DEVELOPING SOCIAL CAPITAL TO COUNTER TERRORISM

MEMBANGUN MODAL SOSIAL DALAM KONTRA TERORISME

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Abstract - Social capital is a quality that can be a facilitator of interpersonal cooperation. Social capital is about the value of social networks, bonding similar people and bridging between diverse people, with norms of reciprocity. Social capital can aggregate bonds, bridges, and linkages between apparatus and citizens. However understanding terrorism should be the firts task. To understand terrorism, therefore the same definition should be shaped as national or common perception of terrorism. Studies have found more than 200 definitions of terrorism. If the definition of terrorism widely agreed and acceptable, thus the counterterrorim can be taken with realistic and fair indicators of success, and accountable. It is weird but real that common people generalized terrorism as Islamist, thus terrorism is pointed to moslem followers. As a basic or fundamental to define terrorism, all people should understand value and norms which all moslem adopted and followed. From this point, the common understanding will build common interest that all people aware of terrorism and has willing altogether to take counter terrorism actions. Therefore, the higher social capital will reach the higher governmental efforts to counter terrorism.

Keywords: Social Capital, Terrorism, Counterterrorism, Islam Norms, Islam Values.

Abstrak -- Modal sosial adalah suatu kualitas yang dapat menjadi fasilitator kerja sama antar pribadi. Modal sosial adalah tentang nilai-nilai jaringan sosial, ikatan orang yang sama dan menjembatani antara orang-orang yang beragam, dengan norma-norma timbal balik. Modal sosial dapat mengagregasi ikatan, jembatan, dan hubungan antara aparat dan warga. Namun demikian pemahaman terorisme harus menjadi tugas pertama. Dalam memahami terorisme, definisi yang sama harus dibentuk sebagai persepsi nasional atau persepsi umum tentang terorisme. Studi telah menemukan lebih dari 200 definisi terorisme. Jika definisi terorisme secara luas dapat disepakati dan diterima, sehingga upaya kontraterorisme dapat diambil dengan indikator keberhasilan yang realistis dan adil, dan akuntabel. Aneh tapi nyata bahwa orang-orang secara umum mengeneralisasi terorisme sebagai Islam, sehingga terorisme berkaitan dengan pengikutnya. Sebagai dasar atau fundamental untuk mendefinisikan terorisme, semua orang harus memahami nilai dan norma-norma yang diadopsi dan diikuti semua muslim. Dari titik pemahaman ini akan membangun kepentingan bersama bahwa semua orang menyadari terorisme dan memiliki kesediaan untuk mengambil tindakan kontra terorisme. Dengan demikian, modal sosial yang lebih tinggi akan mencapai hasil yang lebih tinggi dalam upaya pemerintah untuk melawan terorisme.

Kata Kunci: modal sosial, terorisme, kontra terorisme, norma-norma Islam, nilai-nilai Islam.

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Introduction

Indonesia has the largest moslem population in the world. As the largest one, policy about terrorism is as complex as its counter actions. Definition of terrorism itself has various explanations. Archetti have found more than 200 definitions of terrorism around the globe.² Simon reports that at least 212 different definitions of terrorism exist across the world; 90 of them are recurrently used by governments and other institutions.³ Schmid and Jongman from the University of Leiden (Netherlands) gathered over a hundred academic and official definitions of terrorism and examined them to identify the main components.⁴ Schmid and Jongman examined content analysis of those definitions inwhich careful, thorough, systematic analysis and interpretation of the content of texts (or images) to identify patterns, themes, and meanings. Merari found that, in the U.S., Britain, and Germany, there are three common elements that exist in the legal definitions of terrorism of those countries: (1) the use of violence, (2) political objectives, and (3) the aim of propagating fear in a target population.⁵

After the successive terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and Pentagon (2001), Madrid (2004) and London (2005), Terrorist group known as Al Qaeda declared that the incident was a tragedy that attack against US and Western interests and call it a Holy War.⁶ Leads by the United States, this global policy about terrorism have been adopted by many countries. As a matter of fact the US post cold war as the most powerful country in the international system, then the US needs another issue since the cold war ended.

