

Analysis of the Role of Stakeholders in Policy Handling Radicalism in Poso District

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to analyze the roles and relationships between stakeholders in policies to prevent radicalism in Poso district. The actors involved in the counter-radicalism policy in Poso Regency consist of state actors such as BNPT RI, Poso Regent, Poso Kesbangpol, Poso Ministry of Religion, Kodim 1307/ Poso, Poso Police/Densus 88, as well as non-state actors consisting of the Poso FKUB, academic and former terrorist convict. The results of the research show that the counter-radicalization policy in Poso Regency is top-down in nature where state actors have a very strong influence in counter-radicalization decision making in Poso Regency, this is proven by the issuance of Poso Regent's Decree Number 188.45/0474/2021 concerning the Formation of an Integrated Handling Team Poso District Level Social Conflict in 2021 to implement the Poso District Integrated Action Plan for Handling Social Conflict in the Region in 2020-2022, where all policy formulators are government actors in Poso.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Radicalism is a complex and contested idea, often associated with violence and terrorism (Lynch, 2014). Radicalism is also seen as potentially dangerous even if not directly linked to violence (Galam, 2002). Although radicalism is a problematic concept, as argued by (Neumann, 2013), it is very likely to be on the policy agenda for years to come. Radicalism is also defined as a view that wants to make fundamental changes in accordance with its interpretation of social reality or the ideology it adheres to. (Hasani, 2010).

The increase in terror in Indonesia from 2015 to 2021, by means of murder, kidnapping, attacks on public facilities and suicide bombings carried out by radical terrorist groups such as the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), East Indonesia Mujahideen (MIT), Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT), as well as Hisbu Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) as in the following image.

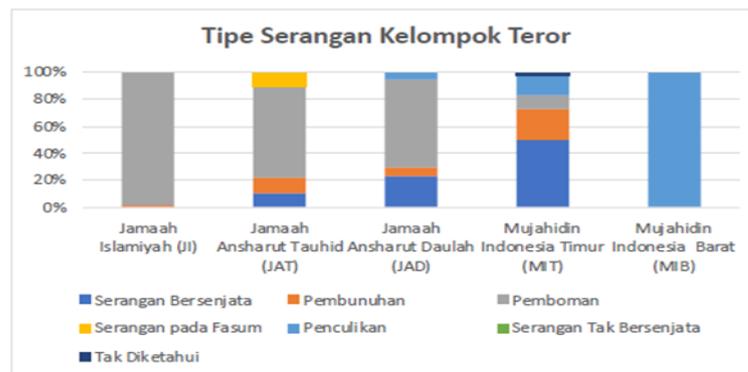


Figure 1. Types of Terror Group Attacks

Source: Labfor45

UU no. 15 of 2003 became Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning Amendments to Law Number 15 of 2003 concerning the Determination of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism into Law. This change is due to Law Number 15 of 2003 not regulating prevention, not regulating the institutions of the Police and TNI, and not including community participation. Furthermore, the government also issued Presidential Decree Number 7 of 2021 concerning the National Action Plan for Preventing and Combating Violent-Based Extremism that Leads to Terrorism from 2020 to 2024.

Central Sulawesi Province is one of the 5 provinces that are areas under the guidance of BNPT in its efforts to overcome terrorism and radicalism, where Poso Regency is the focus area for deradicalization programs and preventing the spread of radicalism. Various murders, kidnappings and suicide bombings were carried out by the East Indonesia Mujahideen (MIT) group in the Poso, Parimo and Sigi areas which killed civilians and security forces. The state's presence in efforts to eradicate radicalism and terrorism is implemented in the form of security operations and BNPT programs in the regions through the Poso Regency Integrated Action Plan policy for Handling Social Conflict in the Region for 2020-2023.

Even though the leader of the MIT group was killed during a security operation in the Poso area, the policies made have not completely stopped terror in the Poso Regency area. Not all of the MIT group members surrendered themselves to the security forces. Meanwhile, non-government actors such as community leaders, religious leaders, universities and the media do not have it legality in Poso security decision making.

2. METHODOLOGY

The method used in this research is a qualitative method with a qualitative descriptive approach, namely analyzing the role of stakeholders and the factors inhibiting and supporting policies for handling radicalism in Poso Regency. Meanwhile, the informants were the Head of Kesbangpol Poso, the Head of the Ministry of Religion, Poso Regency and the Head of FKUB. Data collection was carried out through observations and interviews with informants which focused on analyzing the role of stakeholders in policies for handling radicalism in Poso Regency. The data analysis technique used is qualitative data analysis, with the Miles and Huberman model analysis in Sugiyono (2011) where data analysis is carried out interactively and continues continuously until complete so that the data is saturated, namely data reduction, data presentation, data verification or drawing conclusions.

