

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

The dynamics of globalization have made the blurring of national sovereignty boundaries due to advances in technology and global communication. Besides being able to have a positive impact, the dynamics of globalization also have a negative impact. One of them is the emergence of various issues relating to national security, including terrorism (Fagan,2009:29).

Terrorism is a form of organized crime which can also be categorized as extraordinary crime or crimes against humanity. The purpose of the act of terrorism is for struggle or the existence of the group can be heard by the authorities. Whereas in world history, acts of terror can be divided into two, first functioning of society as random targets and secondly, functioning of government apparatus, both military and civilian which are considered as representation of the ruler (White,2016:3-4).

Terrorism in its broadest sense is the use of intentionally indiscriminate violence as a means to create terror or fear, in order to achieve a political, religious, or ideological aim (Fortna,2016). Nowadays, terrorists have exceptional ability, which are capable of forming cadres who instantly prepare themselves or the groups into potential killing machines, destroying buildings, at once. Those things create fear and insecurity (Fortna,2016).

Terrorism in the world is not a new issue, but it becomes the actual phenomena especially since the incident of World Trade Center (WTC) in New York, United States on 11 September 2001, which took 3.000 victims. The attack was carried out through the air by not using the fighter aircraft, instead of using commercial aircraft belonging to US Company itself, so that aircraft was not caught by the United States radar. Three US-owned commercial aircraft were hijacked and two of which were crashed into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon (Bork,2015:197).

The terrorist thought regarding their attacks in the World Trade Center as a "Symbols of America". However, the building which they attacked was international institution which symbolized the prosperity of the world economy. There were representatives of various countries, which contained 430 companies from 28 countries. Thus, actually the terrorism did not only attack the United States but also the world. United States suspected Osama bin Laden as the prime suspect perpetrators of these attacks (usembassyjakarta.org).

This incident is a global issue that affects the entire policy of the countries in the world, thus became the starting point for the perception of the international fight against terrorism as the enemy. The mass murder was unifying the world to fight against International Terrorism (usembassyjakarta.org). Moreover the occurrence of tragedy in Bali, October 12, 2002 which was a terror act, inflicted civilian victims in which 184 peoples were killed and more than 300 peoples were injured. A war againts the terrorism is led by the United States, at first who

received by European allies. Tony Blair's government was among the first issued Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act in December 2001, followed by the actions of other countries that have the effect of a war for acts of terrorism in the world, such as the Philippines by issuing Anti Terrorism Bill.(elsam.or.id)

In Indonesia terrorism refers to the terrorist acts which takes place within Indonesia or attacks on Indonesian people or interests abroad. These acts of terrorism often target the government of the Republic of Indonesia or foreigners in Indonesia, most notably Western visitors, especially those from the United States and Australia (Chalk,2014:308).

Now terrorism is growing rapidly in Indonesia and many terrorism incidents occurred are led to loss of life. It caused people becoming restless. These terrorism activities usually occurred in a public place where a lot of people gathered. Terrorism made public unrest and its activities run by stealth, amorphous and terrorist organizations was difficult to sense its existence and their movements also difficult to trace (Chalk,2014:308).

Some of the terrorist incidents that have occurred in Indonesia in recent years are: bomb and firefight in Jakarta on January 14, 2016, explosion and firefight around Plaza Sarinah, Jalan MH Thamrin, Central Jakarta, and on July 5, 2016, a suicide bomb exploded at the Surakarta Provincial Police Headquarters, Central Java were 1 perpetrator was killed and 1 policeman was injured. From the incidents that occurred in Indonesia, the terrorists focused on the attack on institutions in Indonesia (thejakartapost.com).

Detachment 88 is the Indonesian counter-terrorism squad, and part of the Indonesian National Police. Formed after the 2002 Bali bombing, the unit has had considerable success against the jihadi terrorist cells linked to Central Java-based Islamist movement Jemaah Islamiah (Hamish,2008:17).

On July 17, 2009, two blasts ripped two Jakarta hotels, JW Marriott and Ritz-Carlton, killing seven (heraldsun.com.au). It was the first serious attack for the country in the last five years. The police stated that it was committed by a splinter, yet more radicals, group of JI, led by the man dubbed as the most wanted terrorist in Southeast Asia, Noordin Top. Top was killed on September 17, 2009 in Solo, Central Java (webarchive.org).

Sequence of bombing incident which occurred in the territory Republic of Indonesia had led to fears of our society, result in loss of lives and loss of property, thus causing an unfavorable effect on the social, economic, political, and relations between Indonesia and international. The bombing was one mode of terrorists which has become a common phenomenon in some countries. Terrorism is a transnational crime, organized crime, and even an international crime has an extensive network, which threatens peace and national security also international security (webarchive.org).