During the Cold War, the idea of liberalism fought with socialism and its manifest. The world shaped into two polar, well-known as Western Block and Eastern Block. Many conflicts occurred during that period such as Afghanistan War, Iran-Iraq War, Vietnam

² C. Archetti, Understanding Terrorism in the Age of Global Media. A Communication Approach, (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

³ Jeffrey D. Simon, The Terrorist Trap, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

⁴ Alex Schmid & Albert Jongman, *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literatur,* (Amsterdam: North Holland, Translation Books, 1988).

⁵ Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 5(4), 1993, pp.213–251.

⁶ Rohan Gunaratna, "Combating Al-Qaida and Associated Groups", in Doron Zimmermann and Andreas Wenger (Eds), How States Fight Terrorism, Policy Dynamics in the West, (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publisher Inc, 2008), pp. 175-182.

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War, and Germany divided by two. The End of cold war marked by the down of Berlin Wall, the separation of USSR, and conflict rose in the former of Yugoslavia and many countries. Since that, communism is not an issue anymore.

However according to Mearsheimer, the world need to be balanced.⁷ The Idea of liberalism and its implementations cannot be followed by all states especially the common issue like terrorism and extremism. Many countries in Asia have been facing many long-term conflict near its border inwhich not only base on ethno nationalist but also based on ideology and religion and it is called terrorist too. Eventhough, this conflict can be reduced gradually, but it is still out there and conducting terror.

In Indonesia, terrorist attacks occuredbetween 2000-2016 includes 45 terrorist attacks with a total of 228 people died and 380 people were injured. Although after 2011 there was a decrease in quantity but there is still a terrorist attack in Bandung (2013), Solo (2013), and recently on Thamrin Street Central Jakarta (2016), while others attacks will continue to provide psychological stress and negative impact on the image of Indonesia in the international environment.

Citizens are still not aware and tend to be apathy of the terrorism. People are not aware because of issues related to the terrorist ideology especially when the issues related to the moslem way of life. In this case the major issue is jihad. Jihad according to Islam value are not only in the form of killing. The other forms of Jihad can be achieved as long as the moslem follow the rule of Allah in many different actions such as education, life, works and et cetera. However, it is obvious that some Islam followersundertand in the hardest form such as fight or kills. To solve this problem, value of Jihad need to explain more, and the same time the opinion about Islam should be proportionally fair. On the other hand, Indonesian has its own values and norms which is writen in Pancasila.

Based on this back ground the issues that should be brought together as a whole package are definition of terrorism and its counter, understanding and socialisation of Islam Value, and building social capital based on the same definition of terrorism and

⁸ Sources: http://www.bnpt.go.id, http://www.polri.go.id, http://www.tempo.com, http://www.kompas.com, downloaded: 16/08/2015. Author also visited and collected data in BNPT and Densus 88 during his research in 2015.

⁷ John J. Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics, (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001).

moslem awareness of terrorist intruder in their value and beliefs. The same perceptions and understanding Islam value will build togetherness in facing terrorism. This togetherness is known as social capital. In this case my premise is the greater the social capital among people, the higher of problem-solving outside the governmental sector.

Terrorism and Counterterrorism

The difficulty in defining "terrorism" is in agreeing on a basis for determining when the use of violence (directed at whom, by who, for what ends) is legitimate. Therefore, the modern definition of terrorism remains controversial. The use of violence for the achievement of political ends is common to state and non-state groups. The majority of definitions in use has been written by agencies directly associated with government, and is systematically biased to exclude governments from the definition. The contemporary label of "terrorist and terrorism" is highly pejorative. It denotes lack of legitimacy and morality. As a practical matter, acts of "terrorism" or terrorism are often a tactic committed by the actors as part of a larger military or geo-political ends.

The UN General Assembly Resolution 49/60 explains terrorism as "contains a provision describing terrorism: Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them".⁹

In The Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism (1998), terrorism was defined in the convention as: "Any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to

⁹ The UN General Assembly Resolution 49/60, "Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism", source: http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/49/a49ro60.htm, downloaded: 21/02/2016.

