Efforts in Pressing the Emergence of Terrorist Network
(Study on Balinese Community Response after the Kuta Bombing)

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Abstract This research aimed to make description on alternative way to press terrorism in Indonesia. Some approaches are adopted, especially by the government, to eliminate the terrorists, namely: a firm approach by attacking the terrorists, legal remedy by bringing them before the court and giving punishment. However, such efforts still not able to maximally pressing the terrorism. Terror in Jalan Thamrin Jakarta in the early 2016 showed that terrorism still cannot be pressed. This research aimed to give additional approaches in combating terrorism by using local wisdom. Bali as one of tourist destination in Indonesia, had twice experiences of terrorist attack with many casualties. Bali has a lot of local wisdoms which meanings can be explored. Some of it are menyama braya, mesegeh ritual, okokan arts performance and Tat Twam Asi. Therefore, there are several methods and steps which can be used to press the terrorism by exploring the meanings contained in such local wisdoms. All of that local wisdoms contains the meanings of cooperation, alertness and togetherness. The terrorists are expected to stop their terrorism attack by implementing such local wisdoms.

Key Words: Local Wisdoms, Cooperation, Togetherness, Alertness, Awareness

I. INTRODUCTION

Combating terrorism is one of the main task of the present Indonesian government. After making various efforts to suppress terrorist activities, such as arresting and punishing the perpetrators and the brain bombings and chasing their hideout, Indonesia still affected by the same event. Suicide bombing that occurred in Jalan Thamrin, Jakarta in early 2016 still shows that these perpetrators are around us and easily committing crimes. The same thing was repeated when a police in Tangerang was stabbed. Terrorists want the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary movement is an attempt to replace the fundamental ideologies, institutions and political apparatus (Piliang 2014: vii).

The above events have proved that combating terrorism requires a long time, in various ways and approaches. One example of terror is the protest upon dissatisfaction towardsthe of government's policies. Terrorists can commit terror on behalf of themselves and also on behalf of the group, and evenon behalf of ideology or religion they profess. Thus, the act ofdissatisfaction towards the government can be likened to the rebellion efforts that occurred in Indonesia in the decade of the fifties, such as Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indoneisa (PRRI)/ Perjuangan Rakyat Semesta (Permesta), Ratu Adil, Darul Islam (DI)/Tentara Islam Indonesia (TII) and so on. All of these rebellions were suppressed by the Indonesian government, which requires a specific approach and certain time. Therefore, the attempts to suppress such rebellions require such a long time.

Combating terrorist actually can be done by taking the same point of view. It is just the effort requires a long process with a variety of existing approaches. During this time, there are three approaches made by the government to combat terrorism. First is by using legal approach where the perpetrators are punished after going through the court process. Second is by violent and assertive approaches conducted through hunting down the perpetrators and his group's hiding place. Third is to undertake preventive efforts through dialogue therefore the groups that deemed potentially develop into radical groups get a better understanding as well as to do dissemination to societies and student.

The process of combating terrorism requires considerable time and various possible approaches. Especially in states with a wide variety of ethnic such as in Indonesia. Collective identity in a state constitutes as one factor of the emergence of hostility (Ward, 2011, 96). One of the alternatives that can be used is to incorporate preventive approach based on local wisdom. This approach embeds local wisdom messages available in the diversity of Indonesian community. This approach can be combined with the lecture method to deliver such local wisdom message to the community members. Indonesia with its cultural variety, has a wide variety of local wisdom that can be used and interpreted.

The majority of Balinese people is Hindu. They have a variety of local wisdom that when excavated, have a meaning that can be used to suppress and foster national and community awareness of the whole community. Almost all traditional wisdom in Bali have a meaning of togetherness, mutual tolerance, emphasizing the similarities among mankind, or also inviting public to aware against of any signs that may be harmful to the community. The ritual of mesegeh for example, is a ritual that basically delivers message to the community to prepare themselves against various threats in this social life. This ritual shows that this approach succeeded in touching the sense of those who seen as the one deemed to be threatening this social life. Tat Twam Asi as the philosophy of Hindu in Bali teaches how we, as humans, are actually have the same sense and thoughts as the others, therefore if we hurt others, we also will feel pain. There are many other wisdoms alive in Hindu community which can be used to deliver message to anyone in Bali in order to grow awareness therefore social order can be achieved.