Indonesian government in line with the mandate as determined in the Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic Indonesia Year 1945 which is to protect entire Indonesian nation and entire Indonesia homeland Indonesia, improve public welfare, educate the nation and participate in maintaining world

order based on freedom, eternal peace and social justice, is obliged to protect its citizens from any threat of crimes in national, transnational, and international. The government has also obliged to defend the sovereignty and maintain national unity and integrity of every form of threats coming from outside or from within, then absolutely necessary law and order enforcement consistently and continuously (*Kompas*, 26 Juni 2018).

The issue of terrorism in Indonesia is indeed a fairly complicated problem. Various policies including law enforcement to de-radicalism continue to be carried out by the government and related stakeholders, including by prioritizing the function of the BNPT (National Counter-Terrorism Agency). Harmonization of performance through comprehensive policies is able to become a progressive step in handling terrorism in Indonesia. This achievement even gained appreciation from world countries, including the United States, Australia, the European Union and several other countries (*Kompas*, 26 Juni 2018).

Various successes in handling terrorism in Indonesia on a regional or international scale then become interesting phenomena and discourses as part of the implementation of security policies and public responses / perceptions. One of the interesting areas to be studied further is Sukoharjo. The district is located about ten kilometers from the city of Surakarta which borders directly with Klaten, Wonogiri, Gunung Kidul and Boyolali (Sukoharjo Dalam Angka).

Sukoharjo is an interesting area in the study and discourse of terrorism policies because Sukoharjo is often associated with acts of terrorism in Indonesia.

There is an existence of *Ponpes* Al Mukmin in Ngruki, Cemani, Grogol, Sukoharjo. This boarding school has thousands of male and female students who came from various regions in Indonesia. In the area of Ngruki Abu Bakar Bashir lived an Islamic religious figure that is often linked with Jemaah Islamiyah. Abu Bakar Bashir who is currently serving a prison sentence in Nusakambangan, is regarded as the founder and at the same Jemaah Islamiyah's amir. The network often commits acts of terrorism (time.com). Nevertheless, in my opinion we cannot judge *Ponpes* in Ngruki as a radical just because some alumni are related to some terrorism cases in Indonesia, and do not easily give the statement that Ngruki as base of terrorism.

In the series of acts of terrorism in Indonesia, it cannot be denied that religious sentiments are inseparable. Radical and terrorist groups in Indonesia have several ideologies, including Islamism, and fundamentalism which considers the non-Islamic groups as objects that must be fought. One of the terror organizations in Indonesia that has links with the Sukoharjo region is Jamaah Islamiyah, which is led by Abu Bakar Baasyir. Jamaah Islamiyah is an organization that operates on a regional scale, covering Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Singapore. The organization is estimated to have loyal strengths and sympathizers of around 5,000 members (Sihbudi dan Irawati, et,all, 2005:49).

Sukoharjo as the place of domicile of Abu Bakar Baasyir then became an interesting area to be further investigated as part of the discussion of public perceptions of the policy of handling terrorism. In this study the author will examine the perceptions of the people of Sukoharjo namely the Catholic community in the Church of *Hati Kudus Yesus*, Sukoharjo. The object of this research was chosen because of several reasons, first, on a national or regional scale Christians are often victims and threat targets of terrorists, including the example of the attack on the Church of Santa Lidwina in Sleman Yogyakarta on 11 February 2018 (Kompas,12 Februari 2018). These actions complemented various cases of violence in Christian places of worship, including the Christmas bombings in 2000, bombings at the Santa Ana church in East Jakarta, bomb attacks in the church of the Saint Joseph in Medan and several other cases (jatengtribunsnews.com). Furthermore, the second reason is that Sukoharjo is the domicile of the Jamaah Islamiyah leader who is responsible for a series of terrorist acts in Indonesia, so that it becomes an interesting discourse related to Christian perceptions of government policies in tackling terrorism on a national scale.

The development of terrorism in Indonesia characterized by the disclosure of several cases of bomb blasting and sporadic attacks then led to religious sentiments. Based on the etymology and definitions issued by the Great Dictionary of Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI) The view or perception based on the feeling of extravagance towards something (KBBI,2013:189). The sentiment is essentially a manifestation of the development of social phenomena that can be

either compromised or bad, but in the last decade or two the sentiments often have negative connotation meanings.

The emergence of religious sentiments is not separated from the issue of radicalism and fundamentalism by the name of religion. Since the tragedy of WTC New York on September 11, 2001 until the cases of terrorism in Indonesia have raised the country's sentiments, not only from the adheres outside Islam, but also the majority of Muslims in Indonesia. Most of these have been said that terrorism is not a religious teaching, but it is undeniable that the group is in the name of radical Islam (Machasin,2011:211).

