also includes other agencies, the private sector, and the community as part of governance. According to Ansell & Gash (2017) this concept is one of the government's national strategies for solving various problems. Johnston et al., (2011) revealed that Collaborative Governance has been a strategy in several governments worldwide since the 1990s because it positions the public and stakeholders on an equal footing and makes them subjects in governance.

Several study from Wulandari (2019) found that Collaborative Governance in handling terrorism through deradicalization programs involves socialization in schools and Islamic boarding schools to counter terrorism actions in Indonesia. Research by Riyanta et al., (2021) states that the government cooperates with several schools and universities through the Indonesian Ministry of Education to conduct socialization about the dangers of radicalization and deviant extremism that contradicts the state's ideology. Research from Subagyo's (2021) research concludes that so far, the government, academics, and the community have been more proactive in preventing and deradicalizing terrorism in Indonesia, whereas the private sector has not shown the same effort. Concrete actions of positive contributions and the media in Indonesia, which should also be involved, need to take part in prevention efforts by creating anti-radicalism and anti-terrorism narratives. In this context, the application of Collaborative Governance should generally be continuously pursued without relying on a single party alone (Hidayat, 2020; Noor et al., 2023). The synergy of each stakeholder in the assistance of former terrorist convicts cannot be placed solely on Bapas or Idensos Team. Meanwhile, the number of private companies willing to participate in this research is limited as of this study, only one private company was willing to make rehabilitation efforts for the former terrorist convicts. According to Subagyo's (2021) research, it is crucial to involve three actors: government, private sector, and



community, in the deradicalization efforts of prisoners, with the key to success being the private sector's role in mobilizing former terrorist convict to become independent entrepreneurs.

Referring to other research in outside country such as Hettiarachchi (2018) study in Sri Lanka, the community is positioned as a strategic partner of the government in combating terrorist activities. Since 2009, the involvement of community elements as a means of deradicalization has been intensive in Sri Lanka, encouraging the community to monitor the movements of former terrorist convicts. Research by Ike et al., (2022) in Nigeria found that the treatment of former terrorist convicts is still focused on self-development and social integration, without touching on empowerment or assistance for these former terrorist convicts. Additionally, San's (2018) research has not delved into the empowerment of former prisoners but rather strengthened the role of the police in law enforcement and collaborated with various parties for innovation in preventing terrorist actions. According to Subagyo's previous research, the involvement of the private sector is essential. Therefore, this study focuses on the roles of each actor in Collaborative Governance private sector, government, and community in managing these former terrorist convicts.

So analysis using collaborative governance theory is very important so it will provide an overview of Cirebon. Several previous studies have shown that there is a focus on involvement only through government agencies, so this research not only analyzes each actor but also the roles involving 3 important actors in this theory. This study's Collaborative Governance concept will comprehensively examine the stakeholders, like as Tim Idensos, *Bapas* class 1 Cirebon, Syang Hyang Seri Company, and *Bapas* officer, for handling former terrorist convicts in Cirebon. The research location in *Bapas* class 1 Cirebon. It will discuss how to handle former terrorist convicts in Indonesia using the Collaborative Governance concept. The study aims to provide an overview and illustrate the three elements of the Collaborative Governance concept. Namely, Tim Idensos, *Bapas* class 1 Cirebon, Syang Hyang Seri Company, and society must contribute to handling the issue. Thus, the results of this research can serve as input and suggestions for stakeholders, especially concerning terrorism cases in Indonesia.

B. METHOD

This research used qualitative method. According to Gill et al., (2008) which emphasize data collection through interviews and document studies. Oppinion from Busetto, Wick, and Gumbinger (2020) that qualitative research needs to be reassessed to reduce the subjectivity of answers. In this article the researcher used these two techniques like as interview and document studies. For the preliminary research, the researcher conducts an analytical review of several previous past research results in the form of journals or news available on the internet that are relevant to the research topic (Cresswell, 2010). In terms of data collection for data analysis used Miles and Huberman (1994) interactive analysis, like as: data collection, reduction of research data, data presentation, where this study will present data narratively and documentation if necessary, after that drawing conclusions from the research discussion in a clear manner so that it is easy to understand for the readers and use tables if necessary in presenting this data later. So, the analysis was carried out while the interview process was still in progress, then continued with coding, as well as selecting several relevant answers to the research questions and the results of the interviews will be included in this paper with necessary changes.