II. THE TERRORISM PHENOMENON

Terrorism is actually an old phenomenon. However, in modern times, the establishment of Israel is the main driver behind the terrorism attitude in the world, especially in the method of showing the group identity even its struggle. The establishment of Israel caused the Palestinian people were expelled in the Middle East and brought groups of people live in refugee camps. This then encouraged the struggle to liberate Palestine from Israeli occupation. One of the method used in such case was violence. The emergence of the Palestine Liberation Organization was also encouraged such acts. Method used to perform that action was by hijacking the plane (Muttaqien, 2012: 27). This method is often done because of the high level of threat. Not only had the Palestine Liberation Organization who did this, but also groups other Palestinian fighters based in Lebanon. This kind of violence will directly impact the fear of the targeted community meanwhile on the other side the perpetrators and organizers of hijacking will quickly become famous throughout the world. The explained movements happened a lot in the seventies until the nineties decades. A lot of terrorists are in an idealistic thought in which the reason is to defend religious beliefs or politics even nationalist (Djelantik, 2010, 24).

The most famous terrorism which using plane as the means was the crashed of two planes into the World Trade Centre in the US on 11 September 2001 which ripped through the building (Abimanyu, 2005: 149). Based on such event, the US then hunted down the perpetrator behind the tragedy, Osama bin Laden, which then caused various acts of violence, including the raised of the terror group of Islamic State in Iraq and Syria.

Terrorism in Indonesia, especially those that mimic the patterns used by radical groups in the Middle East, can be seen since the early eighties decade. In 1982, a Garuda Indonesia plane, Woyla, was hijacked by a group of Salman and forced to land at Don Muang Airport, Thailand. Indonesian Special Forces, Kopasanda, managed to free the hostages. Firm action taken by the New Order government caused to the nonexistence of terrorism in the New Order era.

Terrorism began to reappear after the reform era. The most famous one was the terrorism in Bali. The pattern used in such terror conducted by mimicking the Middle East way, same as in the hijacking of Garuda plane, Woyla. In 2002, the terrorist blew himself up in Spanish pady's Club and Sari Club in Kuta. In 2005, terrorists also blew himself up at Jimbaran, Kuta. The total of death were hundreds. This pattern of suicide bombing and plane hijacking that happened in 1982 is not part of the violence phenomenon in Indonesia. After the Bali bombing

incident, there have been many acts of terror occurred in Jakarta and elsewhere in Indonesia, for example in Poso, Sulawesi. Patterns of suicide bombings became commonly used in Indonesia. Thus, models of the behavior of terrorists in the Middle East become some sort of guidance for terrorists in Indonesia. There was also another phenomenon where two terrorist leaders, Dr. Hazahari and Noordin M. Top, were hang around in Indonesia. These two figures from Malaysia were recruited new terrorists and taught bomb-making. These two already killed by Indonesian security forces.

III. THE EFFECT OF TERRORIST EXPANSION

Political reform in Indonesia is considered to have an influence on the emergence of these terrorists. Rationale is that the freedom of information that occurs in this reform era, a variety of influences from outside can easily enter Indonesia. Nowadays, of course the modern development of communication technology also has great contribution in this field. Internet-based information allows teachings from abroad, mainly from the Middle East, to enter freely into Indonesia. Some also expressed that such information is combined with social conditions in Indonesia. Unemployment and poverty that exist in Indonesia are considered to have contribution to the emergence of terrorists because the information coming from the outside is considered promising something to the poor and unemployed community groups. There is an opinion that says that Muslims who live in poverty, ignorance and injustice are fertile grounds for radical thinking (Taher, 2004, 22). Any person living in injustice seems to also think the same way. The emergence of terrorist, Imam Samudra, is used as an indicator towards this direction. Such emergence is rooted from poverty. On a new conflict of scale that occurred in Indonesia, this is due to changes in social structures that foster new social classes, although it is not of the rich group. The increase of globalization, social media and internet creates new class upon people who are dissatisfied with the phenomenon of social change (Della Porta, Diani 1999: 47).