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public or private installations or property or to occupying or seizing them, or seeking to jeopardize national resources."¹⁰

UN Security Council Resolution 1566/2004 gives a definition of terrorism as: criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.¹¹

The European Union defines terrorism for legal/official purposes in Article 1 of the Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism (2002). This provides that terrorist offences are certain criminal offences set out in a list comprised largely of serious offences against persons and property which: given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organization where committed with the aim of: seriously intimidating a population; or unduly compelling a Government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act; or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization.¹²

The United Kingdom's Terrorism Act 2000 defines terrorism to include an act "designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system". An act of violence is not even necessary under this definition.¹³

US Patriot Act of 2001: terrorist activities include: threatening, conspiring or attempting to hijack airplanes, boats, buses or other vehicles; threatening, conspiring or attempting to commit acts of violence on any "protected" persons, such as government officials; and any crimes committed with "the use of any weapon or dangerous device,"

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¹⁰ "The Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism", 1998, Source: https://www.unodc.org/tldb/pdf/conv arab terrorism.en.pdf, downloaded: 21/02/2016.

¹¹ "UN Security Council Resolution 1566, Terrorism", 2004, Source: http://www.cfr.org/international-organizations-and-alliances/un-security-council-resolution-1566-terrorism/p11223, downloaded: 21/02/2016.

¹² "The Council of The European Union, Council Framework Decision of 13 June 2002 on combating terrorism (2002/475/JHA)", 2002, Source: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32002F0475, downloaded: 21/02/2016.

¹³ "Terrorism Act 2000, CHAPTER 11, ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS Source: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2000/11/pdfs/ukpga_20000011_en.pdf, downloaded: 21/02/016.

when the intent of the crime is determined to be the endangerment of public safety or substantial property damage rather than for "mere personal monetary gain." ¹⁴

On the other hand, Democratic regimes may foster state terrorism of populations outside their borders or perceived as alien or even threats. This point of view is still in realist and cold war nuance. Dictatorships terrorize their own populations; democracies do not; but they can engage in state sponsored terrorism in other countries far beyond their border in order to maintain power. Palestinian militants call Israel terrorist, Kurdish militants call Turkey terrorist, Tamil militants call Indonesia terrorist; and, of course, the nation-states call the militants who oppose their regimes "terrorists" vice versa. Like the word "beauty", "terrorism" is in the eye of the beholder. One man's freedom fighter is another man's terrorist. Hence, the difficulty in defining terrorism.

Chester L. Quarles found that terrorism became popular during 1790's when the French revolution occurred.¹⁵ In his book, This term is used to describe what is known todays as the excesses of the Jacobins, an aristocrat who was executed or forced to flee into exile in order to survive. Terror or terrorism comes from the Latin verb *terrere* and *de terre*. *Terrere* means causing trembling. *De terre* means to frighten. Therefor, for Quarles, Terrorism is a form of intimidation aimed to influence behavior of the people and the government in politics.

James M. Poland said that the word "terror" came to English dictionary after the fall of Napoleon and the raise of British Empire. Poland explained terror is a kind of activity which brings frightened to people.¹⁶

Definitions mentioned above, terrorism seems as a method to frighten others. It can be people or organizational, or even a country. Since, terrorism is a method rather than the goal, therefore terrorism can only be suppressed or reduced. As a consequence, the assessment of the effectiveness in counter-terrorism efforts in the country must be clearly defined. There is no single defintion points on a specific religions, specific

¹⁴ "The USA PATRIOT Act: Preserving Life and Liberty, (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism), 2001, Source: https://www.justice.gov/archive/ll/highlights.htm, downloaded: 21/02/016.

¹⁵ Chester L. Quarles, *Terrorism: Avoidance and Survival,* (MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1991), pp.19.

¹⁶ James M. Poland, Understanding Terrorism: Groups, Strategies and Responses, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc, 1988).

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ethnicity, and so on. However, the US distributed list of terrorist groups inwhich mostly are related to moslem organizations.¹⁷ However, the UN CTC distributed a more widely range of terrorist groups.¹⁸ But, is it true muslim way of life? It is fair enough to see the past form of terrorism such as IRA, Red Brigade, Aum Shinrikyo, Ku Klux Klan, Boko Haram, etc. Some of them affiliated to particular religion, when the others related to spirit of ultra-nasionalism. Understanding Islam is the most appropriate way to understand those organizations, and therefor norms and values of Muslim will counter the extremist ways altogether with counter terrorism efforts in the community of citizens.

Understanding Islam

Todays, the terrorist attacks of radical groups identified as Muslims, therefore those actions caused antipathy to Muslims community. Political views of that Muslim radical groups is a metamorphosis from ethno nationalist which is coupled by advances in information technology, as radical group that using jargon and particular religious values of Islam within the narrow scope or fanatism. However, Islam has broader view and more peaceful values and norms. Values and norms in Islam will be briefly described below.

