

Analysis of Anti-Terrorism Policy in Indonesia: A Preventive Study in Preventing Terror Action from the Perspective of Collective Action Theory

Umar Effendy¹, A.Y.Andi Gani², Andy Fefta Wijaya³, Andy Fefta Wijaya⁴

¹Doctoral Program on Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Administrative Science, University of Brawijaya, Malang, ²⁻⁴Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Administrative Science, University of Brawijaya, Malang, East Java, INDONESIA.

¹umarff_db90@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

This study is developed based on the phenomena of terrorism acts which have curled in Indonesia recently. This study attempts to scrutinize the handling and tackling patterns of terrorism actions so far. This study aims at describing and analysing the phenomena of terrorism prevention in the perspective of collective action as well as identifying the analysis of anti-terrorism policy in Indonesia. The result of the study shows that it is crucial that there is a simultaneous networking model in preventing terrorism acts by employing collective action in the form of a system that has a bound policy for all stakeholders. The method of the study is qualitative approach with the main site of the study in Mabes POLRI or Indonesian Police Headquarters due to its intensified role in the efforts of handling and tackling terrorism. The result of the study shows that it is necessary to create an ideal model of anti-terrorism policy in the perspective of collective action as a smart solution for all boards in charge of terrorism issues in Indonesia. The study recommends the involvement of stakeholders i.e. government institutions, private sectors and community groups in continuous efforts in preventing and handling terrorism acts in the perspective of collective action in order to prevent, protect, radicalize, sentence and prepare national awareness.

Keywords: terrorism acts, collective action, anti-terrorism policy, stakeholder involvement

INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is not new in the world; it has been actually especially since World Trade Centre (WTC) incident in New York, United States on September 11, 2001 that claimed 3000 lives. The attack was done from the air, not from a fighter jet but from an American commercial jet so it was not detected by American radar. Three American commercial planes were hijacked, two were crashed into the Twin Towers of World Trade Centre and another hit Pentagon. The terrorists used a new method in terrorism instead of explosives or bombs. This study does not view terrorism from religious or Islamic perspective, rather in the forms of terrors that have to be handled by Indonesian government. Terrorism in Indonesia has curled since the incident of 1st Bali bombing on October 12, 2002 which was a terror attack with the second largest civil victims in Indonesia i.e. claimed 184 lives and injured people. Realizing the great loss from a single act of terrorism as well as the direct impacts on Indonesia as the result of 1st Bali bombing tragedy, it is government's responsibility to immediately complete the terrorism acts by sentencing the doer and the intellectual actors behind the incident.

The pattern of terrorism handling and tackling in Indonesia relatively tends to focus on resolving and is sectoral. A few actors who play the roles in handling and tackling terrorism are working on their own and less maximized in their efforts. Some government institutions

that are supposed to be involved in fighting terrorism are not intensively and comprehensively coordinated to complete the cases of bombing terrors due to sectoral ego from each institution. This situation has hindered the attempts to find the answer of holistic resolution. At the beginning, institution that is considered to be responsible for handling and tackling terrorism cases is POLRI or The Police of Republic of Indonesia as an attempt of law enforcement. However, the cooperation and coordination of terrorism handling among institutions do not work as expected. At the moment, Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT) or National Counterterrorism Agency has been established and is expected to coordinate all necessary institutions to be involved in fighting terrorism. One of important tasks of BNPT is to coordinate all related institutions in the efforts of resolving terror attacks and preparing the revision of anti-terrorism law. BNPT performance has not been optimum because it is a new government-established institution. In the future, it is expected that BNPT is not only capable of coordinating institutions, but also building cooperation of all stakeholders to fight and prevent terrorism acts in Indonesia. Anti-terrorism policy in Indonesia still highly depends on law enforcement driven by POLRI. The employed approaches tend to be simplistic, mechanistic, and bureaucratic and depend a lot on state bureaucracy with all its superficial mechanism. Meanwhile, terrors tend to happen in clandestine, continuously developing unusual ways in their actions disregarding limitation of deadly methods. Law enforcers should work with the existing law mechanism, while terrorists ignore all rules and regulations as well as religious norms to achieve their goals. This has made the establishment of anti-terrorism policy not easy i.e. it does not only take into account law enforcement by POLRI but also other comprehensive policies from state bureaucrats and stakeholders together with all citizens using a collective action against terrors.