The development of religious sentiments (Islam) in Indonesia has evolved to the regions in Indonesia. One of them is Sukoharjo. One of regencies in Central Java has a dynamic and plural demographic structure. The inhabitants of Sukoharjo are predominantly Muslims and others are Christians and others in smaller percentage. The relationship between the controversial figure Abu Bakar Basyir and *Pondok Pesantren* in Ngruki, Sukoharjo makes the district a negative sentiment from the people of Indonesia. Here comes the question of the perception of minority people, the Catholic people to the Government's efforts to deal with terrorism in Indonesia.

B. RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on descriptions in the background, the researcher then tries to analyze information on several questions:

- a. How is the perception of Catholic community in Sukoharjo region in addressing the policy of handling and overcoming terrorism in Indonesia (Case Study in the Church of Hati Kudus Jesus in Sukoharjo District)? "
- b. What is the follow-up of the government and other stakeholders about the perception that developed in the Catholic community in Sukoharjo region in addressing the policy of handling and overcoming terrorism in Indonesia (Case Study in the Church of Hati Kudus Jesus in Sukoharjo District)? "

C. OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH

The research objectives of this study is to cover two things as follows:

- a. To find out the perceptions of Catholics, especially the Church of Hati Kudus Jesus in Sukoharjo District in addressing the policy of handling and overcoming terrorism in Indonesia.
- b. To find out the solution from the government together with relevant stakeholders in following up the perception of Catholics, especially the Church of Hati Kudus Jesus in Sukoharjo District in uncovering the policy of handling and overcoming terrorism in Indonesia.

D. BENEFITS OF RESEARCH

This research is expected to give benefit as a basic research. Research is useful to understand nature of a social phenomenon or to serve a basic knowledge and understanding which can be generalized at various study, problem and policy

field. According to the purposes of the research that are set, thus the benefits of the research expected are:

a. Theoretical Benefit

1. Providing understanding and discourse about the application of public policies regarding the handling and overcoming of terrorism in Indonesia as part of public policy.
2. Providing understanding about public perceptions of public policy and the follow-up of the government for support or input from community groups as instruments for policy makers.

b. Practical Benefit

1. Providing conceptual contribution to the government in determining some of the decisions to be taken.
2. Stimulating research in similar studies and enriching the study of governmental science.

E. LITERATURE REVIEW

Research on security policy and the handling of terrorism has indeed become a popular theme in the study of governmental science in Indonesia, but studies / research on public responses to security policies are still quite limited. Even though this is important because civil society is the final object for the implementation of these security policies, as well as the object of threats from terrorists or other organized crime.

Several studies on terrorism prevention policies and community responses to terrorism were used as a comparison in this study which can be seen in table 1.1. as follows :

**Table 1.1.
Comparison of Research in Literature Review**

No	Name	Title /Year	Conclusion
1.	Zulkifli	Conceptualization and Contextualization of Deradicalization (Soft Power) Handling Associated with Law Number 15 of 2003/2015.	The conceptualization and contextualization of de-radicalization in Indonesia relies heavily on the legal order formulated by the Indonesian regulator (parliament). Law enforcement in dealing with de-radicalization is not only related to the series of acts of violence including persecution of non-Islamic religious people, but also various actions that have been launched against security forces in Indonesia. De-radicalization handling still requires complete regulatory support which later becomes the basis for law enforcement, so as to minimize discretion or overleaping in the field of law enforcement.
2.	A Rusman	Building the Synergy of the Police and Village Communities in Combating Terrorism / 2018	The community has an important position in supporting security stability in Indonesia. Politicizing the community has actually become an idea in several developed countries, including in the United States, Britain, Australia and several other countries. In Indonesia, community synergy in handling terrorism has existed since the disclosure of terrorism in Malang (Dr. Azahari's case), as well as other cases. In the end, this study proved that the community has a key position in supporting the handling of terrorism