Compared with the new order era, the government in the reform era is considered as less assertive against any violence. The brain of the plane hijacking of Woyla in 1982, Imron, directly executed by the new order government in contrary with the government after the reform. As a result, terrorists have more courage to commit crimes in Indonesia. It should not only Imam Samudra who received the death penalty, but also another leader of terrorism.

The development of weapon used by the terrorists is also must be considered. In the past, the weapons used were centered on the weapons that could be smuggled into the aircraft. However, nowadays, the weapons used by terrorists are those that can be assembled in ways that are simple with greater destructive power. How to assemble it can also be done by downloading it on the internet or discuss them through the Internet. This is the reason behind the development of terrorism in Indonesia with the relatively open sale of explosives. The police also unable to carry out searches continuously for goods in the market that could potentially be used as an explosive.

In addition, the ideological antagonism and hostility are also deemed as factors that expand the influence of terrorists in Indonesia. Historically, especially with regard to the Middle East, terrorism was emerged as the result of hatred towards Western countries. The emergence of the Israel cannot be separated from the support of Western countries, especially the United States (US) and its allies. Plane hijackings that occurred in the seventies decade targeting many Jews and Westerners. Representations of Western countries in Indonesia are corporations and foreign tourists. There are many foreign companies established in Indonesia with their employees who directly come from Western countries. Likewise, many foreign tourists visit Indonesia. For this reason, then the terrorists began to move and targeting the interest of the Western countries in Indonesia. The bomb blasts that occurred many times in Jakarta and Bali show that terrorists in Indonesia are still targeting Western interests in Indonesia. The existence of this reality will always lead to the emergence of terrorism in Indonesia.

Another factor need to be considered are the geographic, demographic and settlement in Indonesia. Geographically, Indonesia is an archipelagic country with mountainous area. Demographically, the Indonesian community consists of people who are not fully able to enjoy the prosperity they deserve. The geographical condition of Indonesia leads to many loopholes for infiltration. At least logically, the displacement of the perpetrators is easier by sea or by land road that is less supervised. Smuggling of tools to commit the crime (for example bomb-making equipment) can be easily done due to geographical condition of Indonesia which is an archipelago country. The arrival of terrorists from Java to Sulawesi or Bali can be done by utilizing such geographic condition. In Poso, terrorists make their

movements in mountains which are difficult to be tracked by the police.

With such conditions as additions to the settlement condition that exist in Indonesia, terrorists will easily maintain and develop their existence. Indonesian community tends to take group action. Both in villages and cities, many social activities are conducted by large number of people. Nowadays, traditional market constitutes also as one example of the crowd center. People who have bad intention, including terrorists, are targeting crowded places to commit their crimes. In relation to that, Kuta and Jimbaran are crowded centers that became targets of the terrorists. Crowded place is selected to commit such crime because the perpetrators will easily sneak out and will create more victims in case of a bomb blast.

IV. The Phenomenon In Bali

As with other regions in Indonesia, such as in Java and Sumatra, Bali also experienced violence for example at the time of the *Gerakan 30 September (G30S)*. Thousands of victims died during such event in Bali. Even this violence also caused terror in the community that gave birth to the "critical" phrase at that time. However, Bali does not have a terror history as blown up by the terrorist. There is difference of tensions created between the *G30S* with what the terrorists do. At the time of the G30S, the target has been known by the public, namely those labeled as members of the *Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI)*. So, people who were not related to such political party were not targeted. This event was more related to political problems. Meanwhile, terrorism perpetrated by the terrorists does not have a target as described above. Anyone can be a victim of terror when a bomb exploded in a crowded place. With these conditions, the Balinese people really surprised with the bomb blast in Bali which first happened in 2002 followed by the second bomb in 2005.

Until the mid-eighties, Bali tourism could be said to be not as excellent as after the reform era. Even on the seventies decade, there were only few five-star hotels with Hotel Bali Beach as the leading hotel. Rows of hotels in Nusa Dua was being constructed. Under these conditions, the number of tourist visits was small. Kuta also had no five-star hotel as it looks like now (2016). Balinese people were more involved in agriculture, plantations and farms. This then shows that the Balinese community was too far from the terror phenomenon that already started in the Middle East at that time.