The foregrounding issue from the resolution of terrorism acts actually lies on the involvement of all layers of stakeholders who are responsible for the resolution of terrorism. The existing policies are resolute in nature, not comprehensive prevention programs. The role of each institution has not found a particularly clear point of coordination. In addition, the development of resolution mechanism is no longer going along with the development of terrorism acts in Indonesia. The root problem of terrorism behaviour is unreachable by resolution system, which lies in the unimplemented domain of ideology and social culture in Indonesia. Hence, it often happens that ex convict of terrorism finds his way back with the new agents of terrorisms. Prevention mechanism simply has not been formed into an organized system that runs on each sector. Therefore it is essential to form a continuous networking model in preventing terrorism acts by employing a collective action and a system with a bound policy for all stakeholders. From the current phenomena, this study will provide a smart solution for all stakeholders to resolve terrorism issues in Indonesia.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Based on the description of the phenomena in the rationale, the study formulates the following questions:

- a) How are the forms of policies implemented in preventing terrorism, whether in the political, economic or ideology dimension?
- b) How are the involvement of government institution, private sectors and community groups in preventing and resolving terrorism acts in the perspective of collective action? This question is supposed to answer the issue that anti-

terrorism policy does not merely depend on law enforcement by POLRI, but also to maximize stakeholders' involvement.

- c) What are the influencing factors behind the emergence terrorism acts from the point of view of both the terrorist and the parties responsible for terrorism prevention?
- d) What is the ideal model to prevent and resolve terrorism acts in stabilizing the country's safety?

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

This study aims at describing and analyzing the phenomena of terrorism prevention in the perspective of collective action, especially in relation to:

- a) The forms of policies implemented in preventing terrorism, whether in the political, economic or ideology dimension.
- b) The involvement of government institution, private sectors and community groups in preventing and resolving terrorism acts in the perspective of collective action.
- c) The influencing factors behind the emergence terrorism acts from the point of view of both the terrorist and the parties responsible for terrorism prevention.
- d) The ideal model to prevent and resolve terrorism acts in stabilizing the country's safety.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of the study is explained as follows:

- a) Theoretically

This study is expected to develop reviews on public policy, policy analysis and substantive policy. It can also be used as a comparative information and reference for the government through institutions that are particularly established to prevent and resolve terrorism acts in Indonesia. Further, it can be used as an enrichment discourse of the related concepts and theories, either for the subsequent research with similar title and topic or for people in common who share special interest in this particular topic.

- b) Practically

The result of the study can be used as an evaluation and information source for government and society for the purpose of a massive cooperation in preventing terrorism acts in Indonesia.

THEORY OF POLICY ANALYSIS

In [1] Patton and Savicky state that: *“Policy analysts are often required to give advice to policy maker in incredibly short periods of time, in contrast to university researcher and think thank consultant who are hired specifically to conduct intensive research on public policy issues.”*

Collective action is an individual tool that is used to achieve their values when individual action is no longer possible or fails. Collective action theory is learned in all branches of social science. In economics, it is a theory on public goods and collective choice [2]. In

politics, it is well known as theory of public choice [3]. Whilst in Psychology, this theory is associated with rational choice, collective behaviour, and social action theories.

Terrorism prevention in the perspective of Collective Action

Amidst different backgrounds of interest of stakeholders, it takes a persistent effort to make collective action a preventive attempt of terrorism acts. Keefer [4] delivered this view as the following: “*However, the basis for such collective action does not yet exist... the realities of collective action in Indonesia does not make this an easy solution*”

Another aspect to be concerned about is the necessity of collective willingness and joint commitment from all of us to hold hands in fighting and eradicating terrorism. Terrorism is a common enemy that has destroyed and worsened the power and economic of the nation so that we need extraordinarily hard effort to reclaim them.

