

Securitization: Terrorism prevention policy in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi

Sekuritisasi: Kebijakan pencegahan terorisme di Kabupaten Poso, Sulawesi Tengah

Gustiana Kambo

Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
University of Hasanuddin

Address: Perintis Kemerdekaan Street KM. 10, Makassar, Indonesia 90245

E-mail: gustianakambo@yahoo.com

Article History: Received 30 August 2020; Accepted 07 June 2022; Published Online 22 August 2022

Abstract

The existence of terrorism in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi is triggered by a communal conflict among religions since 2000. A series of acts of terrorism have disrupted the regulation of government and public order and security, so that the regional government carried out special handling of this case. The objective of this study is to analyze the pattern of terrorism prevention carried out by the regional government in Poso Regency. This study used a qualitative method with a case study approach to conduct an in-depth descriptive study regarding the pattern of strengthening the terrorism prevention policy and its follow-up. In analyzing this case, this study used the concept of securitization developed by Buzan (1991) through the principles of social, economic, and political security. The results of the study showed that the regional government has made efforts to prevent acts of terrorism by (1) Strengthening the Early Detection of Terrorism Tendency Program, (2) Strengthening the Religious Harmony Program, (3) Strengthening the Community Social Life Program, (4) Strengthening the Entrepreneurship Program that covers various activities, including; establishing Village of Harmony and Early Awareness Forum, carrying out counseling on Pancasila values, providing social assistance and entrepreneurship training for the poor and families of ex-terrorism convicts. This study concludes that the regional government has made systematic efforts with a securitization approach in a strict security pattern with community involvement.

Keywords: securitization policy; regional government; terrorism prevention; Poso

Abstrak

Keberadaan terorisme di Kabupaten Poso, Sulawesi Tengah dipicu adanya konflik komunal antara agama sejak tahun 2000. Rangkaian tindakan terorisme telah mengganggu jalannya pemerintahan serta ketertiban dan keamanan masyarakat, sehingga dilakukan penanganan khusus oleh pemerintah daerah. Tujuan studi ini adalah menganalisis pola pencegahan terorisme yang dilakukan oleh pemerintah daerah di Kabupaten Poso. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus untuk melakukan pengkajian deskriptif yang mendalam terkait pola penguatan kebijakan pencegahan terorisme serta tindaklanjutnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan konsep sekuritisasi yang dikembangkan Buzan (1991) dalam menganalisis kasus ini, melalui prinsip keamanan sosial, ekonomi, dan politik. Hasil studi menunjukkan bahwa Pemerintah Daerah telah melakukan upaya pencegahan tindakan terorisme dengan (1) Penguatan Program Deteksi Dini Bibit Terorisme, (2) Penguatan Program Kerukunan Beragama, (3) Penguatan Program Kehidupan Sosial Masyarakat, (4) Penguatan Program Kewirausahaan yang terakumulasi dalam berbagai kegiatan, seperti; membentuk desa kerukunan dan Forum Kewaspadaan Dini, melaksanakan penyuluhan nilai-nilai Pancasila, memberikan bantuan sosial, dan pelatihan kewirausahaan pada masyarakat miskin dan keluarga eks-terorisme (eks narapidana terorisme). Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa pemerintah daerah telah melakukan upaya sistematis dengan pendekatan sekuritisasi dalam pola keamanan secara ketat dengan melibatkan masyarakat.

Kata kunci: kebijakan sekuritisasi; pemerintahan daerah; pencegahan terorisme; Poso

Introduction

The ideas presented in this article contribute to the context and concept of security studies related to the problem of acts of terrorism. Its development is based on the idea of securitization proposed by Buzan (1987, 1991) that the politicization carried out by the state can be permitted in any way to maintain security. The state is an actor in the securitization process to take action against threats, particularly to secure those who existentially feel threatened and must take security measures. Research that develops this idea of securitization has also been conducted, for example, a study by Huysmans (1998) which identified securitization as a security concept that is still required to be explored. The main argument is that security mediates the relationship between life and death. Securitization also articulates multiple security issues, daily security and ontological security issues. Hansen (2000) stated that the focus on expanding the concept of security should be equipped with a theory of what conditions entail the construction of “security problems.”

This involves an approach to security that emphasizes the role of practice, particularly how political practice relies on and strengthens subjectivity, and how security practice might seek to individualize security issues to exclude them from the public and political domain. Bigo (2002), who sees a connection between securitization and migration, draws criticism regarding the government’s anxiety in dealing with migration, where there is a change in risk management and fear, especially in transferring the legitimacy and regulation of governments who struggle against terrorists, criminals, spies, and counterfeiters on other targets. This is especially so in transnational political activities where people cross borders or people born in a country with foreign parents. Yulianti (2017) looked at the global war against terrorism through a securitization perspective by identifying some acts of terrorism that threaten the United States. Meanwhile, Ihsan (2019) examined the *Military War in Counter-Terrorism in Indonesia*, the involvement of the military (state) in counter-terrorism activities, by strengthening the military’s territorial structure and intelligence expertise and women as state assets in countering terrorism.

Securitization in its development analysis provides direction in seeing the interaction process developed by the state in handling global issues. Previous studies have explained clearly developments in interpreting the concept and context of securitization in the context of social, political and human rights. Meanwhile, this article emphasizes more on local policies of regional governments in handling and anticipating global issues in widespread acts of terrorism, especially in Poso Regency. Several alternative policies at the local level are offered in terms of social, political, economic, and psychological aspects. Those are intended by the government in reducing security tensions in the region. The government not only strengthens security policies in institutional orientation, but also strengthens security policies in social humanities orientation, embracing lower-level social aspects concerning elements of religion, ethnicity, and other political interests. Different to previous research that was directed at global and national level securitization, the uniqueness of this study is that it focuses on strengthening global problems that lead to security and comfort threats to the community at the local level, and the efforts of regional governments in dealing with and countering this global situation so that is not expanded and prolonged in the area.