Before the bomb explosion, Balinese people viewed that terrorists and terrorist bombings were merely an "outside" affair which only happened in Western countries, especially in the Middle East. Palestinian and Middle East conflicts that gave birth to the bombing and plane hijacking were only the state affairs of such region. Bali was seen far from the vortex of such a conflict. In line to it is the bomb that exploded in Jakarta. Not least because of this problem is seen more on the political and religious influence competition. However, political developments, international economics, mass media and international public traffic then change this view into the fact that Bali is actually part of the terrorist's target.

V. The Weakness Of the Position Of Bali

The explosion of two bombs in Bali show how Bali is actually the target of terrorism. First is from tourism visits. Especially in the early nineties and the beginning of the new millennium, tourist arrivals in Bali has been very rapid. Tourism Visit Year launched by the central government in 1991 indicating Bali already has a complete tool in the field of tourism. And that was what happened at the beginning of the millennium 2000s. Number of foreign tourists visiting Bali becoming more and more, especially in Kuta and Sanur. Such tourists were coming from the Western countries such as the United States, Australia, Britain, France and other Western countries. As a representation of Western society, the citizens of the Western Countries are the primary targets of the terrorists.

Western countries, especially the US, are seen as object of terrorist's target because they are perceived to be unfair to the people in the Middle East. US invasion of Iraq, Kuwait, the capture of Saddam Hussein, and especially the Palestinian issue that has not find justice because it is occupied by Israel, is seen as the fault of the West parties. So, wherever there are citizens of countries within the same block as the US, such citizens will be hunted by the terrorists. Bali is one of many tourist destinations for foreign tourists. The visit of such tourists incidentally carries the symbol of Western civilization and thus become a target of terrorism as what happened in 2002 and 2005.

Second, tourism encourages newcomers in Bali who are less controllable. After the economic crisis of 1998, Bali Island was invaded by immigrants due to bankruptcy, especially from Java. This emergence raises some aspects in Bali. Economically, Bali is becoming more dynamic because of the emergence of housing, boarding houses and various merchants to

support social life. The growth of one house developer encourages the emergence of another house developers. Unfortunately, on the other hand, this condition leads to the habit of people to sell their land. However, the most worrying effect is the emergence of immigrants to stay in *desa pakraman* (customary village) that cannot be well controlled. This leads to an effect where terrorist can easily rent a house or boarding house that later on is used as the location to assembly the bombs. The first bomb that occurred in Bali in 2002 was assembled in a boarding house located in Sanglah.

The third is the emergence of slum houses. Such social uncontrolled urbanization leads to the emergence of residential and boarding houses. Many of *Desa Pakraman* then updated their *awig-awig (*customary law) therefore it able to control the immigrants. However, immigrants who have bad intentions are always able to fool the security guard, which is a traditional Balinese organization that protect the society, employed by *Desa Pakraman*. Empty residential or boarding house is typically rented and leased by the immigrants. But as their habit, they inhabit such residential or boarding house in group with large number of people. The unregistered residents can come anytime during the night shift is over. This way always able to get people who have malicious intent. The escape of suicide bombers, both in Kuta and Jimbaran, was inseparable from the uncontrollable tenants of the boarding house. Likewise, the arrival gate at the port of Gilimanuk is also less controlled therefore the perpetrators can easily escape from Bali.

The fourth is deployment of tourist area and the tourist's attitude. In Bali, the most famous tourist spots are Kuta and Sanur. The social structure of these two sites is different to each other. Tourists with high budget commonly stay in Sanur rather than in Kuta. That is why there are more hotels built in Kuta therefore the building in Kuta is more crowded. Consequently, there are many entertainment spots provided in Kuta, for example there are many night clubs. The first bombs in Bali were happened in Sari's and Padi's Club which located in Kuta. There were hundreds of tourists that came on that night, therefore the victims were more than 200 people. The effect of the bombing was very wide until the whole world was shocked.