3.	Djelantik	Terrorism and Violence Against Religion in the West Java Region / 2017	<p>either actively or prefevitively.</p> <p>The issue of religious violence has erupted several times in Indonesia, including the prohibition of the establishment of churches, and the attack on fellow Muslims in the case of Ahmadiyah. Cases of terrorism and religious violence occur due to excessive fanaticism, the existence of forms of economic, social and other fields of injustice, as well as the influence of global social-security constellations. The final results show that government, community leaders, <i>ulama</i> and <i>umara</i> are required to produce innovative breakthroughs that are more acceptable to various groups, especially in West Java.</p>
4.	Ben Hayes	The Impact of International Counter Terrorism on civil society Organization/2017	<p>International terrorism is developing as a global issue that can be a strong influence in the dynamics of society in various countries of the world, not only in developing countries, but also in developed countries. The authoritarian attitude of Western countries in the past and the attitude of injustice towards Islam has led to international acts of terror. The final results of this study show that there needs to be an intermediary (facilitator) who has a strong influence that can maintain neutrality both from the community, government or international regime to be able to bridge the creation of a soft approach in dealing with national and international terrorism.</p>
5.	Var Wall D	The Role of Civil Society in Dutch Counter Terrorism Policy/2018.	<p>Communities directly or through existing channels (people's representatives to parliament) can be a recommendation for the issuance of anti-terrorism rules / legislation in the national scope. The final results</p>

			indicate that the existence of ethnic minorities must remain an object of legal protection; moreover ethnic minorities must be able to become subjects in providing recommendations in the formulation of legislation and implementation of security policies as part of the scheme of the counterterrorism policy.
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Source: Organized by researcher 2019

From the five studies above, there are several differences and similarities with this study. In the first study, the equation of this study with Zulkfli's writing was the subject of terrorism as an extraordinary crime that developed in the Indonesian society. Meanwhile, the object of Zulkifli's research was the application of Law No. 15 of 2003/2015, the object of this study is the public response to the policy of handling terrorism in the local and national scope.

In the second study, by A Rusman the equation was the subject of his research, namely counter-terrorism, meanwhile the difference was the object of his research. A Rusman discussed the synergy of the community with the police, but this study examines how the police and local stakeholders followed up community responses. . In the third study, by Djelantik the equation was terrorism and territorial security policy, and the differences are in research objects. In this study the author took the area of Sukoharjo, Central Java, meanwhile the Djelantik study was in West Java Province.

The fourth study, written by Ben Hayes, the equation is the policy of handling terrorism and society as the subject of his research. Furthermore, the difference in the object of his research is where Hayes took the object of research

in an international scope, meanwhile in this study is in national scope. In the fifth study, written by Var de Wall, the context is the subject of research, namely public policy in counter-terrorism and public response to public policy. The difference is Var de Wall used the object of public policy research and the response of the Dutch community, meanwhile this research is carried out in Central Java, Indonesia.

F. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

a. Public Policy

Public policy according to Thomas Dye, is whatever Governments choose to do or not to do, (Suharsono,2012:2). The scope is very broad, because public policy includes something not done by the government in addition to that carried out by the government when the government is facing a public issue. Thus, the definition of public policy expressed by Thomas Day implies that: (Winarno,2008:17)

- (1) The public policy is made by government agencies, not private organizations; and
- (2) Public policy concerning the selection should be done or not done by a government agency.

Meanwhile, according to Carl Friedrich, the policy is a course of action proposed by a person, group or government in a particular setting that provide barriers and opportunities to policies which is proposed to use and resolve in order to achieve an objective or to realize a target or a particular purpose (Winarno,2008:17). According to one political scientist, Richard Rose public

policy is, "a long sequence of more or less linked activities and have some consequences for stakeholders as different decision" (Winarno,2008:17).

Meanwhile another definition expressed by Presaman and Wildvsky, as quoted by Budi Winarno, defines public policy as hypothesis that contain initial conditions and the consequences can be foreseen (Winarno,2008:17).

These definitions are just enough to account for only a certain aspect, but most likely fail in explaining other aspects. Therefore, the proposition which states that public policy is a policy developed by government agencies and government officials must be addressed as well as possible so that we can distinguish public policy forms another policy, such as policies issued by the private. Such policies will be affected by the actors and factors not the government.

In this regard, involvement of the actors in formulating policies will then become a special characteristic of such public policies. As argued by David Easton, which is referred to as a "ruler" in a political system, is the highest tribal elders, traditional leaders, members of the executive, legislative, judicial, administrator, adviser to the king and the like (Suharno,2013:14). Thus, it can be said that in the implementation of the above statement:

- a. Public policies are an action that leads to the goal, instead of random chance. Public policies in the modern political system are an action that had been planned.

- b. A policy essentially consists of actions that relate to and patterned lead to certain objectives conducted by government officials and not a stand-alone decision.
- c. A policy having to do with what is real as-in fact carried out by the government in certain sectors.
- d. Public policies can be shaped in the form of positive and negative.

From some of the definitions above, it can be said that everything that has become government's decision is a policy that had noble objective, in general, ie prospering the people. However, in fact much more favorable policies are for the rulers but ignore the interests of the people.