3. RESULTS

To discuss the Analysis of Stakeholder Roles in Policies for Handling Radicalism in Poso Regency, refer to 2 (two) discussions, namely:

3.1. The role of stakeholders in radicalism prevention policies in Poso Regency

In policy formulation, actors are related to the number of people involved (participants). This factor then determines the size of the network to be built. Actors in policy networks are individuals but can also be organizations, as the actors involved can also be representatives of certain groups/parties. The actors involved in the counter-radicalism policy in Poso Regency consist of state actors such as BNPT RI, Poso Regent, Poso Kesbangpol, Poso Ministry of Religion, Kodim 1307/ Poso, Poso Police/Densus 88, as well as non-state actors consisting of the Poso FKUB , academic, former terrorist convict.

The Poso Regency regional government, through the Poso Regency National Unity and Politics Agency, formulated the Poso Regency Integrated Action Plan for Handling Social Conflict in the Region in 2021, containing the prevention and handling of conflict and terrorism in Poso Regency. The document contains the prevention of acts of terrorism by conducting socialization on the prevention of ideas that conflict with Pancasila, carried out in collaboration between agencies of the Central Sulawesi Province Kesbangpol Agency, Poso Regency Ministry of Religion Office, Poso Police, Kodim 1307 Poso, Poso Regency FKUB.

The results of the interview with Mr. LN as Secretary of the Poso Regency Kesbangpol Agency regarding the Integrated Action Plan for Poso Regency Penang and Regional Social Conflict are explained as follows:

This regional action plan has been published every year since 2021, the program remains the same. This action plan consists of 3 indicators, namely conflict termination or resolution, recovery/post-conflict and activity evaluation. This is a collaboration with various agencies such as the Central Sulawesi Province Kesbangpol Agency, Poso Regency Ministry of Religion Office, Poso Police, Kodim 1307 Poso. The activities include outreach, workshops, seminars at universities, schools, madrasas and the Poso Regency regional government environment. Meanwhile, ending or resolving the conflict is through mapping social conflict and terrorism by the integrated Poso Regency team. If recovery/post-conflict is carried out through maintaining community order and order and preventing crime, restoring citizens' civil rights, empowering the poor, remote indigenous communities and people with welfare problems. Finally, evaluate the implementation of the action plan through reporting social conflict cases every month. However, this reporting often has problems with integrated data (Interview, 26 April 2021).

From the results of the interview above It can be seen that the Poso Regency regional government is implementing the Poso Regency Integrated Action Plan for Management of Social Conflict in the Region which

consists of: Prevention of social conflict and acts of terrorism, Termination/resolution of social conflict and terrorism, Recovery/post-Conflict and Evaluation of the implementation of the action plan. Even though the implementation was in accordance with the established program, obstacles were found in carrying out the evaluation, such as the lack of integration of data between agencies regarding the number of people or community groups and areas vulnerable to conflict and acts of terrorism and the unavailability of reporting standards that contain indicators for evaluation materials.

The research results show that the counter-radicalization policy in Poso Regency is top-down in nature where state actors have influence very strong in decision making against radicalization in Poso Regency. The Regent of Poso issued Decree of the Regent of Poso Number 188.45/0474/2021 concerning the Formation of an Integrated Team for Handling Social Conflict at the Poso Regency Level in 2021 to implement the Integrated Action Plan for Poso Regency for Handling Social Conflict in the Region for 2020-2022. The Regent's Decree contains the stakeholders involved, namely: Regent of Poso (chairman), Poso Regional Secretary (deputy Chair I), Poso Police Chief (deputy chair II), Dandim 1307 Poso (deputy chair III), Head of the Poso District Prosecutor's Office (deputy chair IV), Head of the Poso Kesbangpol Agency (secretary), Poso Deputy Chief of Police (deputy secretary I), Kasdim 1307 Poso (deputy secretary II), Central Sulawesi Regional State Intelligence Agency (Binda) Posda Poso, Head of the Poso BNNK, Head of the Poso Regency BPN, Head of the Ministry Office Poso Regency Religion, Regent's Expert Staff for Law and Politics, Regent's Expert Staff for Government, Assistant for Government and Social Affairs of the Poso Regional Secretariat, Head of the Poso Regency Social Service, Head of the Poso Regency Housing Service, Head of the Poso Regency Youth and Sports Office, Head of the Regency Manpower and Transmigration Office Poso, Head of the Poso Regency Communications and Information Office, Head of the Regional Finance and Assets Agency, Head of the Poso Civil Service Police Unit and Fire Department, Head of the Economy and Natural Resources Division of the Poso Regional Secretariat, Head of the Legal and Human Rights Section of the Poso Regional Secretariat, and Head of the General Government Section of the Poso Regional Secretariat.