Basic Norms and Values of Islam

According to Islam, there are five basic values and six fundamental norms. Individuals and states are advised to protect or at least to respect these basic values. The intellectual nature of man is made up of mind or intelligence or reasoning power. To this aspect Islam pays extraordinary attention and builds the intellectual structure of man on most sound foundations. Islam classifies knowledge into two, the basic or fundamental which must

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¹⁷ "U.S Department of State, Bureau of Counterterrorism, Foreign Terrorist Organizations, http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm, downloaded: 24/02/2016.

¹⁸ "The United Nation Security Council.List Of Suspected Terrorist Organizations and Individuals, National Reports Continue To Play Crucial Role In Fight Against Terror, Security Council Told", http://www.un.org/press/en/2004/sc8102.doc.htm, downloaded: 24/02/2016.

be secured by every individual and the specialized knowledge which should be secured by only a few in a society.¹⁹

Islam norms of peace in the eschatological sense, as the ultimate goal of human life, almost synonymous with salvation. Therefore Islam looks at peace might be called the psychological sense, as tranquility and peace of mind, an inner confidence born of faith that enables the religious believer to face adversity without anxiety or despair. The biggest norms of peace is universal peace. It reflects the widespread conviction of the time that humankind can sink no lower in criminality towards its own kind and expresses the hope for a time of peace and prosperity for all mankind. According to Sayings of Prophet Muhammad, the virtues of civilization will prevail, the face of the earth cleaned of filth, and universal peace be secured.

Islam advices to look at the defect in your own soul that you do not see or do not wish to see. Deduct a share for that. As for the small share which then remains, if you respond with forgiveness, pardon, and magnanimity, in such a way as to conquer your enemy swiftly and safely, then you will have escaped all sin and harm. Thus, self-awareness should lead to repentance, repentance to forgiveness, forgiveness to reconciliation and the seeds for a lasting peace are laid.²¹

All those explanations above, are written in Qur'an and hadits. Hence, the true believers and Islam followers have obvious way of life and guidance. The true believers and followers will not conduct extreme behaviors against others.

The Holy Quran

The Muslims believe that God speaks to His chosen servants through the process of revelation. It is through this process that spiritual knowledge and wisdom is given to man by Allah or God. The knowledge received through revelation is considered to be the truest form of learning.

²¹ Ibid.

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¹⁹ Prof. Dr. Ahmet Akgunduz, Rector of the Islamic University of Rotterdam, Norms And Values In Islam, JC Rotterdam. http://islam.uga.edu/norms_values.html, downloaded 21/02/2016.

²⁰ Ibid.

The Holy Qur'an is the record of the verbal revelations in Arabic from God Almighty to the Holy Prophet Muhammad over a period of twenty-two years (610-632 A.D.). The word Qur'an means that which is often read, recited or rehearsed.

The Holy Qur'an is the Holy Book of the Muslims. It lays down for them the law and commandments, codes for their social and moral behaviour and contains a comprehensive religious philosophy. It is the ultimate source of the Islamic law and a complete guidance for the Muslims.

The Sunnah

After the Holy Qur'an, the greatest blessing the Muslims have received is the Sunnah. The responsibilities towards Allah and the Holy Prophet Muhammad, are hinged on two things: Holy Qur'an as a guidance, and Prophet Muhammad to demonstrate it his example. Hence, Prophet Muhammad transformed Qur'an into action and by his Sunnah simplified the difficult and complicated problems. Hadiths are supporting all sunnah.

In short, The Holy Qur'an is the spoken word of Allah, Sunnah is the practical example of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, and the Hadith, a supporting witness for the Sunnah. From those guidance of true muslim believers, all assumptions that pointed terrorist attacks related to muslim followers can be proportionally justified. It is the same modus operandi of todays terrorism as the previous forms of terror attacks such as IRA, Red Brigade, Aum Shinrikyo, Ku Klux Klan, etc. Most of those terrorist used terror as tool to emerge their interest.