Public policies are a promise as well as the efforts from the authorities' response to the demands from the people of the goodness of their fortunes, because people generally want the right policy. In getting a good decision or policy it is necessary to conduct observations of the problems encountered aims to get provisions and objectives.

Moreover, public policy is the government's decision as a government agency or as an institution and not a decision of the individuals who sit in government. There are also decisions taken individually but on behalf of public policies that seeks to benefit some individual in government.

Charles O. Jones defines the term policy are not just used in everyday practice but are used to replace the activities or decisions that are very different. The term is often used interchangeably with the goal, programs, decisions,

standards, proposals, and grand design. However, despite the public policy might seem a little abstract or may be viewed as matches which “happen” to someone, actually as some of the examples described above, basically we have been influenced deeply by many public policies in daily life (Jones,1984:25).

Political scientist David Easton define public policy as “the authoritative allocation of values for the whole society” –but it turns out that only the government can “authoritatively” act on the “whole” society, and everything the government chooses to do or not to do results in the “allocation of values.”

Political scientist Harold Lasswell and philosopher Abraham Kapiian define policy as “a projected program of goals, values, and practices,” and political scientist Carl Fedrick says, ‘it is essential for the policy concept that there is a goal, objective, or purpose.’ These definitions imply a difference between specific governmental actions and overall program of action toward a given goal. The problem, however, in insisting that government actions must have goals in order to be labeled “policy” is that we can never be sure whether or not a particular action has a goal, or if it does, what that goal is. We generally assume that if the government chooses to do something there must be a goal, objective, or purpose, but all we can really observe is what governments choose to do or not to do. Realistically, our notion of public policy must include all actions of government and not just stated intentions of governments or government officials.

One thing to remember in defining the policy, is that a fixed policy must have an understanding of what is actually done, rather than what is proposed in action on a particular issue. This is done because the policy is a process that also

includes the implementation and evaluation stage making policy definition which only focuses on what is proposed to be insufficient. Therefore, the definition of public policy would be more appropriate if the definition also covers a course of action or what it does and does not solely concern the proposed actions (Winarno,2014:21).

b. Policy Implementation

According to Purwanto and Sulistyastuti (2012: 21), "the implementation is an activity to deliver policy output pursued by the implementers to target groups in an effort to realize the policy. Ripley and Franklin (in Winarno, 2014: 148) state that the implementation is what happens after the legislation is adopted which give authority programs, policies, benefits, or any type of tangible output. Implementation includes actions by as actors, especially the bureaucrats that are intended to make the program run. Grindle (in Winarno, 2014: 149) gave his views on the implementation by saying that in general, the task of implementation is to form an association (linkage) which facilitates policy objectives can be realized as a result of a government activity.

According to Agustino, implementation study is a study on the policies that lead to the enforcement of a policy. In practice, policy implementation is a process that is so complex and often had political intentions with the intervention with various interests.

In addition Agustino also quoted from the statement of an expert in the study of policies namely Eugne Bardach about the complexity in the

implementation process, which is expressed in the following statement (Leo,2014:138). "Is enough to make a program and public policies that looks good on paper. Even more difficult to formulate it in words and slogans that sounds fun for the leaders and voters who listen and even more difficult to implement in the form of a satisfactory manner for all people including those considered the client".

Implementation widely seen as having the meaning of the implementation of laws, which is a stage from the process of activities between the various actors in which the organization, procedures and techniques of each work together to implement policies in an effort to reach their goals or program policies.

Therefore, the policy implementation is a process that refers to the activities between the actors involved, in accordance to what is formulated in the policy. This fits the opinion from Danil Muazmania and Paul Sabatier in his book entitled *Implementation and Public Policy*. Leo Agustino stated the implementation of the policy as:

"The implementation of the basic wisdom decision, usually in the form of laws, but can also in form of government orders or important executive decisions, or the decisions of the judiciary. Normally, such decision would identify issues that will need to be addressed, mentioning explicitly goals or objectives that will be achieved, and various ways to structure or organize the implementation process".

Meanwhile, Erwan Agus Purwanto and Dyah Ratih Sulistyatuti stated that, "the core of the implementation is an activity to distribute the policy output (to deliver policy output) is done by the implementer to the target group (target

group) in an effort to realize the objectives of the policy. The policy goal is expected to appear when the output policy can be accepted and put to good use by the target group so that in the long term policy results will be obtained (Erwan,2012:21).

From the definition that has been described above, it can be stated that the implementation of policies related to three things, according to the statement passed by Leo Agustino, namely:

1. The purpose or objective of the policy
2. Activities or activity goals
3. The existence of the results from activities (Leo,2014:139).