The research location in the *Bapas* Class 1 Cirebon, West Java Province in August 1-4, 2023. Informants about 8 people from the *Bapas* with details 7 informants who are Community Advisors for terrorist client cases (prisoners) and 1 person who is the Head of the Adult Client Guidance Section (*Kepala Seksi BKD*) of Bapas with the initials "E". Additionally, there are three terrorist client informants with the initials "D", "Y", and "I". Reason of these three informants were selected because their cases were the most difficult and classified as high risk. Apart from that, the 3 of them were experts in recruiting new members, when terrorist activities were still active. "D" was arrested by Densus 88 for the Sarinah Plaza Bombing case in Jakarta in 2016 before and was imprisoned in Nusakambangan for two years and has now pledged allegiance to the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). "Y" has an emotional connection with "D" as they have been friends since childhood. "I" was found in possession of a sharp weapon during the visit of the President of the Republic of Indonesia to Cirebon, and also possessed 35 kg of bombs ready to be explode. But, now pledged allegiance to NKRI. All 3 informants are affiliated with JAD. In addition, there is one official from the Identification and Socialization Team (*Identifikasi Sosial =Idensos*) of Densus 88 Anti-Terror Police of the Republic of Indonesia with the initials Mr. "S".



C. RESEARCH FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Relationship Between Collaborative Governance and Handling Former Terrorist Convict

Discussion on collaborative governance in the context of handling former terrorist prisoners must certainly involve many parties. This is because this terrorist case is included in extraordinary cases. From Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, community involvement, community awareness and collaboration of all components of the nation certainly make this research with collaborative governance very urgent. While, Presidential Regulation Number 7 of 2021 Concerning the National Action Plan for the Prevention and Handling of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism 2020-2024 (PAN-RE) collaboratively handling terrorism implements 3 pillars (public awareness, community involvement and collaboration of all components of the nation) of countering terrorism, including former terrorist convicts who are indirectly easily exposed again/recidivism.

This paper is important because of the results of the research Subagyo (2021) The handling of former terrorist prisoners in Indonesia has not produced many changes and maximum results, this is because there is no maximum involvement from the private sector which should be an important element in the involvement of handling former terrorists including these former terrorist prisoners. On the other hand, Muhammad & Hiariej (2021) Indonesia since the 2000s has begun to implement various actions in increasing the number of programs and real deradicalization activities for terrorist actions within the country.

Based on this and the existence of a legal umbrella as a legal standing, researchers focus this research on the implementation of collaborative governance as a real manifestation of the involvement of all components of the nation including the involvement of the private sector in handling former terrorist prisoners. Budiyanto et al., (2023) recommendations for the use of research using collaborative governance are also seen explicitly in the research, but the real practices of implementing collaborative governance have not yet been seen. The real role of each actor will greatly influence the implementation of collaborative governance (Khudzaifi et al., 2024).

The importance of collaborative governance in the efforts to handle former terrorist prisoners has also been clearly stated in the regulations and also in several previous studies. Efforts made as a form of deradicalization for former terrorist prisoners continue to be carried out and are sustainable. The urgency from a legal perspective is certainly highly prioritized so that in the future the stability of national security will not be disturbed by cases like this.

Contribution from Government actors

Written by Ndadari et al., (2014) about examined the post-Arab Spring opinion, where the rise of Muslims in "opposing" governments deemed ineffective, particularly from late 2010 to mid-2011, in countries such as Jordan, Libya, Egypt, Tunisia, and Yemen. This situation led many citizens to engage in extreme and radical actions, posing a threat to national security (Moreira, 2023). When discussing several empowerment concepts that enable the government to empower former terrorists, one must first consider the capacity of these individuals. Empowerment cannot be provided uniformly due to these differing characteristics (Hermansson & Mårtensson, 2011). From this resulth research can be positive support for former terrorist convict. From the government's side, including the Bapas, the Ditjen Pemasyarakatan, the Kemenkumham, and the Indonesian National Police's Anti-Terror Detachment 88 through the Idensos Team, they have clearly stated that the current role of the Bapas is to perform duties according to the obligations of each client or prisoner who has been granted parole. They must be guided by the Bapas according to applicable regulations. The actions taken by the Bapas are still limited to accepting former prisoners from various cases, including terrorists in Indonesia. The actions of the Bapas are limited to receiving monthly reports from each parole-granted terrorist prisoner.