The study uses qualitative approach i.e. as Moleong [5] stated that qualitative qualitative approach results in description in the form of spoken or written reports of the observed people or behaviour.

The focus of the study is Analysis of anti-terrorism policy in Indonesia in the perspective of Collective action. The main site of the study is POLRI headquarters due to its intensified efforts in tackling terrorism. In this site, the researcher will capture the actual situation of the studied objects to gain reliable data. Within the site, the supporting elements of the study are: activities and documents of terrorism handling and tackling by Indonesian Ministry of Defense, POLRI headquarters, *Densus 88* or Detachment 88, *Lapas* or correctional institution, BNPT or National Counterterrorism Agency, crime sites where the bombing took place and the location where the terrorist is from.

There are 9 steps to analyse and interpret qualitative data according to McNabb [6]. The steps are based on 3 models of theory of interpretation from Strauss and Corbin [7] and information described by Miles and Huberman [8].

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The forms of implemented policies

One of the forms of policies implemented by government is establishing Special Detachment 88 Anti-terror under the surveillance of National Police of Republic of Indonesia and establishing National Board of Terrorism Eradication or *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT)*. Special Detachment 88 Anti-terror of National Police Headquarters consistently tracks the involvement of the suspects of terrorism cases for example the case of Rizky Gunawan with other terrorism network. Police found evidences of Rizky’s involvement in the bombing case in Solo and military training in Poso. He was the fund raiser for terrorism activities, yielding IDR 7 billion by hacking a Multi Level Marketing to buy an asset in Medan worth IDR 5.9 billion, fund a military training in Poso with IDR 667 million and fund a suicidal bombing in Full Biblical Bethel Church in Keputon, Solo. He also prepared the fund for meals and other logistics. Learning from this case, the forms of policies implemented by the government are explained as follows:

Political policies related to terrorism eradication

Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT) builds a partnership with the parliament’s 3rd commission of law, security and human rights. Terrorism eradication takes the involvement of all nation’s components, hence *BNPT* works not only with government

agencies but also with the officers of prison in each *Lembaga Pemasyarakatan (Lapas)* where terrorism suspects are serving.

Economic Policies related to terrorism eradication

Economic policies related to terrorism eradication are implemented due to the fact that terrorism networks involve funding and human resources in doing their actions. Funding is one of the most important elements, not only to buy weapons and explosives, but also for the survival of the followers. Funding is gained from illegal trading, prostitutions, gambling etc. through money laundering of commercial crimes, smuggling and corruption, funding may be tracked to coming from clean sources and considered legal hence difficult to trace back. With the complexity of money laundering in relation to early detection and close investigation, intelligence agencies are urgently needed in formulating prevention of organized crimes.

Prevention in the point of view of ideology based on terrorists' motives

Prevention in the point of view of ideology based on terrorists' motives are done by educating ex terrorist to become politicians. Their militancy in acting can become a foundation in expanding stronger political wings. They can be guided to become political-engine, therefore it is recommended that they are accepted to be a member of political parties to contribute to participate in politics.

Involvement of government institutions, private sectors and community

Government institutions, private sectors and community's involvement should be synergized to yield significant impacts to terrorism prevention and eradication.

Based on the minor proposition, a major proposition can be formulated as follows:

If policies related to political, economic and ideology for terrorism eradication are implemented accompanied with government roles through actions and policies as well as terrorism prevention from private sectors and community, terrorists and their surrounding people can be controlled. Once provided, terrorism law enforcers will work well, consequently prevention, protection, deradicalization, sentence and national awareness readiness can be realized.