The Etimology of Jihad

The Arabic word "jihad" is often translated as "holy war," but in a purely linguistic sense, the word " jihad" means struggling or striving. In a religious sense, as described by the Quran and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (s), "jihad" has many meanings. ²² It can refer to internal as well as external efforts to be a good Muslims or believer, as well as working to inform people about the faith of Islam. If military jihad is required to protect

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²² M. Amir Ali, Ph.D, "Jihad: One of The Most Misunderstood Concepts in Islam", http://www.aboutjihad.com/terrorism/islam_jihad_terrorism.php, downloaded: 21/02/2016.

the faith against others, it can be performed using anything from legal, diplomatic and economic to political means. If there is no peaceful alternative, Islam also allows the use of force, but there are strict rules of engagement. Innocents - such as women, children, or invalids - must never be harmed, and any peaceful overtures from the enemy must be accepted.

Military action is therefore only one means of jihad, and is very rare take into action. To highlight this point, the Prophet Mohammed told his followers returning from a military campaign: "This day we have returned from the minor jihad to the major jihad," which he said meant returning from armed battle to the peaceful battle for self-control and betterment. The trully Jihad is to control human desire by following Qur'an and Hadiths.

Broader Definition about Jihad

Jihad is not a violent concept. Jihad is not a declaration of war against other religions. It is worth noting that the Qur'an specifically refers to Jews and Christians as "people of the book" who should be protected and respected. All three faiths worship the same God. Allah is just the Arabic word for God, and is used by Christian Arabs as well as Muslims. Warfare in the name of God is not unique to Islam.²³ Military action in the name of Islam has not been common in the history of Islam.

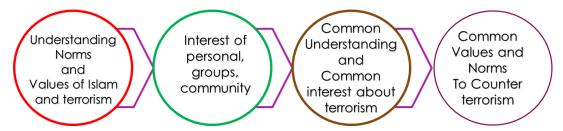
From those short explanations above, Islam believer should be the first community to spread true values and norms. At the same time, those believers and followers altogether shall bridge and link all citizens to prevent and to neutralized the extremist and terror forms of the terrorist organizations. The effort in developing those bonds, bridge and linkage can be understand as developing social capital.

²³ Haykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani (Chairman, Islamic Supreme Council Of America) And ShaykhSeraj

Hendricks (Head Mufti, Cape Town, South Africa), "Jihad: A Misunderstood Concept from Islam - What Jihad is, and is not", http://www.islamicsupremecouncil.org/understanding-islam/legal-rulings/5-jihad-amisunderstood-concept-from-islam.html?start=9, downloaded, 21/02/2016.

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Figure 1. Logical pattern of Developing Norms and Values to Counter terrorism



Social Capital

To counter terrorist attack, hence public awareness needs to be built. Public awareness is a form of public participation to prevent terrorist attacks. Community awareness can be built when terrorism and its indicators has clearly defined. Thus citizen can assist government apparatus in preventing terrorist attacks. Citizen awarenes can be developed by grouping them from small group of people to the largest linkaged groups as one community to avoid and to prevent terrorist possible threats, share information to counter extremist views, and to be early warning for both government apparatus and other citizens.

Bourdieu defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more of less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition". Social capital for Bourdieu is related to the size of network and the volume of past accumulated social capital commanded by the agent. For Bourdieu, social space is defined by the complex clustering of actor's positions. However these positions cannot be rendered 'objectively'. Any such effort will result in a very partial and misleading picture because it would conceal the complex interactions that occur between actors.

Coleman's definition of social capital comes close to Bourdieu's, but from a completely different point of departure. For Coleman, social capital consists of some aspect of social structure, and facilitates certain actions of actorswhether persons or corporate actors-within the structure.²⁵ In this case, it is viewed as social action which is

²⁴ Bordieu, "The Forms of Capital", in John G. Richardson, Handbook of Theory And Research for The Sociology of Education, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 248-249.

²⁵ J.S. Coleman, "Social Capital in The Creation of Human capital", *American Journal of Sociology*, 94:1988, pp. 95-98.

conditioned by social structure and the rational which suggests that actors' goals are determined by utility-maximizing pursuit of his/her self-interest. Coleman is preoccupied with the question as to whether conceptual tools, efficient at the individual level, can be utilized to make the so-called micro-macro transition (i.e. extend beyond the family to greater aggregates and collectivities).

In recent years, the term entered the popular imagination with the publication of Robert Putnam's bestseller, Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. For Putnam, social capital is features of social organizations, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit. Putnam beliefs that social capital is a quality that can be a facilitator of interpersonal cooperation.²⁶ As he puts it '(w)orking together is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of human capital'.²⁷ In Putnam's view, such a feature can be considered an aggregate trait to such a degree that it can become automatically comparable across cities, regions and even countries.