In a global context, acts of terrorism are actually not a new phenomenon. Several studies examined the issue, for example, in *The Impact of Terrorism and Conflicts on Growth in Asia, 1970-2004*, Gaibulloev and Sandle (2008) stated that terrorism had an impact on per capita income growth in Asia in 1970-2004. Moreover, conflict and terrorism in one country can create congestion with economic consequences throughout the region. The case is different from developed countries which are able to absorb terrorism without showing any adverse economic consequences. Meanwhile, a study by Victoroff (2005), supported by several other studies, such as Borum (2011, 2015), suggested that terrorist behavior may always be determined by a combination of innate factors, biological factors, early developmental factors, cognitive factors, temperament, environmental influences, and dynamics of the group. The extent to which each of these factors contributes to a particular event may vary between individual terrorists, between groups of individuals, and between types of groups. Terrorism is a multiplicity and varied subtype of human aggression.

Further, one of the acts of terrorism that caught the world’s attention was the tragedy on September 11, 2001, a series of four suicide attacks on targets in New York City and Washington D.C. One involved hijacking and deliberately crashing two planes into the Twin Towers of the World Trade

Kambo: "Securitization: Terrorism prevention policy"

Center (WTC) in New York. This incident was an intensely heartbreaking tragedy for people throughout the world, the four suicide attacks killing approximately 3000 people. These sudden deaths, which paralyzed life in the largest city in the United States, was a severe shock to citizens' trust in the United States government regarding the national security system (Wati et al. 2015).

In addition, terrorist attacks that caused tension also occurred in Vienna, in Austria, and Kabul, in Afghanistan, on November 2, 2020. Dozens of students were reported to have died in the armed attack and suspected suicide bombing in Vienna, as well as many were killed and injured as a result of the terrorist attack at Kabul University, which at that time was holding a book exhibition (Mubarok 2020).

That was different to acts of terrorism in New Zealand, where the terrorist attacks on two mosques in Christchurch, on 15 March 2019, shocked the entire world community. Brenton Tarrant shot dead dozens of worshippers. However, he carried out the terror because of his personal motives and not because he was part of a terrorist group. The Christchurch terrorist attack is an example of how an individual who is not a member or has any connection to a terrorist group can commit acts of terrorism. This is also an example of how a deep hatred that is kept in the heart without ever being communicated to anyone is finally transformed into an act of terror (BBC News 2019).

Another area that is prone to acts of terrorism is Southeast Asia. Historically, most of the countries in the Southeast Asia region are countries with rampant acts of terrorism in their territories, for example, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore. In Indonesia, from the beginning of independence until the reformation, acts of terrorism have always emerged in a variety of forms, motives, and movements with different strategies and countermeasures. History records that terrorism has occurred with the Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic State (DI/TII) rebellion (Ansori 2018), while, in the Philippines, organizations have historically carried out rebellions, such as the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). In Thailand, there are War Ka Raeh (WKR) and Guragan Mujahadin Islam Pattani, which is connected to Jama'ah Islamiah. Meanwhile, Malaysia and Singapore have historically experienced acts of terrorism, for example, Malaysia is encountering the threat of terrorism from Kamputan Mujahadin Malaysia (KMM), while Singapore has relatively no terrorist organizations emerging from its territory, rather, many acts of terrorism in the country were carried out by members of the Jama'ah Islamiah and which were triggered by the close relations between Singapore and the United States (Ulfyatin 2015, Anggresti et al. 2016).

The emergence of terrorism in Southeast Asia has been suspected since the presence of Al-Qaeda's military branch in December 2001. The branch was named Jama'ah Islamiyah (JI), operating in Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia, which shows a transnational operation model. The existence of Jama'ah Islamiah (JI) adds to the list of security threats in Southeast Asia which often experiences separatist rebellions that are included as ethno-religious conflict (such as in Rakhine Aceh, Poso, Maluku, and Papua). A number of terrorist groups in Southeast Asia, especially Jama'ah Islamiyah in Indonesia, are suspected of having connections with al-Qaeda (Vaughn et al. 2005), or militant groups that adhere to a similar ideology to them, which carries out propaganda, recruits members, raises funds, and carries out bomb attacks (Sinaga 2018).

The acts of terrorism in Indonesia were not only carried out in Java and Bali, but also in several other areas, one of which was in Central Sulawesi, particularly Poso Regency. The acts of terrorism in this area were present after the communal inter-religious conflict in 2000. This situation triggered the arrival of some Mujahideen Groups, ranging from the Jihadist Group, Jamaah Islamiah (JI), and Mujahideen. The three groups have the same goal of controlling their activities in Poso Regency. The selection of the Poso area was motivated due to that this area is not well-known and is highly appropriate to be used as a place for the terrorism operations of the Jamaah Islamiah (Ansori et al. 2019).

Terrorist network operations rely on the strength of local youth, by recruiting and providing military training and carrying out their actions in certain areas, including: *First*, on June 3, 2013, a suicide bombing was carried out at the Resort Police Headquarters of Poso. *Second*, on October 7, 2014, an

improvised bomb exploded in Dewua Village, Poso Pesisir Selatan District, and the shooting of police car that came to the crime scene after the incident. *Third*, on December 27, 2014, there was an ambush and attack on three residents of Tamadue village, Lore Timur District, Poso Regency, carried out by a group of armed people suspected as terrorists. *Fourth*, on January 15, 2015, there was a sadistic murder of three residents of Tangkura Village, Poso Pesisir District. This series of events has had a negative impact on security in Poso, where people are afraid to do their activities, disrupting the conditions of order and security and raising suspicions among the people in Poso (McRae 2008).

The series of cases mentioned above show that acts of terrorism have disrupted the regulation of government as well as public order and security. The teachings of terrorism have been rooted in the society ranging from the lower class to the upper class and have the opportunity to develop. If this issue is left without any special handling, it can disrupt the spirit of tolerance and nationalism of the people in Poso. Thereby, the case of terrorism is not only a problem for the regional government, but also a problem for all elements of society in Poso Regency that must be solved. In this case, the formulation of the problem in this study is directed at the research question of how the pattern of strengthening terrorism prevention is carried out by the regional government for the community of Poso Regency so that it is not exposed to the teachings of terrorism.

Research Method

This study used qualitative methods with the aim of understanding and exploring a phenomenon so that an objective and natural conclusion is determined based on the context (Suyitno 2018). Meanwhile, this type of research used a case study that describes research results and tries to find a comprehensive overview of a situation (Prihatsanti et al. 2018). This method was used for various reasons: *First*, it relates to the research questions that use how and why. *Second*, the questions indicate the need for exploration of the problem to be answered. *Third*, it relates to control over the behavior under study, which cannot be manipulated. *Fourth*, it focuses on researching phenomena that are quite contemporary.