According to Setyaningrum & Misbah (2023), many former terrorists in Indonesia, when viewed from a religious perspective, are predominantly Muslim. This is also true for the Bapas, where there are currently 8 former prisoners receiving guidance from community advisors as of August 2023. The guidance provided by the Bapas still has many shortcomings, both in terms of material and non-material aspects. In a review by Muhammadin (2016), comparing Islam, education, and radicalism in Indonesia, it was found that many deviations in religion have occurred in Indonesia due to followers strictly adhering to the highest leaders they follow. Additionally, Ida et al., (2023) stated that with the



phenomenon of the "Arab Spring," many citizens were influenced by false issues and sought the truth but were misled, ultimately identifying themselves as "jihadists". Additionally, Bapas also strengthens the religious devotion of each former terrorist convict. Besides encouraging them to abandon their old behaviors, they are directed to places to deepen their knowledge of the true religion, such as government-recognized religious schools (pesantren) through the Indonesian Ulama Council and the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Handling former terrorist convicts in Indonesia, especially in the Cirebon area, is still dominated by the Idensos Team, while Bapas carries out its duties and functions as part of its obligations as a correctional organizer. It is also known that former terrorist convicts in the Cirebon area are still in their productive age, ranging from 20-40 years old. Maunah (2022) explains that young people in Indonesia tend to seek their identity and are very eager to find new things, but have a low understanding of the moral values of the Indonesian nation itself. Many former terrorist convicts in the Cirebon area do not have steady jobs and are economically disadvantaged. This condition tends to push them towards activities that harm themselves, as they seek the wrong path by engaging in activities considered deviant from Indonesian values (Adelaja & George, 2020; Comer et al., 2008).

The personal choice of a former convict at the time of their release is crucial, and the government can only conduct prevention through limited and widespread socialization about the dangers of terrorism in society. However, according to Caplan (2006), society should be free to learn everything, but there must still be certain boundaries that each citizen must not violate as a form of compliance (Halchin, 2004). Thus, this study also found that Idensos Team, only maps areas prone to terrorist activities by marking them in red, which fall within the (*Ciayumajakuning*) scope, namely Cirebon, Indramayu, Majalengka, and Kuningan. Naturally, government vigilance must synergize with various parties, including the police, correctional institutions, education, religious authorities, and other stakeholders, for more effective supervision.

Fenton (2014) on former terrorist convicts also shows that many of them experienced "brainwashing," where the foundational ideologies of a country that do not align with their beliefs are considered wrong. Consequently, these former terrorists, particularly those in Cirebon who served as informants for this study, revealed that they were influenced by incorrect ideologies, leading them to view becoming a terrorist as part of "Jihad." The government, in addressing this issue, must position these terrorists as enemies of the state and take measures to eradicate them to prevent negative impacts on various fronts (Islami, 2017). However, the emphasis from the Bapas in Cirebon at this time is not only on providing guidance to former terrorist convicts through report acceptance or small-scale assistance in discussions with these former terrorist convicts. There are implicit indications of a lack of funding and human resources at the Bapas, as revealed in the researcher's interviews with informants. Therefore, changes and attention from the *Ditjen Pemasyarakatan* are necessary.

In addition, the involvement of the local government is highly expected considering that the Cirebon area and its surroundings are included in the red zone which requires the involvement of local government elements. This involvement includes the reasons for the absence of legal aspects in the local government authorized to follow up on these former terrorist prisoners, limited budget and even the labeling of these former terrorist prisoners (Mardlatillah, 2019). However, the implementation of collaborative governance, especially from several other elements, namely the informants from the Idensos Team in Cirebon viewed the efforts as very good, with appropriate measures taken in both prevention and action.