According to Dekker and Uslaner, social capital is about the value of social networks, bonding similar people and bridging between diverse people, with norms of reciprocity.²⁸ Both writers posited that social capital is fundamentally about how people interact with each other. Social capital is defined by the OECD as "networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups". OECD dividessocial capitalit into threemain categories: 1) Bonds, links to people based on a sense of common identity("people like us") – such as family, close friends and people whoshare our culture or ethnicity; 2) Bridges, Links that stretch beyond a shared sense of identity, for example to distant friends, colleagues and associates; 3) Linkages: Links to people or groups further up or lower down thesocial ladder.²⁹

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²⁶ R. D. Putnam, "Bowling alone: America's declining social capital", *Journal of Democracy*, 6: 65-78, 1993, pp.35.

²⁷ Ibid, pp.36.

²⁸ Paul Dekker and Eric M. Uslaner (eds.), *Social Capital and Participation in Everyday Life,* (London: Routledge, 2001).

²⁹ "OECD Insights: Human Capital. What is social capital?", www.oecd.org/insights/37966934.pdf, pp.103, downloaded 24/02/2016.

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Developing Indonesian Social Capital against Terrorism

Resources inherent in social relations which facilitate collective action can be defined as social capital. The resources are trust, norms, and networks of association representing any group which gathers consistently for a common purpose.

On the other hand, the role of information technology is seen as bidirectional. High levels of social capital, such as pre-existing strong non-electronic networks, is a success factor in establishment of electronic-based networks.³⁰ At the same time, the spread of information technology creates networking infrastructure which encourages the formation of social capital. ³¹ Information technology, however, can also have an anonymizing, deindividuating effect which relaxes social norms and erodes social capital.³²

Implementation of government programs ultimately depends less on authority and control than on mobilizing policy stakeholders, including policy recipients. The less the social capital, the more difficult such mobilization becomes. At the extreme, in a society with very low social capital, administrators are much more apt to find reliance on authority and control necessary, with resulting low governmental effectiveness. At the other extreme, in a society with very high social capital, many problems are taken care of by social networking outside of government, and when remaining problems are addressed through governmental intervention, administrators find a rich array of implementation allies.³³

Social capital is about the value of social networks, bonding similar people and bridging between diverse people, with norms of reciprocity.³⁴ The potential benefits of social capital can be seen by looking at social bonds. Friends and families can help us in lots of ways – emotionally, socially and economically. There are much debate over the

³⁰ F. Fukuyama, Trust: The Social Virtues and The Creation of Prosperity, (NY: Free Press, 1995).

³¹ A. Calabrese and M. Borchert, "Prospects for electronic democracy in the United States: Rethinking communications and social policy", *Media*, *Culture*, *and Society* 18, 1996, pp. 249-268.

³² S.Kiesler, J. Siegel, and T. W. McGuire, "Social Psychological Aspects of Computer-Mediated Communication", pp. 330-349 in C. Dunlop and R. Kling, eds., Computerization and Controversy: Value Conflicts and Social Choices, (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1991).

³³ Harvard University. Social Capital Theory, Source:

http://www.hks.harvard.edu/saguaro/web%20docs/GarsonSK06syllabus.htm, downloaded 17/02/2016.

³⁴ Paul Dekker and Eric M. Uslaner (eds.), op.cit.

various forms that social capital takes. Dekker and Uslaner definitions can be divided it into three main categories of social capital as bonds, bridges, and linkages. To build strong social capital therefore the same perception, understanding values, and Islamict norms will build strong bonds, strong bridges, and strong lingkages between people against terrorism. ³⁵

Understanding muslim norm and values will develop a new perspective of terrorism. Indonesia has its own interest based on Preambule of National Constitution 1945. The basic interest is to bring peace and justice. This interest cannnot be intervined by global definitions of terrorism. This norms and values will develop indicators as the basic to counter terrorism in any forms.