This method was chosen because the phenomenon under study is a case that requires an in-depth descriptive study, which is about the pattern of strengthening policies carried out by regional governments in preventing prolonged acts of terrorism in their territory. The research location was Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi, particularly in districts that have experienced continuous horizontal conflict, due to religious and ethnic factors. The emergence of religious conflict is the basis for this area to be used as a terrorist base.

To enrich the data obtained, a purposive selection of informants was carried out (Silalahi 2012), in which the selected informants represent personal information to obtain more in-depth and complex data, through deep interviews, observation and literature study. The informants involved in this study were 13 people, including: (1) Head of Commission I of the Regional People's Representative Council of Poso Regency, (2) Head of the Religious Office of Poso Regency, (3) Head of the Religious Harmony Forum of Poso Regency, (4) Deputy Head of the Religious Harmony Forum, (5) Secretary of the Religious Harmony Forum, (6) Secretary of the National and Political Unitary Agency of Poso Regency, (7) Head of Domestic Politics (Poldagri) of the National and Political Unitary Agency of Poso Regency, (8) Officers of the Intelligence Section of the Kodim 1307 of Poso, (9) Head of Social Rehabilitation Division, Poso Regency, (10) Director of the Institute for Strengthening Civil Society (LPMS), (11) Director of the Alliance for a Peaceful Indonesia (AID) Jakarta, (12) Community Leaders (Muslim leaders), and (13) Community Leaders (non-Muslim leaders).

The data analysis was carried out in the following way (Surakhnad 1990): *First*, organizing, sorting, grouping the data that had been collected. The data collection process was carried out intensively, in which, after leaving the research field, interpretation and categorization of the research results were carried out. *Second*, clarifying and strengthening the research theme. At this stage, the analysis was carried out more intensively, in which the theme was enriched and further studied by combining data from other sources. In this case, the results of the field notes were re-read, coded for certain titles of the discussion conducted, then arranged based on the typology of the data collected from the field. *Third*, analyzing the problems based on field facts. After formulating the facts, they were transferred to the analysis by finding facts that were supported by correct data and applying theories that were in accordance with the facts for in-depth analysis.

Results and Discussion

Beginning of acts of terrorism in Poso

Poso, as a post-religious conflict area, is prone to radicalism movements that foster acts of terrorism. This study identifies a number of acts of violence that triggered the emergence of acts of terrorism, including: first, acts of violence occurred in Sedoa Village, Lore Utara District on Wednesday, December 10, 2014, where the disappearance of two residents while hunting and collecting rattan in the forest was suspected as victims of violence. The second incident occurred on Saturday, December 27, 2014, when there was an ambush and attack on three residents of Tamadue Village, Lore Timur District, which was carried out by a group of armed men. The third incident occurred on January 15, 2015, when there was a brutal murder of three residents of Tangkura Village, Poso Pesisir Selatan District. The fourth incident was the violence in a form of prolonged terror that indicated the manifestation of post-conflict revenge by some people for the loss of life and material possessions during the Poso Conflict from 1998 to 2001.

The incidents unsettled the community so that they voiced their aspirations to the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). They responded and issued a Written Recommendation in the form of a Decision of the House of Representatives of Poso Regency Number: 172/04/DPRD/2015 concerning security in Poso Regency. Some of the basic points of the recommendation include: First, the DPRD of Poso Regency supports the efforts of the Indonesian National Police and Indonesian National Army to chase and arrest and reveal the perpetrators of murder, terror and hostage that occur in the Poso Regency area. Second, the DPRD of Poso Regency supports all steps and efforts made by the Central and Regional Governments in handling security and order, as well as a harmonious atmosphere throughout the Poso Regency area. Third, it is expected that the central, provincial and regency governments support through adequate APBN and APBD allocations to address the problem of urgent food needs. At this time, the provincial government is expected to take special policy steps to allocate assistance to the community and security forces who carry out security duties in the Poso Regency area. Fourth, as a long-term solution, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Ir. H. Joko Widodo, is expected to issue a special policy as legal protection in solving security problems in Poso Regency.

This recommendation is strengthened by the results of an interview with HID, Head of Commission 1 of DPRD of Poso Regency, May 26, 2019, who stated that:

"We know that there was a long social conflict in Poso. Many people died, property was lost due to burning houses. Then, there was a movement that made Poso even more insecure. We know that in 2014-2015, seven of our residents disappeared in the Districts of Lore Utara, Timur, and Poso Pesisir Selatan. In 2014, there were 16 terror incidents, including gunfights between security forces and armed groups, the killing of residents, assaults, bombings, and attacks at the Poso Police Station. This condition makes the Poso people feel unsafe. Thus, we in the Council make decisions on security issues based on the aspirations of the Poso coalition of people and community representatives from Lore Utara, Timur, and Poso Pesisir Selatan. We made this decision in a joint commission meeting and a public hearing with the Poso Regency Government Coordination Forum. Also present were the Regent of Poso, Chief of Police, Dandim, Danyon 714, and Dansat Brimob Pelopor of the Central Sulawesi Regional Police. The decision is a recommendation. The recommendation has four points. And, we address the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Joko Widodo." (Informant HID).

Responding to the security recommendation, the Regent moved quickly together with the Ministry of Religion of Poso Regency to form a harmonious village in Poso Pesisir Utara District, and the determination of the village was based on the vulnerability of the village area as a terrorism base.

This was also supported by the Head of the Poso Religious Office, MAK, during an interview on May 27, 2019, who said that:

“We, from the Ministry of Religion, with the regional government, are working together to form a village of harmony in two villages, Tambarana and Kalora Villages. We chose Tambarana and Kalora Villages because they are inhabited by people from three religions, including Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism.” (Informant MAK).

The collaboration between the regional government and the community was shown when forming and empowering the Religious Harmony Forum to make the village harmony program a success. Its membership consisted of some religious elements and those who are religious educators in the two villages. Their task is to provide enlightenment in mosques, churches and temples to the community on the importance of living in harmony and peace between religious communities.