Satria (2022) acknowledges that there has been a change and a decrease in terrorism rates in Indonesia due to the synergy of all elements involved. However, the researcher believes this is still limited. The involvement of the Bapas in Cirebon should be expanded. Furthermore, in the actions and continuity of the Idensos Team, there needs to be thorough planning to map out the priorities from when individuals are still terrorists, during their apprehension and incarceration, and until they complete their sentences and become former terrorist convicts. The role of the Bapas should also be a consideration in this process.

Contribution from Privately actors

Handling former terrorist convict in the Cirebon area involves the engagement of private sectors. This approach is necessary because many of these ex-convicts in the region were previously affiliated with JAD (*Jamaah Ansharut Daulah*), a group characterized by economically weak and poorly educated



members. This makes them susceptible to radical influences, especially in the populous West Java Province. In 2022 article by Detik Jabar, found through social media, indicates that the majority of terrorists arrested by Idensos Team in West Java, particularly in Cirebon, were JAD affiliates. Specifically, in Cirebon, there are only two groups indicated as terrorist: JAD and JI (*Jamaah Islamiah*). According to Idensos Team, the existence of these two groups is also supported by funding from various sources, with many unaware of private sector involvement in aiding these organizations (Raja et al., 2020; Shah et al., 2021), yet they are affiliated with both groups.

Challenges in handling former terrorist convict in Indonesia generally stem from various factors, including the lack of clear policy outcomes and sustainability for assistance or programs provided. The private sector, according to research findings, still provides capital and training or soft skills assistance to former terrorist convict. Saraiva & Erfe (2023) argue that terrorism prevention can be carried out effectively when all information is well obtained and processed. The private sector plays a crucial role when it can identify opportunities and fulfill its responsibilities through CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility). CSR also serves as a mandatory responsibility channeled to society by providing funds for community empowerment or social rehabilitation supported by specific programs (Blanco-González et al., 2023; Gonçalves et al., 2020).

In Cirebon, a company practicing this approach is PT. Syang Hyang Seri, a private sector actor involved in collaborative governance supporting the efforts to handle former terrorist convict. Through self-reliance programs, they offer training to former terrorist convict, especially those who have taken oaths or accepted PB and are categorized as low-risk (green). Idensos Team's confirms that currently, this state-owned private company is the only one willing to cooperate with the government in rehabilitating these former terrorist convict. The tangible evidence of these two actors' activities can be seen in the agricultural sector, focusing on enhancing and understanding the skills development for these former terrorist convict. Activities obtained from this private institution, researchers indicate the absence of standardized policies regarding roles in these activities. The self-reliance program is expected to be a form of attention from the private sector to the community, enabling economically disadvantaged individuals to become independent farmers with their own cultivated land, reducing dependency on corporate and government aid.

Contribution from Society actors

The community, in efforts to handle former terrorist convicts, may have conflicting views and feelings that could lead to ostracizing them from socializing in society. This action serves as a form of protest and preventative measure for the future, aiming to eliminate negative perspectives of terrorists in their region. Stakeholders in the community, such as community leaders, religious figures, and young people, consistently oppose terrorist actions in their areas, vehemently rejecting the reintegration of former terrorist convicts and directly ostracizing them along with their families. Ali & Candramukti (2021) affirm that sociologically, communities uphold local wisdom and culture with high regard, and the presence of terrorists impedes social harmony and poses a threat of terror, leading to rejection or expulsion when someone commits wrongdoing in the community.

Strengthening the community is very important if in Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, the community becomes a bargaining element because it is to build the community from the perspective of their caring attitude and actively involved in government deradicalization programs. This preventive action was also responded to by several Ministries who agreed with the handling of terrorism crimes and handling of this radicalization, where the rehabilitation and reintegration (R&R) strategy is highly expected for these former terrorist prisoners to be focused on the community.

However, research findings specific to the Cirebon region, particularly regarding former terrorist convicts under the jurisdiction of Bapas in Cirebon, covering Majalengka, Kuningan, and Cirebon districts, reveal a different scenario. Most are located in Majalengka and Cirebon, where the culture and customs are vastly different. During interviews, researchers observed that these former terrorist convicts did not face negative treatment from the community. Instead, the community welcomed and anticipated their presence eagerly. This sentiment was reinforced by Idensos Team and Bapas, alongside other stakeholders, upon their release from correctional facilities. The community, particularly in Cirebon and Majalengka, accepted these former terrorist convicts without resistance.