The latest development, currently in 2016, tourism areas in Bali are spreading to all corners. That is closely related to the development of the types and transportations of tourism in Bali. In the past, tourism activity in Bali was only focusing on the cultural aspect and natural aspect such as landscape. Currently, tourism that is packaged into spa tourism, traditional massage, culinary, and adventurous tourism into villages are being developed in Bali. Means of highways and transports are also getting better. Roads in Bali are almost in hot mix. This also affects the construction of accommodation for tourists, including market areas for foreign tourists. For the propagator of terror, such deployment is advantageous because it allows them to lock the target. For Balinese community, this phenomenon is quite dangerous because terrorists easily catch their targets in Bali.

The fifth is the geographical position of Bali. Bali has a very strategic position in international relations such as the traffic to the West communities of the trade centers of Europe, Middle East or East Asia to Australia and vice versa. In the geographical position of Indonesia, Bali is located in the middle, making it easier for people from all over the places to stopover in Bali. With international airport, namely *I Gusti Ngurah Rai* airport, anyone from around the world will easily come to Bali therefore terrorists will also easily come to Bali and later on possible to commit crimes. Areas like beaches and port like Gilimanuk are not well-controlled, therefore the terrorists will perform smuggling easily. For terrorists, such geographical conditions will make their tasks become easier.

Based from the above explanations, Bali is actually the most vulnerable place of terrorism. Considering the desperate attitude of terrorists and their spreading networks, Bali is actually really reachable in the view of those terrorists. Therefore, there were bomb blasts in Bali happened in 2002 and 2005.

VI. THE RESPONSE FROM BALINESE COMMUNITY

In the context of Balinese sociological, the bombing incident that happened two times in Bali is indicating imbalance in the social and cosmological universe. Traditional Balinese community addresses these events by performing religious rituals in Hindu-Bali ways, for example *mecaru*, either at the scene or to the community at large. *Pecaruan* believes to provide psychological support for Balinese community, one of them is to bring back the balance of the nature. *Pecaruan* is basically part of Hindu-Bali ritual and part of traditional wisdom to restore the natural balance. *Caru* is offering animals to the universe to restore the balance. Psychological benefit is important not only to the community of Kuta and its surroundings but also to the workers who were there on the scene when the accident took place.

In the ritual context, *nangluk merana* as one of the rituals that was performed generally by public in the sixties decade is now reintroduced more widely, including in Badung regency. Kuta is one of the districts of Badung regency where the bomb took place. Actually, the *nangluk merana* ritualis used by rice farmers in Bali to lift up their confidence to work in the fields. By doing such ritual, it is believed that all the annoying pests of paddy will be destroyed so the threats will be very minimal. At the very least, within the limits of psychological, farmers will eager to cultivate their crops.

Nevertheless, the understanding of *nangluk merana* ritual concept need to be expanded in the term of combating terrorism. *Merana* is anything that cause disease. In Bahasa, *merana* means suffering miserably. So obviously, terrorists who committed bombings can be considered as the cause of suffering. That is why *nangluk merana* ritual is also performed by the government of Badung regency which also covers the combating terrorism context. This ritual aims to restore the psychological confidence of community, both public in Badung regency, entrepreneurs, and workers who work in the tourism activity. Maximization of work can be achieved with a good mental condition.

Desa pakraman is coupled with what so called *awig-awig* and *perarem*. Organizationally, *awig-awig* is a basic budget of the village and *perarem* is a household budget. There is also another term called *peswaran* which is an (usually) non-writing agreement that applies shorter than *perarem*. The Bali bombings caused *DesaPakraman* which are located not only in Badung regency but also in other regencies, under the supervision of The Main Assembly of *Desa Pakraman* (*Majelis Utama Desa Pakraman)* to update and revise their existing *awig-awig* and *perarem* with the help of academics from Udayana University. *Desa pakraman* who previously did not have written *awig-awig* are required to make such *awig-awig*. One of the most prominent of renewal of it is all immigrants shall report within one day (24 hours) since their stay in one place. The immigrants are also obliged to make identity card which is called as Seasonal Resident Card (*Kartu Penduduk Musiman* or *Kipem)*.