In addition there is a lot discretion that is based on ideas that seem very feasible but has some difficulty when it should be practiced in the field, because it is caused by many factors that influence it. Thus, during the process of implementation of the various interpretations and assumptions on goals, targets and strategies for achieving goals can be evolved even in the implementation agencies, who always do the discretionary or flexibility in implementing the policy.

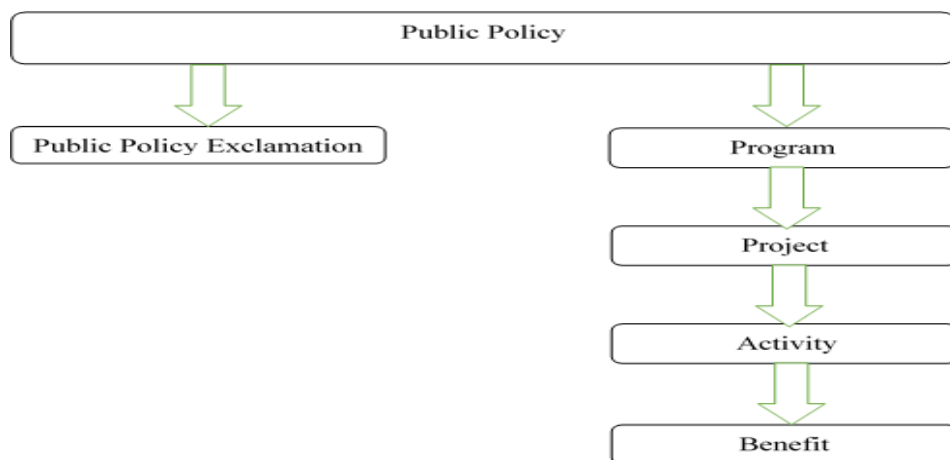
It is because of socio-economic and political conditions of society that is not possible, causing a policy that should be implemented eventually have to be postponed, also caused by abuse of authority or a deviation of policy. To achieve success in the implementation of a policy will not be separated from the use of advice that has been selected. As stated by Hoogerwerf, implementation policies

can be defined as the use of facilities and infrastructure that have been selected (Hogerwerf,1983:157).

In this case, that must be considered in the implementation of policies are the actions of a legitimate action, in accordance with the implementation of a plan that has been set out in a policy program that covers the preparation of a specific event of the actions to be performed, generally in the form of ordinances to be followed in the implementation of the standards that must be due to the decisions of executive / project. Concrete projects to be implemented within a certain period of time, which in turn affect the expected impact nor unexpected.

Meanwhile, referring to the RiantNugroho D, implementation of policies in principle is a way for a policy to achieve the goal, not more not less. To implement the policies, there are two options, ie, directly implemented in the form of programs or through policies formulation or derivatives of such public policies (Nugroho,2003:153-159). Generally it can be described as follows:

**Graph 1.1
Policy Implementation Sequence**



Source : Riant Nugroho. *Kebijakan Publik, Formulasi, Implementasi dan Evaluasi*

Public policy, in the form of laws or local regulations, is a type of public policy that requires explanation or the public policy is often termed as the implementing regulations. Public policies that directly operated, are for examples: Presidential Decree, Decree, Decree of the head region, the Decree of the Head of Department, and others.

According to Van Mater and Van Horn the policies variables are having to do with the goals that have been outlined and available resources. Focus on contents include both formal and informal organizations, whereas the inter-relationship communications are within the scope of the political system and target groups. Finally the center of attention is the attitude that leads to the executor had hit a target orientation of the operators in the field (Wibawa,1991:66).

In short, some experts who put forward the implementation model have a different viewpoint in determining the variables that affect the successful implementation of policies. For those reasons, in the following sections parts of models in policies implementation will be shown.

(Factors That Influence Policy)

There are many variables that influence the implementation of the policy. Theoretically, some experts have diverse opinions about the factors that affect success. Among the factors that affect the implementation of the policy are as follows:

1. Model Van Meter dan Van Horn

There are six variables, according to Van Meter and Van Horn, which was quoted by Agustino that the public policies that affect performance are : (Leo,2014:144)

a. (Size and policy objectives)

The size and purpose of policy should be clear and measurable, because the standard uncertainty and policy tools would potentially lead to multiple interpretations which ultimately will have implications on the difficulty of applying the policy implementation.

b. (Resources)

Implementation of the policy needs adequate resources, both human and non-human resources. Lack of resources will complicate the implementation of policies.

c. (Implement agent Characteristics)

What is meant by the characteristics of implementing agent is the bureaucratic structures and norms and patterns of relationships that occur within the bureaucracy. All of which will affect the policy implementation or program.

d. (*Disposition*)

Acceptance or rejection from (agent) implementers will very much affect the success or performance of public policy implementation. It is very likely to occur because of the policies implemented is not the

result of the formulation from local people who know very well the issues and problems that they experienced.