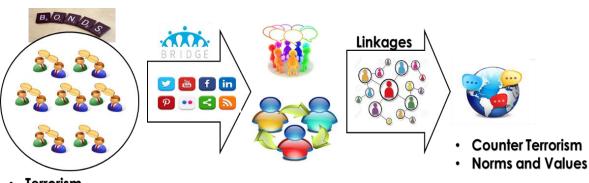


Figure 2. Developing Social Capital to Counter Terrorism

Terrorism

Norms and Values

Developing Bond among People

The government prevent and overcome the threat of international terrorism and local collaboration with international terrorism in order to protect the safety of the citizen. The Actions taken which is called as counterterrorism should strongly conducted by avoiding discrimination based on ethnicity or religion. Counterrorism fairly takes action for every terrorist.

On the other hand, the formal institutions raise awareness and courage the public to report indications of terrorist activities by using bonds in the small group, between bonds (called bridges), and sharing information globally (linkages).

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³⁵ Ibid.

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Developing Bridges among Bonds

Action of counterterrorism in the early detection, early prevention and early action against any form of threat of terrorism, can be developed widely by building strong relation between bonds. The technology of information and smart phone with many features of social medias will build strong relation between bonds. This connection will improve the quality and capacity of officials in early detection and deterrence against the threat of terrorism in Indonesia.

Since every bonds are bonded by bridge, thus a group of bonds will build realization of commonality and unity perception of terrorism. When the sense of commonality and united perception reach it peak the counterterrorism will not be the responsibility of formal institution but also be responsibility of all citizens.

However, it is started from qualified and accountable government apparatus. The Government apparatus informs correct informations about terrorism and share it to every bonds. In this case, government apparatus can be funtioned as bridges among bonds. All people as national components should undertand terrorism and its indicators clearly by education and socialization both formally and informally.

Developing Linkages between Bridges and Bonds

Strong commitment to all bonds and bridges pursue through knowledge and understanding of the prevention and prosecution procedures early, awareness of responsibility and commitment of counterterrorism.

Creation of spider web is not only among apparatus, but also between apparatus and citizens. The counterterrorism should be a set of laws and regulations that can accommodate all the interests of the people. Counterterrorism can be operationalized with highly coordinated, synergistic and holistic.

The main objective to increase sense of participation of all bonds, bridges, and linkages will be pursued through efforts of empowering by communication and dialogue. In the past Indonesia had siskamling fisically on the ground. Todays, Indonesia should have siskamling by using gadgets, social media, and other devices.

Counterterrorism Social Capital

We have already discussed the notion of local institutional roles and citizens as bonds, bridges, and linkages which is called as social capital. We understand that the apparatus and citizens are the social capital so that apparatus anywhere it will still have a positive value for the communities concerned. It turned out to be the basis of common interest, therefore rests local communities can develop social capital and eroding and weakening and the strengthening of social capital in the community can be photographed by miminum terrorist attacks.

Images positive social capital can be described in the formulation of confidence (trust) which include social cohesion, empathy, transparency, militantcy. Norms should be realized in the form of equity and partnership so there are no differences in treatment between residents, in this allocation will appear outside the cultural constraints, anomalous primordialisme and the vested interests that need to be prepared to answer future challenges that will arise.

Negative images of social capital can be described in the formulation of the weakening of social capital thus eroding social capital in the form: social interaction, marked by violation of norms, the crisis of leadership, social estrangement and dehumanization. This condition is caused by weak social control, the sentiment of the group, the growing spirit of individualism and materialistic cultural. This condition will result anomalous, insubordination, conflict and deviant behavior of community, emerging new attitude of the community in the form of apathy, pragmatic, cultural denial and break throughs.

If the erosion of social capital in the social and community interactions actually occurs, then local institutions will lose social trust that is characterized by a sense of suspicion, insecurity, declining sense of community. As a result, will cause low transparency, manipulation of public information and the most severe effect is social disintegration.

Conclusion

Many definitions of terrorism will affect counterterrorism policy. The First thing has to be taken is common understanding about terrorism and national perception based on real condition, not by global understanding.

Prevention and control of terrorism requires cooperation. The government needs citizen support to detect and address the various problems of terrorism. Government and citizens increase social capital by the same perception of terrorism, understanding values and norms of Islam, and cooperation between government and citizens as a social capital.

People are familiar with information technology devices but it need to build social capital. Devices and gadgets can be used among youth and students to socialize counterterrorism. Governmental action shall run fastly to accommodate by building features in the social media and other forms of public information.

Government and citizen should be the same understanding about terrorism and its indicators. Otherwise, the counterterrorism will not work properly and citizens still fears to be part of social capital in counterterrorism.

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