This was stated by MAR, the secretary of FKUB of Poso Regency, June 7, 2019, who informed that, “We, the Religious Harmony Forum, divide the tasks for each member to become an extension of harmony in Tambarana and Kalora Villages. There are Islamic, Christian, and Hindu religious instructors. Our task is to provide enlightenment to live in harmony and peace among religious people.”

The explanation above can be analyzed through the securitization concept of Buzan (1991) which states that, when the state carries out the securitization process, there are several things that are prioritized, including: *First*, the actor performs securitization if an issue is considered highly urgent, the issue is included by the state as input in a policy, and the state deals with issues through rapid action. Adopting Buzan’s (1991) thinking, it shows that the three incidents of violence in the Poso Regency are a form of initial identification of the developing socio-religious issues that lead to urgent security issues. The regional government as an actor has positioned itself to take the incident as an input in its policy process as outlined in the four security recommendations contained in the Decision of the House of Representatives of Poso Regency.

Second, Buzan (1991) mentioned that the supporting conditions in the process of securitization actions (facilitating conditions) is a condition to strengthen public opinion against a threat of securitization. In this case, the security situation is not conducive in Poso Regency because acts of terrorism are a problem in the public sphere. The Regional Government carries out securitization, the units of security analysis, where the actors who are the reference for securitization are the state (DPRD) and the community. They are subjects who receive information about acts of terrorism, thus the House of Representatives has the authority to formally provide information to the public and to prevent acts of terrorism. This is different from the study conducted by Hansen (2000), which views security issues as an individualizing practice and not a political and public domain, so that security is considered as part of the individual realm, without any mixing of the state and society.

Third, Buzan (1991) also involves speech-act, which is the meaning interpreted by securitization actors on an issue that is considered a threat. Speech-act is carried out based on: (1) reference objects, referring to objects that are essentially threatened and they are trying to survive, (2) securitization actors, referring to actors who secure issues by declaring that a reference object is existentially threatened. Recommendations are objects of reference because communities and territories are threatened by acts of terrorism, so they need to obtain security as their right to survive according to the 1945 Constitution. The House of Representatives includes security issues in their hearings and joint commission meetings. Security recommendations are speech-acts in the form of actors’ actions, which are also supported by other actors in the security process in Poso, including the Bureaucracy, Indonesian National Army/ Indonesian National Police and related institutions. In this situation, borrowing the term proposed by Huysmans (2010), it identifies the securitization built by the regional government and describes a dual security pattern that articulates on daily security and ontological (religious) security.

Kambo: "Securitization: Terrorism prevention policy"

Regarding social security, Buzan (1991) also mentioned the ability to maintain and produce traditional patterns in the fields of language, culture, religion, and national identity. The Regional Government, together with the Ministry of Religion at the regency level, have adopted Buzan's thinking in establishing a harmonious village, to maintain and produce a strong pattern in traditional community relations, which is by empowering the Religious Harmony Forum, as a religious extension forum, according to the Decision of the Poso Regent Number: 188.45/1110/2016. Religious instructors are assigned with providing enlightenment to the public about the importance of religious harmony from people who have different beliefs, ideologies, languages and cultures to prevent conflict and strengthen national identity.

Terrorism prevention programs

The programs are motivated by the experience of communal conflict that traumatized people with various potential possibilities that led to the tendency of conflict based on religion and ethnicity. Therefore, the Poso Regency Government and the community work together to carry out different forms of efforts to prevent potential communal conflicts involving religious and ethnic issues. This study identifies four main programs carried out by the regional government of Poso Regency in collaboration with the community in preventing the wider tendency of radicalism and terrorism.

Strengthening the early detection of terrorism tendency

Early detection aims to anticipate unfavorable conditions and invites the community to actively participate in anticipating terrorism. Security vigilance with early detection is carried out by the authorized agency by forming a Kominda (Regional Intelligence Community) which is directly chaired by the Poso Regency Regent, while the Head of the National and Political Unitary Agency as Secretary (Soruturon 2017). Kominda also involves other elements such as: elements of the State Intelligence Agency, the Indonesian National Army, the Indonesian National Police, the State Attorney, Immigration, Customs and Excise, Taxes, Banking and other related elements.

The existence of Kominda was confirmed in an interview with WAY, Secretary of Kesbangpol of Poso Regency, May 30, 2019, that:

"In an effort to prevent terrorism in Poso, we, the regional government, are members of a community, the name is Kominda (Regional Intelligence Community). In this organization, the Regent acts as the Chairman and Kesbangpol as the Secretary. The implementation is carried out at Kesbangpol, and we also involve intelligence, such as the army, police who are members of the Kominda structure. The purpose is to search for information that is harmful to the public, which is the early detection." (Informant WAY).

The e statement was also reinforced by Pasi Intel Kodim 1307 of Poso, JAY, on June 1, 2019, that:

"Yes, in Poso, we soldiers are also involved in Kominda. Kominda works to find preliminary information about terrorist movements in Poso. We carry out early detection, in collaboration with the regional government and the police. The purpose is for security stability in Poso to run normally." (Informant JAY).

To strengthen the early detection efforts carried out by the Kominda, the Regional Government, through the National and Political Unitary Agency, established the Community Early Awareness Forum at the district level. This forum was formed as a work program for the Domestic Politics Division of the National and Political Unitary Agency in 11 districts in Poso Regency and aims to help the intelligence community carry out early detection of acts of terrorism.

This forum was actively involved in assisting BIN in the Poso Pesisir Selatan District when it received reports from the public that two residents of Sangginora Village were being held hostage by a terrorist group in a resident's garden. This forum immediately collected information from the community and reported it to the intelligence services.

This was confirmed by BEN, Head of Poldagri Kesbangpol and Kominda members, during an interview on June 8, 2019, that:

“The Community Early Awareness Forum at the Poso Pesisir Selatan District works very well. They reported an incident that two residents of Sangginora Village were held hostage by armed groups. One of the residents was detained, and one of them was ordered to return to the village to get food, with a note that he had to return with the food. After one of the residents returned from taking food, the armed group took the food and they ordered them not to report it to the police. Then, the armed group released the two residents and left.” (Informant BEN).