However the policies to be implemented are top-down policies that are most likely the decision makers never knew (not even able to touch) needs, desire, on issues that citizens want to accomplish.

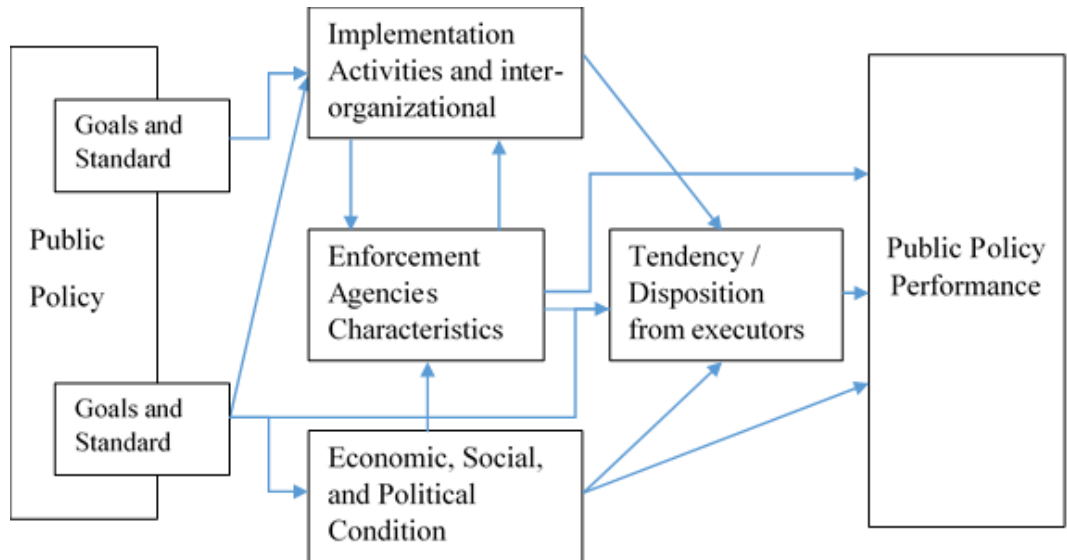
e. (Inter-organizational communication and implementation activities)

Coordination is a powerful mechanism in the implementation of public policy. The better the coordination of communication between the parties involved in the implementation process, the assumptions are, mistakes will be very small to happen and vice versa.

f. (Economic, Social and Political Environment)

These variables include environmental economic resources to support the successful policy implementation; the extent to which interest groups provide support for the policy implementation; the characteristics of the participants, who support or reject; how the nature of public opinion in the environment; and whether the political elite supports the policy implementation.

Graph 1.2
The Policy Implementation Process (Donald Van Metter and Carl Van Horn).



Source : Leo Agustino, *Dasar-dasar Kebijakan Publik* cetakan ke 5, 2014, p.144

2. George C Edward III

According to George C Edwards there are four factors that affect the policy implementation as explained below:

a. Communication

According to Edward, the first statement to the implementation of effective policies is that they carry out the decisions have to know what they should do. Policy decisions and orders shall be forwarded to the appropriate personnel prior to the decisions and commands that can be followed. Certainly, communications must be accurate and must be understood carefully by implementers. However, many barriers that

block the transmission of communications and implementing these barriers may hinder the process.

b. Sources

According to Edward, essential source for policy implementation, include:

1. Staff; perhaps important source of policy implementation is the staff. There is one thing that should be remembered that the number is not always a positive effect on policy implementation. This means that the number of staff that many do not automatically encourage successful implementation. This is caused by government officials or staff, but on the other hand, the shortage of staff would pose a complicated issues related to the implementation of effective policies.
2. First, information on how to implement a policy. Implementers who need to know what to do and how they should do it. The second form from information is data about other personnel adherence to government regulations. Implementers need to know whether others were involved in the implementation of policies comply with the law or not.
3. Facilities; physical facilities may be the substantial resources in the implementation. An executor may have adequate staff, may understand what to do, and may have the authority to do its job, but without the building as an office for coordinating, without

equipment, without debriefing, it is likely that the planned implementation will not succeed.