This way is an attempt to control the growing number of immigrants who come to Bali. Bali bombings were sourced from the immigrants and their ability to assemble the bomb. Such thing is possible due to the uncontrolled boarding houses.

Response given by *desa pakraman*, psychologically supports the rituals performed by the Hindu-Bali teachings as well as provides legal basis by this traditional organization to take a step, for example *Pecalang* to perform its duties. This is a rational way to restore social life. This method is used to get the maximum benefit from the various considerations exist (Ritzer, 2007, 396).

Pecalang is an organ of *desa pakraman* which has the function of maintaining social security. Its duties are performing unannounced visits to residents in the neighborhood of *desa pakraman*, including conducting nightly patrols when the state is seen as less safe or maintaining village security and order, especially in relation to the implementation of the customs and Hinduism (Windia, 2014: 136). In performing its duties, *pecalang* are encouraged to use positive ways of communication. Therefore, way to create understanding and equality is by using the communicative and understandable language. (Dana, 2016: 74).

Examples of the updates of *awig-awig* as the normative foundation are nightly patrols are possible to be done and the inspection of the housing residents. In the context of the Bali bombings, the *Pecalang* has started its above-mentioned duties. To foster its duties, *Pecalang* is equipped with vehicles or facilities to carry out the night tasks. The presence of *pecalang* is able to increase the sense of security and confidence of the people after the Bali bombing. Indeed, at some point, some *pecalang* are misusing their authorities by acting arrogantly against citizens and immigrants. However, this only occurs in a few places. Generally, *Pecalang* are doing their duties very well.

In addition to the above traditional approach, the government of Indonesia, including the Regional Government of Bali Province has made various efforts to suppress terrorism. In the Bali bombing case, the police already chased, caught and punished the perpetrators. The Indonesian government has succeeded in carrying out its duties by arresting the perpetrators, bringing them before the court and then punishing them in accordance with the applicable decision. Sentenced to death of Imam Samudra was one of the success example.

Regional Government of Bali, in this case the police, has also conducted preventive measures to anticipate all possibilities with regard to any suspicious or vulnerable events that might affect social stability in Bali, including the Feast day. The police commonly guard the vital areas, such as the entrance to Bali and worship places. Furthermore, the police, including soldiers, also guards the port of Gilimanuk and Padang Bay especially when dangerous events happen, for example the Jakarta bombing or the attack on the police headquarters in

Jakarta. On New Year or Christmas, the churches are also guarded by the security forces.

Traditionally, Balinese local wisdoms are very potential to contribute in pressing the existence of terrorists in Bali. Values of togetherness, the teachings of peace and the awareness towards any suspicious threats are contained in the Balinese local wisdoms. The examples of Balinese local wisdoms which can be explored are ritual of *mesegeh,* the meaning of *tektekan* as part of Balinese art, *okokan* until *ngusaba dangsil.* It requires deeper exploration of meanings and then such local wisdoms are ready to be delivered to the public.

VII. CONCLUSION

Until now, the area of Bali is still vulnerable to terrorist threats because Bali is one of international tourism destinations. Tourists who come in with the symbolic of Western civilization become the target of terrorism because they are seen as representations of injustice of those especially associated with people in the Middle East and the religion matters. In addition to that, the growth of tourism activities triggers a large number og immigrant therefore it is difficult to control them. With the hustle of tourism and settlement, the propagators of terror are easily disguise themselves by engaging themselves in the community or rented house like people in general. Based on the incident of Bali bombings which happened twice, Balinese community tries to utilize its local wisdoms in order to stabilize the universe and increase a sense of security to restore confidence in social life. Examples of steps taken by Balinese community are performing religious rituals such as *mecaru,* reconstructing and updating the rules or *awig-awig* in *desa pakraman*. With such normative basis rules, the organ of *desa pakraman* namely *pecalang*, can take its functions. There are still many local wisdoms in Bali that can be explored. Furthermore, the meanings of such local wisdoms need to be translated and then disseminated to the public with aim to press the terrorism development. The above explanations are many approaches used by people to deal with terrorism in order to restore the normal social life.

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