The report was immediately followed up by the Intelligence who immediately provided information to the Regent regarding the occurrence of hostage-taking in the garden of the resident of Sangginora Village. The result of the follow-up to Kominda's report to the Poso Regent led the Indonesian National Army/Indonesian National Police to build a security post at the entrance to Sangginora Village. Every resident who enters the village is checked for identity and is required to leave a resident identity card (KTP). They can take the ID card back when leaving the village.

The interview above illustrates the strengthening of securitization from Buzan's thinking. In principle, securitization can be carried out by anyone, and in practice, it is carried out by political leaders, bureaucracies, lobbyists, opposition groups, and other organizational groups. Further, Buzan argued that, in securitization, actors map the conditions that occur, which is the constellations of securitization. This is a mapping process related to regional security, which aims to analyze the pattern of security interrelationships from several different security complexities.

In fact, in preventing terrorism through the process of mapping regional security, the actor, in this case the intelligence party, has mapped the security area by establishing 11 districts as part of the vigilance forum. They closely monitor the 11 districts, although, in the end, there is one district (Poso Pesisir Selatan District) that becomes a terrorism base area. This shows the existence of a constellation of securitization in each district and the presence of security complexities that must be the main concern of actors. Actors carry out military security, including interactions between two levels and strengths, which are defensive capabilities and the military's perception of the intentions of each party. The results of the research in the field show that the Indonesian National Army/Indonesian National Police have built a security post at the entrance to Sangginora Village, which aims to record residents going in and out of the village to suppress terrorist groups that have started their movement in Poso Regency.

In a broad context, a study conducted by Ihsan (2019) enriched the methods of the military in strengthening regional security from terrorist acts. The military is actively involved in building counter-terrorism thinking in Indonesia. They are involved in placing its position as a state, strengthening the military territorial institutional structure by preparing intelligence with special skills, including preparing female intelligence with unique expertise in dealing with terrorism cases.

Strengthening the religious harmony program

This program is driven by the National and Political Unitary Agency with a focus on coaching and mentoring aimed at people with lower education because they are extremely vulnerable to being affected by acts of terrorism. This coaching program focuses on understanding cultural and ethnic diversity,

Kambo: “Securitization: Terrorism prevention policy”

recognizing personal and group identities, and strengthening awareness in the practice of Pancasila so that people avoid radical behavior (Kaelan 2015). The main control of the program is in the field of national and cultural resilience, in collaboration with relevant agencies, including the Military District Command (Kodim), the Resort Police (Polres) and the Poso District Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB). As stated by WAY, on June 4, 2017:

“We from the National and Political Unitary Agency of Poso Regency, especially in the field of national and cultural resilience, have a work program, which is fostering religious harmony and in accordance with the values of Pancasila. We have implemented the work program since 2016 until now. This program aims to foster religious harmony in Poso Regency.” (Informant WAY).

One of the programs was held on October 31, 2017, in Mapane Village. It involved FKUB, Indonesian National Army, and Indonesian National Police as speakers, inviting people from seven districts and approximately 100 people attended the event (see Figure 1). This inter-religious dialogue program was carried out to provide enlightenment to the community to maintain religious harmony, avoid inter-religious conflicts and prevent the spread of radical ideas in the name of certain religions. As stated by BUD, Deputy Head of FKUB, in an interview on June 3, 2019:

“So, at the Religious Harmony Forum of Poso Regency, we have the task of creating inter-religious harmony. We always coordinate with the regional government. In terms of counseling, we provide enlightenment of understanding through material about establishing religious tolerance in being aware of ideologies that are contrary to the values of Pancasila. So our role is to anticipate more so that incidents of terrorism do not develop into conflicts like the one that occurred in 2000.” (Informant BUD).



Figure 1.

Dialogue activities between religious communities, awareness of harmony and maintaining peace

Source: Research data

In this regard, the activities carried out by the Religious Harmony Forum are based on the Decision of the Poso Regent number 188.45/1110/2016 which stipulates two points, including: (1) The Religious Harmony Forum of Poso Regency carries out embedding, developing, maintaining and enhancing the sense of unity and oneness of the community in the Poso Regency area, (2) Assisting the government in carrying out service tasks to the community in the religious field. This forum is under the direct coordination of the Deputy Regent of Poso Regency.

This forum involved Kodim 1307 and Resort Police, both as presenters in strengthening the understanding of Pancasila values. The material was presented on the role of the Indonesian National Army in guarding and maintaining Pancasila as the state ideology and the role of the Indonesian National Police in countering understandings that conflict with the Pancasila ideology. It was stated by JAY, the 1307 Military Command Intelligence Section Officer on June 16, 2019, that:

“We from the Kodim 1307 of Poso took part in the outreach activities to anticipate ideas that were contrary to the values of Pancasila. We provide material to the public about our duties as the Indonesian National Army in maintaining the values of Pancasila as the basis of the state and they are given an understanding to uphold the values of Pancasila, one of which is Belief in One God.” (Informant JAY).

Meanwhile, the Resort Police party, MAN, stated that:

“The National and Political Unitary Agency of Poso Regency involved us from the Community Development Division of the Poso Police as a speaker in outreach activities regarding ideas that contradict the values of Pancasila. In this activity, we provided material about the task of the police in countering understandings that are contrary to the values of Pancasila.” (Informant MAN).

The outreach activity presented young people from various religions, aiming to invite them to build a mindset to be good citizens, have a nationalist character, maintain Pancasila values, maintain religious tolerance, and avoid terrorist movements.

The series of activities shows the principle of securitization carried out by parties with influence, such as the government as political leaders, including the ranks of the bureaucracy and community groups. Research shows that efforts to prevent terrorism through the religious harmony program are carried out by the regional government together with the Indonesian National Army and Indonesian National Police, involving the Religious Harmony Forum.

In the principle of securitization, Buzan (1991) mentioned that it is not limited to security alone, but also includes military, political, economic, social and environmental security. The religious harmony program is a security program in the social and political sectors. Social security includes the ability to maintain and produce traditional patterns in the fields of language, culture, religion, and national identity.