Community leaders (*Kepala Desa*), religious figures (*Tokoh Agama*), and youth engage in routine activities such as "*Yassinan*" or communal work to strengthen bonds of brotherhood, always extending



kindness to these former terrorist convicts. Rachmawati (2020) study corrects misconceptions about radical ideologies among former terrorist convicts, emphasizing the importance of integrating them into various aspects of community life and receiving attention from their surroundings. Therefore, it is important to have a minority element in society that has open thinking and ideology to reawaken former terrorist prisoners during social reintegration in this society (Rachmawati, 2022). Collective efforts such as mutual assistance and cooperation are crucial in preventing radicalism and deviant ideologies within the community, promoting proactive engagement rather than apathy. Similarly, Bela et al., (2021) conducted a meta-analysis on the roots of terrorism in society, identifying religious interpretation differences within Islam, discrimination, education, and injustice as contributing factors that influence individuals to engage in retaliatory actions under the guise of "jihadist".

Overall, the presence of former terrorist convicts in the Cirebon region and its surroundings should serve as a significant consideration for all community members, local authorities, and influential figures. Diverse perspectives and disagreements should ideally contribute to societal diversity (Mubaraq et al., 2022; Stern et al., 2023), where mutual respect is paramount, ensuring communal harmony and national unity remain imperative amidst differing viewpoints. Moreover, society must become a sector that has strategic bargaining power in collaborative governance, has the power to resist, and the power to deter related to cases involving former terrorist prisoners.

D. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Conclusion

The conclusion of this article demonstrates the handling of former terrorist inmates in Cirebon use empowerment society to focus economic development. Implementation empowering former terrorist inmates based on collaborative governance sollution can serve as a relevant model for managing exconvicts in Cirebon. According to research question the development of multi-role suitability is crucial and needs to be considered by the Government, which plays a significant role in handling former terrorist inmates, potentially achieving social reentry and even non-recidivism. Resulth in the field through collaborative governance between Bapas and Idensos Team as informants representing government institutions, several outcomes were found. Among them, former terrorist inmates, upon conditional release, are required to report to Bapas through assigned Community Guidance officers for further guidance.

Additionally, the Idensos Team itself provides support and guidance to former terrorist convict by conducting both online and indirect discussions to monitor the movements and developments of each ex-inmate. Former inmates are also encouraged to participate in deradicalization and socialization activities within communities, including at *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools), with the hope of preventing the spread of radicalism. An interesting aspect of this research is the significant role played by private enterprises in contributing to these former terrorist convict. PT. Syang Hyang Seri, a company engaged in agriculture, provides mentoring and support to former terrorist inmates to engage in farming, offering land, seedlings, instructors, and training to enhance their skills in farming the cultivated land. Currently, these former terrorist convicts are cultivating approximately 12 hectares (Ha) of land.

Despite being known in the Cirebon region, until this research was conducted, there is still one private company playing a crucial role as a strategic partner of the government in empowering these former inmates. The challenges of this practice in Cirebon mean that there needs to be a joint and sustainable commitment, other significant roles are also played by community actors who, according to the research findings, widely accept and support the reintegration of former terrorist inmates to reunite with their families. Furthermore, the community does not exclude the families of former terrorist convict, and community figures such as religious leaders, community leaders, and youths always include former terrorist convict in community agendas.

Empowerment implementation like this can be role model for handle former terrorist convict especially in Cirebon or in Indonesia region. The humanist approach of the government which collaboration together with the community and the private sector without discrimination in the past means that these former compensation workers will receive attention and will accept them back. So,



they will be able to work together with various parties, of course with the kindness of the former employees themselves.

Recommendation

The results of research on the implementation of Collaborative Governance in Cirebon show success and quite good desire and support from stakeholders. Another side the collaborative governance established in the Cirebon region needs further enhancement, especially in policy formulation, particularly in handling former terrorist inmates, and strengthening the role of Bapas, which should be more private. Additional companies need to be involved to enable dual empowerment. This research is worthy of development in the realm of policy forecasting concerning the empowerment of former terrorist inmates, especially in Cirebon, which still lacks in this area.

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