Results of interviews with Mr M as Head of Division ideology, outlook nationality And vigilance National Poso Kesbangpol Agency stated that:

At coordination meetings and hearings involving all elements of both society and government, sometimes there are differences of opinion. But it all happened to find an agreement and a way out. For example, regarding the placement of security forces in security operations, there can be reactions from the public. How come there are thousands of personnel but can't complete the MIT group. (Interview, May 5 2021)

Handling radicalism in Poso Regency is the authority of the central and regional governments both in providing human resources, budget resources and weapons. The deployment of thousands of security officers in security operations in Poso received a reaction from the public because it was considered an excessive action. Community leaders believe that a family approach can be taken to stop radicalism activities in Poso.

The following are the results of research on stakeholders involved in counter-radicalization policies in Poso:

Table 1. Actor Roles

Stakeholders	Role	Interest
BNPT	Policy makers and implementers, resource providers	Tall
Regent of Poso	Policy makers and implementers, legal considerations.	Tall
Kesbangpol Poso	policy implementer	Tall
Poso Ministry of Religion	Religious moderation, partnerships with mass organizations.	Tall
Poso Police	Early detection, deradicalization, security operations	Tall
Kodim 1307/ Poso	Early detection, security operations	Tall
FKUB	provide input to the government	Low
Academics	Presenting research results, Providing input to the government	Low
Former terrorist community	Providing input to the government	Low

Source: Data Processing, 2023

Based on the table above, it can be seen that state actors as resource providers, makers and implementers of counter-radicalization policies in Poso have very high interests. Meanwhile, FKUB stakeholders, academics and the ex-terrorist community have low interest. This can be seen from the powerlessness of non-government actors in providing resources. Meanwhile, the government has resources in the form of human resources, budget resources and the ability to build networks. Tronvoll (2017) states that the sources of an actor's influence

are determined by the ownership of material resources, social position, and the actor's knowledge of the future of a system. Based on their strength, actors are positioned in the map of influence and dependence of actors and are divided into dominant actors (high influence), dominated actors (high dependence), isolated actors (low influence and dependence), and relay actors (high influence and dependence) (Elmsalmi & Hachicha, 2014).

3.2. Relations between stakeholders in radicalism prevention policies in Poso district

Relations between actors can be seen through the distribution of power which is manifested in the distribution of resources and actor needs. The division of power is seen to be in accordance with Law Number 5 of 2018, that BNPT acts as a leading sector that takes a soft approach through national preparedness, deradicalization, counter-radicalization. While the National Police is taking a legal approach (Hard approach) to take action against terrorist perpetrators and TNI actors, the limits of its authority are not yet clear, and when will the TNI involved in security operations because there is no Presidential regulation regarding TNI involvement in eradicating radicalism. Actors outside government have limited resources and do not have authority in decision making.

Based on the research results, the BNPT RI, the Poso Regency regional government and the Poso Police are actors who have great power and coordinate with each other in making and implementing counter-radicalization policies in Poso Regency, which can be seen in the research results as follows:

Table 2. Structure Dimensions

Actors	The size of network	Type of membership	Types of relationships	Nature of relationships
Regent of Poso, Kesbangpol, Ministry of Religion	Wide	Must	Coordination	Cooperative
Poso Police	Wide	Must	Coordination	Cooperative
Kodim 1307	Wide	Must	Coordination	Cooperative
FKUB	Limited	Voluntary	Consultation	Cooperative
P4K Untad	Limited	Voluntary	Consultation	Cooperative
Former terrorist community	Limited	-	Consultation	Cooperative

Source: Data Processing 2023

From Table 2 above, it can be seen that government actors consisting of the Poso Kesbangpol Agency and the Poso Ministry of Religion, Poso Police and Kodim 1307 Poso build relationships in the form of coordination, have unlimited cooperation and communication networks with other stakeholders and have mandatory membership status in accordance with the Regent's Decree. Poso Number 188.45/0474/2021 concerning the Formation of an Integrated Team for Handling Social Conflict at the Poso Regency Level in 2021. Meanwhile, FKUB and P4K Untad actors, the Poso former terrorist community have limited access to information, as volunteers and the type of relationship they build with government actors is limited to consultation. This can be seen from the invitations to FKUB and academics in interfaith dialogues held by the regional government on a regular basis. All actors have a cooperative relationship in building relationships.

In the context of public policy, central power is not the main part and the coordination pattern that is developed is not hierarchical (hierarchical authority) but rather bargaining and negotiation (horizontal bargaining). This confirms that there is no longer a centralized decision-making process (Heclou, 1978; Hanf and Scharpf 1997). This perspective is a criticism of the single actor (state) concept that has dominated the process of formulating public policy. With a relationship pattern like this, interest groups on a policy issue have access to the formulation process. The policy network structure is very important in policy making, namely enabling actors to monitor the behavior and opinions of other actors in the policy making process, exchange resources, facilitate actors' ability in making policies, build mutual trust between actors (Lauman and Knoke 1987; Metz et al., 2018).