This study describes social security through religious outreach activities, providing understanding to the public about religious values, including efforts to maintain inter-religious harmony and national identity. This activity was carried out for three months by the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) and in collaboration with the Indonesian National Army and Indonesian National Police. Kodim 1307 and the Resort Police provided material on how to counteract ideas that are contrary to Pancasila ideology and guard Pancasila as the ideology of the nation and state. Meanwhile, political security is outlined in the continuity and stability of the state, the system of government and the ideology that legitimizes both of them.

The FKUB program strengthens Noricks’s opinion (2009) about deradicalism, which is a re-education process, which is deterrence by teaching enlightenment to the public about radical understanding, so that there is no escaping the development of that understanding. The re-education process is clearly illustrated by the strengthening of the religious harmony program through some of its activities to prevent the development of terrorism.

Strengthening the community social life

This program is controlled by the central government and regional governments through the work units of Ministries/Agencies at the Central Government and/or Regional Apparatus Work Units. The purpose is to control the provision of social assistance, poverty alleviation in the form of social protection, social

Kambo: “Securitization: Terrorism prevention policy”

security, social empowerment, social rehabilitation, and basic services. The social assistance is in the form of money, goods, or services to a person, family, group or community that is poor, underprivileged, and/or vulnerable to social risks, while the recipient of social assistance is a person, family, group or community who is poor, underprivileged, and/or vulnerable to social risks. Meanwhile, the social assistance provided by the government is manifested in social protection as an effort to provide services to individuals and communities from various social risks that are likely to occur due to various social factors that exist in the community, including acts of terrorism, due to poverty causing some people to be easily affected and accept the sect as a form of jihad in defense of Islam. Besides, people who are exposed to the teachings of terrorism are sought to get a guarantee of a decent economic life.

The regional government together with the Indonesian National Army implement a social assistance program for ex-terrorism families. The pattern of this relationship is to avoid social sanctions on terrorism families, so that they are easily accepted by the community (see Figure 2). This is as conveyed by the Military Command Intelligence Section Officer (Pasi Intel Kodim), JAY, on June 6, 2019, that:

“Well, we know that in Poso, many terrorists have been arrested. The reason is economic factors. They do not have the ability to provide for their children and wives, so they turn into terrorists. Thus, we assist local governments in implementing assistance programs for families of ex-terrorism convicts in the form of constructing decent housing (RTLH).” (Informant JAY).



Figure 2.

Social Assistance Program organized by the Women's Congress of Poso

Source: Researcher data

One of the institutions that also assist local governments in realizing community social welfare programs is the Institute for Strengthening Civil Society (LPMS). This institution strengthens social movements in realizing civil society, specifically to promote peace through strengthening grassroots communities in Bumi Sintuwu Maroso, one of the vulnerable districts in Poso. The institution consistently works on issues of conflict and peace in Poso and strengthens the democratization movement in Central Sulawesi. Looking at the perspective of civil society development that is democratic, pluralist and coexists peacefully and respects differences, this movement works more focused on the development and strengthening of civil society.

The social assistance provided to families of ex-terrorists is aimed at getting them involved in preventing radical activities, as well as preventing them from becoming radical again. The ex-terrorists are recommended by the LPMS to the Social Service to be given business assistance, so that they can return to the community and have permanent jobs with a good level of economic income.

As stated by the director of LPMS, MAL, on June 7, 2019:

“We are from LPMS, an organization in Poso that is engaged in post-conflict peace in Poso. LPMS is a bridge between ex-terrorism convicts and the social service. First, we recommend three business groups with ex-terrorism convicts to give them assistance in the form of goods, sewing machines, compressors, and agricultural equipment, with a fund of around 5 million per group. And, there is assistance in selling *ranggina* (traditional Poso cake) to former terrorism convicts. Second, we recommend a joint venture group with ex-terrorism convicts to the social service. The assistance is also the same as the 3 business groups with the former convicts. And *Alhamdulillah*, they are grateful for the assistance, and their economic needs have been fulfilled.” (Informant MAL).

The interview showed the implementation of the principle of social securitization carried out by all elements. Referring to Buzan (1991), in practice, it can be carried out by political leaders, bureaucracy, lobbyists, opposition groups, and other organizational groups. In the case in Poso, social securitization has been carried out by all parties, both political and bureaucratic leaders through the Social Service and the Indonesian National Army, as well as community organizations, which is the Institute for Strengthening Civil Society.

The strengthening of community social life program is also a reflection of Buzan’s thoughts, which emphasizes how actors carry out securitization as parties discussing securitization. This is clearly shown by the strong cooperation between social services and the Indonesian National Army as well as community organizations in developing social assistance programs for ex-terrorists and their families. The securitization actor does not only develop a securitization discourse, which states that terrorism is an existential threat but also manages this threat as part of a functional actor’s actions, which are manifested in the provision of assistance based on Regional Regulation Number 1 of 2011 concerning the Poso Regency Medium-Term Development Plan of 2016-2021 which places the Social Service as a government agency to declare social assistance programs by: (1) procuring business support facilities and infrastructure for poor families, (2) improving quality of service facilities and infrastructure of social welfare rehabilitation for PMKS.

The provision of social assistance to ex-terrorists and their families is a form of providing assistance to the object of reference, as mentioned by Buzan (1991). The object of reference is the party who is threatened. They can socially get social sanctions from other communities if the act of terrorism is not acted upon and controlled properly. The results of the study show that the social service actually and intensely takes a humanitarian approach to ex-terrorists and their families and places them as people who deserve attention and guidance so that their lives are better by providing assistance. This activity involves the Indonesian National Army in the construction of livable houses, through territorial operations, including operations to restore the security situation which has been disturbed for a long time by the threat of terrorism, radicalism and other security disturbances.

Moreover, social services also provide joint business assistance to ex-terrorists and their families, so that they have permanent jobs and can live side by side with other communities. In views about securitization, it is a form of economic security; in collaboration with the Institute for Strengthening Civil Society (LPMS), they provide assistance to ex-terrorist and families, programs to improve the quality of services and infrastructure for social welfare rehabilitation, in the form of business assistance from members of the KUBE (Joint Business Group), so that they have expertise, produce work and help in distributing the work to consumers. The implementation of terrorism prevention with an economic security approach is supported by the thinking of Noricks (2009) in his concept of deradicalization, through an entrepreneurial approach. It explains that the role taken by ex-terrorists and their families is a role in the implementation of deradicalization. The business world carried out by the Institute for Strengthening Civil Society (LPMS) has been able to create jobs, reduce unemployment, increase people’s income, and increase productivity. Additionally, the business world also has an important role to make people more creative and independent.