A model to prevent and handle terrorism act is recommended. Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT) or National Counterterrorism Agency works in partnership with the third commission of the parliament that specializes in law, safety and human rights. Terrorism eradication cannot be done individually, rather it takes the involvement of the whole components of the nation. Thus, BNPT does not only work with the government institution related to law enforcement, but also with the officers in *Lembaga Pemasyarakatan (Lapas)* or correctional institution where the convicts of terrorism are serving time. Economic policies in relation to terrorism eradication are also necessary because terrorism networks takes up financial resources as well as human resources in their operations. Financial resources is a very essential aspect, not only to purchase weapons and explosives for bombs, but also for the survivals of the followers. Financial resources are obtained from illegal trading, prostitution, gambling, etc. Through money laundering of commercial crimes, smuggling and corruption, financial resources origins are tracked as coming from legal and clean resources hence difficult to trace back. Due to the complexity of money laundering as it is related to early detection and closed investigation, intelligence institution are crucially needed in formulating prevention againsts organized crime. Prevention on the point of view of ideology based on the motives of the terrorists can be managed through fostering ex terrorists into politicians. Their militancy in acting can be a

foregrounding information on expanding stronger political wings. Also, they can be utilised as a political party driving engine. International and regional cooperations are very important to improve national defense as the main shield to tackle global terrorism that operates nationally. Law enforcers who are responsible for terrorism eradication should be done simultaneously.

CONCLUSION

The result of the study on Preventing Terror Action From The Perspective of Collective Action Theory are as follows: The forms of policies implemented by governments are by establishing *Detasemen Khusus 88 Antiteror* or Special Detachment 88 for Antiterrorism under national police and establishing *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT)* or National Counterterrorism Agency. Special Detachment 88 for Antiterrorism of Mabes POLRI always tracks down the involvement of terrorism cases suspects.

The forms of policies implemented by government are described in more details below:

1. Political policies in association with terrorism eradication.
2. Economic policies in association with terrorism eradication.
3. Prevention from the point of view of ideology based on the motives of the terrorists.
4. Involvement of government institution, private sectors and community groups should be synergized to bring about significant impacts on resolving and eradicating terrorism.

The roles of government so far are in the forms of actions and policies implemented. The more daring acts of terrorist groups in Indonesia have aroused questions about security systems in Indonesia.

Modernization and globalization has influenced the *nature of terrorism* to be more complex and complicated. The influencing factors in the emergence of terrorism acts are:

1. Terrorist and the society surrounding the terrorists.
2. The law enforcers who are responsible for terrorism eradication.
3. The model to prevent and resolve terrorism actions recommended.

RECOMMENDATION

The practical recommendation from the researcher in relation to the identified issues described above are:

1. The form of policies implemented in preventing terrorism, either in political, economic or ideology dimensions should involve all parties in making decision and gaining inputs from academician, community leaders and other organizations in order to prevent, protect, deradicalise, sentence and prepare national awareness.
2. Involvement of government institutions, private sectors and community groups in preventing and handling terrorism acts in the perspective of collective action should be carried out continuously in order to prevent, protect, deradicalise, sentence and prepare national awareness.

REFERENCES

- [1] Nugroho, R. (2006). *Kebijakan Publik Untuk Negara-negara Berkembang: Model-Model perumusan, Implementasi dan Evaluasi*. Jakarta: Elex Media Komputindo
- [2] Bogdan, Robert dan Taylor, Steven, J. (1993). *Kualitatif Dasar-Dasar Penelitian*. Surabaya: Usaha Nasional.
- [3] Mueller, J. D. (1992). *Mengukur Sikap Sosial*. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara.
- [4] Keefer, Philip. (2002). Clientelism and Credibility. *Conference of the International Society of New Institutional Economics 2002*. Boston, MA.
- [5] Melong, L. (2002). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- [6] McNabb, D. E. (2002). *Research Methods in Public Administration and Nonprofit Management: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.
- [7] Strauss, A., & dan Corbin, J. (2003). *Basic of Qualitatif Research*. Terjemahan Muhammad Shodiq dan Imam Muttaqien, *Dasar-dasar Penelitian Kualitatif*, Jakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- [8] Miles, Matthew B., dan Huberman, A. Michel. (1992). *Analisa Data Kualitatif*. (Terjemahan Tjetjep Rohidi). Jakarta: UI Press