4. DISCUSSION

Efforts to deal with terrorism in Poso Regency still prioritize a legal approach (hard approach), namely taking action against perpetrators of terrorism and arresting sympathizers of the East Indonesia Mujahideen (MIT) group. This legal approach is implemented through security operations which are a combination of the National Police and the TNI in accordance with Perkap number 9 of 2011 concerning Police Operations Management, article 1 number 4 is a series of actions by the National Police in the context of preventing, overcoming, taking action against disturbances in security and public order (Kamtibmas), as well as disaster management which is carried out within a time period, targets, methods of action, involvement of certain forces and resource support by several police functions in the form of a task force (Task Force). The handling of

terrorism in Poso Regency should be a combination of hard approaches and soft approaches in accordance with local wisdom in the region.

The soft approach carried out through the program contained in the Integrated Action Plan for Handling Social Conflict in the Poso Regency Region must include aspects of national preparedness, counter-radicalization and de-radicalization, the formulation of which must involve the participation of actors outside the government. Long and Long (1992) stated that in the formulation of participatory public policy, actor interaction must take place in an equal, intensive and interface manner.

The community must be actively involved in policy formulation, because the community is the part that bears the consequences of the policies made. Community involvement should not only provide input to local government but be given space in program preparation and decision making. This is in accordance with the opinion of Hecló, 1978; Hanf and Scharpf 1997, that in the context of public policy, central power is not the main part and the coordination pattern that is developed is not hierarchical (hierarchical authority) but rather bargaining and negotiation (horizontal bargaining). This confirms that there is no longer a centralized decision-making process.

Apart from that, the dynamics of relationships between actors/agencies/organizations/institutions in policy implementation are discussed by all implementation theories, although with different intensities and names, considering that it is very rare for policies to be implemented only by a single organization. Bardach includes it as a part that must be considered in the scenario writing implementation process; Van Meter and Van Horn discuss it in strengthening and inter-organizational communication; Edwards III discussed it in terms of "bureaucratic structures." Sabatier and Mazmanian discuss it in terms of policy ability to structure implementation; Grindle discusses it in the decision-making position and in the power, interests and strategies of the actors involved. They pay attention to the importance of the influence of relationships between actors/organizations from the perspective of policy makers (top-down) who view relationships between actors as potentially creating complexity, not as an ertical implementation that can support success.

The relationships that are built between stakeholders within government and outside government must be equal. The relationship between radicalization prevention actors in Poso which is built based on its structure at the network scale (the size of network), type of membership and type of coordination is running unbalanced due to limited resources owned by stakeholders outside the government . Therefore Metz at al (2018); Lauman and Knoke (1987) proposed that policy network structures need to be improved in policy making to enable actors to monitor the behavior and opinions of other actors in the policy making process, exchange resources, facilitate actors' abilities in policy making, build mutual trust between actors.

5. CONCLUSION

The role of stakeholders in the policy of preventing radicalism in Poso Regency is seen in accordance with Law Number 5 of 2018, that BNPT acts as a leading sector that takes a soft approach through national preparedness, deradicalization, counter-radicalization. POLRI is taking a legal approach (Hard approach) to take action against perpetrators of terrorism, while the TNI is not clear about the limits of its authority, and when the TNI will be involved in security operations because there is no Presidential regulation regarding TNI involvement in eradicating radicalism. Regional government stakeholders have a role as policy makers and implementers, provide legal balance and have resources for policy implementation. Meanwhile, non-government stakeholders have a role limited to providing input to the government because they do not have the authority to formulate policies and make decisions.

There are two types of relations between stakeholders in the policy of preventing radicalism in Poso district, namely coordination and consultation type relations. Coordination relations occur between government actors such as BNPT, Poso Regent, Kesbangpol, Poso Ministry of Religion, TNI and Poso Police. Meanwhile, relations between the government and non-government actors such as FKUB, academics and the ex-terrorist community are of the consultation type through hearings and interfaith dialogue.

6. RECOMMENDATION

The involvement of the TNI in handling radicalism needs to be accompanied by binding regulations regarding the authority and under which conditions the TNI is involved in security operations to eradicate radicalism in Poso district.

It is necessary to integrate data between relevant agencies regarding reporting standards that contain indicators for evaluation materials as well as the number of people or community groups and areas that are vulnerable to conflict and acts of terrorism so that it is easier and faster to handle them if friction occurs in society.

Continue to involve non-government stakeholders whose role is limited to providing input to the government because they do not have the authority to formulate policies and make decisions

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