Kambo: “Securitization: Terrorism prevention policy”

In a different context, Bigo’s (2002) research also mentioned the role of the government in dealing with securitization issues with migration. Bigo (2002) highlighted the government’s anxiety because the legitimacy it has in dealing with security involves many risks. Immigrants who cross and enter a country have links to cases and terrorists.

Strengthening the entrepreneurship program

To accelerate the prevention of acts of terrorism, the regional government also relies on an entrepreneurship program, which is intended for ex-terrorists and their families, by involving community organizations such as the Alliance for a Peaceful Indonesia (AID) Jakarta. This alliance conducts entrepreneurship training to build ex-terrorism independence after being released from prison, including for ex-combatants who do not undergo legal processes, but are involved in violent conflicts (Bakti 2016).

The training participants receive capital from the economic empowerment program from both the government and the private sector. Even though they have received business capital assistance and equipment, this activity is generally considered not optimal for ex-terrorists and combatants due to limited knowledge in business management, product production and packaging, to marketing, both traditionally and via the internet. Entrepreneurship training is not only for technical matters, but also for strengthening life skills. This was conveyed by ADY, Director of the Alliance for a Peaceful Indonesia Jakarta, on November 2, 2019, that:

“They try to survive to live. So, there are those who try with their own capital, or through the intervention of economic empowerment programs by several government or non-government institutions. This entrepreneurship training is not only technical matters, but also ‘life-skills.’ For example, how to strengthen their commitment that starting a business is a way out and not repeating actions that are detrimental to themselves and the community.” (Informant ADY).

The Alliance for a Peaceful Indonesia Jakarta provides strengthening training in all sectors, such as training in agriculture, animal husbandry, audio-visual, workshops and culinary (see Figure 3). The Regional Government of Poso Regency was involved in supporting these activities. The Deputy Regent of Poso Regency was present and discussed about ex-terrorism. In the discussion, the Deputy Regent gave directions on how to increase deradicalization in the community. This activity was considered a success because one of the participants has succeeded in becoming a short film director and producing works, with stories from his life as an ex-terrorist and successfully improving his economic life.

In the interview with BUD, on June 5, 2019, the director of the Institute for Strengthening Civil Society, stated that:

“The results of this entrepreneurship improvement training can be considered very effective because now Ariffudin Lako alias Iin Brur has succeeded in becoming a short film director in Poso Regency. The title of the film is “Jalan Pulang” and he has been invited on a national TV as a guest star. Ariffudin was a former terrorist convict, and after his discharge, he attended training organized by AID Jakarta in Poso.” (Informant BUD).

The explanation above can be understood by applying Buzan’s thoughts about actors who play a role in securitization, which can be done by anyone and provides security space for reference objects that are threatened. In strengthening the entrepreneurship program, the actor who played a role was the Alliance for a Peaceful Indonesia (AID), an organization appointed to assist the recovery of deradicalisation that occurred in Poso Regency, and, at the same time, forming a joint network with the Strategy Policy Institute and the Celebes Institute.



Figure 3.

Culinary entrepreneurship training activities for women

Source: Researcher data

Furthermore, this Alliance plays a role as the unit security analysis; which is an actor who becomes the reference for securitization (state or community) as an organization that is also responsible for restoring security through concrete actions by providing knowledge to increase creativity through skills training in many sectors for ex-terrorists and their families.

The above process, according to Noricks (2009), is understood as a deradicalization design, which is carried out through a rehabilitation process. The parties that carry out this process are the police, correctional institutions, the Ministry of Religion, the Ministry of People's Welfare, mass organizations, etc. This program provides provisions for prisoners to be able to carry out their lives after leaving prison. Rehabilitation has the meaning of fostering independence which trains and fosters prisoners to prepare skills and expertise in prison so that after they are released, they have the skills and can open their own businesses. Finally, terrorism prevention efforts through the entrepreneurship program are life skills programs, where the program strengthens ex-terrorism commitments to be able to start a new life and get out of the terrorism teachings that they have embraced, and are no longer involved in actions that are detrimental to themselves, their families, society, and country.

The series of efforts by the Poso Regency Government against the acts of terrorism shows that policies in handling and anticipating are carried out optimally. The regional government has issued several securitization policies that lead to all aspects, social, political, economic and psychological, including: *First*, detecting early tendency of terrorism, anticipating unfavorable situations and inviting the community to actively participate in anticipating the tendency of terrorism. *Second*, strengthening the religious harmony program with activities to understand Pancasila and its diversity, either religious, ethnic, cultural and political interests. *Third*, strengthening the community social life by ensuring the provision of social assistance, poverty management and other social empowerment, not only for ex-terrorists alone, but also for communities affected by acts of terrorism. *Fourth*, strengthening the entrepreneurship program by increasing knowledge and skills not only for ex-terrorists but also for ex-combatants, to build independence so that they are easily accepted back into the community.

All of these regional government policy programs are generally aimed at reducing security tensions in their regions. By strengthening security policies both on the institutional and social elements of humanities, it clearly shows how the regional government works hard to implement regional policies in anticipating and tackling acts of terrorism so as for them not to spread. The unique thing is that this study focuses on overcoming global problems that lead to threats to security and comfort at the local level, and efforts to deal with and fight the global situation.

Conclusion

Strengthening the prevention of terrorism has been carried out by the regional government of Poso Regency since it received a security recommendation from the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). The essence of the recommendation of DPRD states that solving security problems in the Poso Regency area is a shared responsibility between the central and regional governments, and they support all steps and efforts in handling security and order, as well as a harmonious atmosphere. All socioeconomic impacts arising from acts of terrorism must be supported by providing budget allocations from both the central and regional governments, and taking policy steps to allocate assistance.

The regional government has carried out several strengthening programs in preventing acts of terrorism in Poso Regency in realizing security recommendations. The programs include; Strengthening the Early Detection of Terrorism Tendency; Strengthening the Religious Harmony Program; Strengthening the Community Social Life; Strengthening the Entrepreneurship Program. All of the programs mentioned above are efforts to strengthen security by the state as a process of politicizing policies that are presented to maintain security. In this case, the state (read; central government and regional government) acts as the actor in the securitization process and has the right to take strict measures to deal with threats. In security studies, acts of terrorism must receive attention from political leaders, bureaucracy, and other social organizations. Collaboration from all parties is the principle of securitization and ensures the creation of social, economic and political security.

References

- Anggresti R, Subagyo A, & Nurdin A (2016) Implementasi kerjasama Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT) Republik Indonesia dengan Dewan Anti Terorisme (ANTI-TERRORISM Council-Atc) Republik Filipina Tahun 2014-2016.
- Ansori MH, Imron R, Muhamad A, Sopar P, Johari E, & Vidya H (2019) *Memberantas Terorisme di Indonesia: Praktik, Kebijakan dan Tantangan*. Jakarta: The Habibie Center.
- Ansori P (2018) *Peran ASEAN convention on counter terrorism dalam menanggulangi terorisme di Asia Tenggara*. Dissertation, Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang.
- Bakti AS (2016) *Deradikalisasi Nusantara (Perang Berbasis Kearifan Lokal Melawan Radikalisme dan Terorisme)*. Jakarta: Daulat Press.
- BBC News (2019) *Kisah kepahlawanan di balik serangan masjid: 'Dia mengadang peluru demi menyelamatkan saya*. BBC News, 17 March. [Accessed 8 March 2021]. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-47600534>.
- Bigo D (2002) *Security and immigration: Toward a critique of the governmentality of unease*. *Alternatives* 27 (1):63-92.
- Borum R (2011) *Radicalization into violent extremism I: a review of social science theories*. *Journal of Strategic Security* 4 (4):7-36. <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.4.4.1>.
- Borum R (2015) *Assessing risk for terrorism involvement*. *Journal of Threat Assessment and Management* 2 (2):63-87. <https://doi.org/10.1037/tam0000043>.
- Buzan B (1987) *Introduction to strategic studies: Military technology and international relations*. London: Macmillan.
- Buzan B (1991) *People, states and fear: An agenda for international security studies in the post-cold war era*. Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Gaibulloev K & Sandler T (2008) *The impact of terrorism and conflicts on growth in Asia, 1970–2004*. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute.
- Hansen L (2000) *The little mermaid's silent security dilemma and the absence of gender in the Copenhagen school*. *Millennium* 29 (2):285-306.
- Huysmans J (1998) *Security! What do you mean? From concept to thick signifier*. *European journal of international relations* 4 (2):226-255. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1354066198004002004>.
- Huysmans J (2010) *What is in an act? Dispersing politics of insecurity*. *The Politics of Securitization*. In: Conference organized by the Centre for Advanced Security Theory (CAST), 13-14 September 2010, Copenhagen. Milton Keynes: The Politics of Securitization. 1-20.

- Ihsan R (2019) Peran Militer dalam Kontra-Terrorisme di Indonesia. *Deviance Jurnal kriminologi* 3 (1):54-68.
- Kaelan (2015) *Liberalisasi Ideologi Negara Pancasila*. Yogyakarta: Paradigma.
- McRae D (2008) *The escalation and decline of violent conflict in Poso, Central Sulawesi, 1998-2007*. Dissertation, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Mubarok AM (2020) Menag: Terorisme tak bisa dibenarkan atas alasan apapun. *Sindonews*, 5 November. [Accessed 8 March 2021]. <https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/220868/15/menag-terorisme-tak-bisa-dibenarkan-atas-alasan-apapun-1604560275>.
- Noricks D (2009) *The challenge of domestic intelligence in a free society: A multidisciplinary look at the creation of a U.S. domestic counterterrorism intelligence agency*. New York: Rand Corporation.
- Prihatsanti U, Suryanto, & Hendriani U (2018) Menggunakan studi kasus sebagai metode ilmiah dalam Psikologi. *Buletin Psikologi* 26 (2):128-141.
- Sani (2016) Eksistensi Kelompok Teror Di Poso. *Kompasiana*, 1 May. [Accessed 5 February 2018]. <https://www.kompasiana.com/www.kompasiana.com.sani267/5725bc8c959373d70685a18b/eksistensi-kelompok-teror-di-poso?page=all#section1>.
- Silalahi U (2012) *Metode penelitian sosial*. Bandung: PT Reflika Aditama.
- Sinaga RM (2018) *Terorisme kanan Indonesia*. Jakarta: PT Elex Media Komputindo.
- Soruturon M (2017) Polisi Buru Sisa Teroris Kelompok Poso dan Bima. *CNN Indonesia*, 31 October. [Accessed 6 March 2018]. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20171031134250-12-252403/polisi-buru-sisa-teroris-kelompok-poso-dan-bima/>.
- Surakhnad W (1990) *Pengantar penelitian ilmiah dasar metode teknik*. Bandung: Tarsito.
- Suyitno (2018) *Metode penelitian kualitatif: Konsep, prinsip dan operasionalnya*. Tulungagung: Akademia Pustaka.
- Ulfyatin A (2015) Makna menjadi keluarga 'teroris' bagi keluarga tersangka terorisme Amrozi dan Ali Ghufron di Desa Tenggulun, Kecamatan Solokuro, Kabupaten Lamongan. *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik* 28 (2):70-79. <https://doi.org/10.20473/mkp.V28I22015.70-79>.
- Vaughn B, Chanlett-Avery E, Cronin R, Manyin M, & Nicksch L (2005) *Terrorism in Southeast Asia*. Library of Congress Washington DC Congressional Research Service. Report dated 07 February 2005.
- Victoroff J (2005) The mind of terrorist: A review and critique of psychological approaches. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (1):30-42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02F0022002704272040>.
- Wati DDS, Effendi E, & Etorita W (2015) *Peran ASEAN dalam memberantas tindak pidana terorisme di kawasan Asia Tenggara berdasarkan convention on counter terrorism*. Dissertation, Riau University, Pekanbaru.
- Yulianti D (2017) Perang global melawan terorisme dalam perspektif sekuritisasi. *Jurnal ICMES* 2 (1):207-229. <https://doi.org/10.35748/jurnalicmes.v1i2.13>.