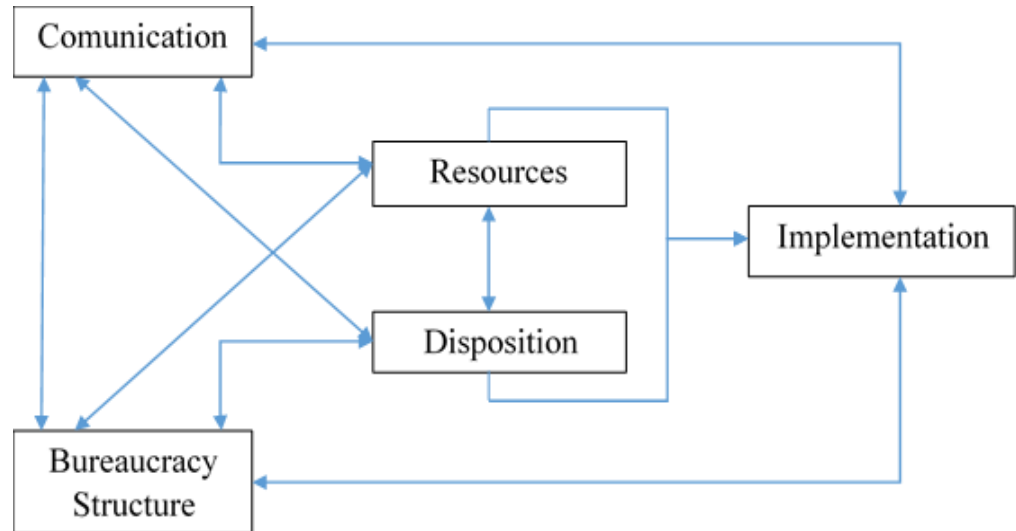
c. Tendency

The tendency from the executive is the third factor that has important consequences for the implementation of effective policies. If the executor of being soft on a particular policy, and other terms of their support, they are likely to implement the policy as desired by decision makers, then the process of implementation of a policy became difficult.

d. Bureaucracy Structure

Bureaucracy is one of the most frequent body overall even be implementing the policy. Bureaucracy, either knowingly or not, choose the forms of organization for collective agreements, in order to solve social problems in modern life. They not only within the government structure, but also in private organizations that even in educational institutions and sometimes a bureaucratic system purposely created to carry out a particular policy.

Graph 1.3
Edward Implementation Approach Model



Policy implementation is a crucial stage in the process of public policy. Without the policy implementation, a policy decision would only be notes on the table officials. Successful policy implementation is an important factor of the whole policy process. To improve the policy implementation, there are several steps which can be done. First, the proposed remedial measures must be understood first the obstacles that arise in the process of policy implementation and why these obstacles arise. Model policies described above may be very helpful in assessing the factors that hinder the implementation and why these factors appear. The second step, then it is necessary to change conditions which resulted in these factors (Leo,2014:144).

c. Terrorism

In general, the definition of this phenomenon refers to the "activity" of violence against the state, but of course this does not mean loosely because of in that case lest the demonstration activity be regarded as terrorism. The point is the motives

terrorism which is often based on politics (Santoso, 2002: 20). That is, violence is not a destination, but as a way to demonstrate the power of the threat. If violence becomes goal it is no longer called terrorism (Santoso, 2002: 20). It is a flow through the imposition of the will to voice messages, principle by doing illegal acts that lead to violence, brutality, even murder (Suradjie, 2005: 11).

There are several definitions proposed on terrorism. Terrorism are the use of violence against civil interests in order to achieve political targets (according to the CIA and British Intelligence Service) (Abimanyu, 2005: 129-131). The definition of terrorism that has been raised by CIA and British Intelligence Service is short, dense and clear: there are three variables / elements which are summarized in this definition.

1. Terrorism as the use of violence;
2. Terrorism directed against the interests of civilians; and
3. Terrorism is intended to achieve political goals.

Terrorism is also the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to attain goals that are political, religious, or ideological in nature through intimidation, coercion, or instilling fear, (Suradjie, 2005:11). Definition of terrorism according to the US Army, is acts containing aimed at political or religious or ideological, strange when viewed from the aspect of how soldiers are surface. Definition of terrorism according to US Army is re-emphasized aspect of political motives, which are also sometimes or accompanied by religious motives or ideology. Not explained of what is meant by the ideology here, but the point is actions which accompanied certain messages. Other elements of terrorism are described also in

the form of an act of violence through intimidation, coercion or the onset of fear. Intimidation is an act that should not be intended to cause fear, however, could be raise concerns. Coercion is an act of violence which may tend to act physically hurt, meanwhile the action raises the fear includes aspects broader than just worry or physical harm because it could be after physical harm any person may still feel fear. The bottom line is defining terrorism is not necessarily in the form of physical violence other than to show that terrorism is an unplanned movement.

The definition of terrorism is the closest to show the meaning of the power of terrorism which may cause fear, although when viewed from the perspective of law enforcement may be relatively difficult to see whether the act has caused fear or worry to someone because it is related to psychiatric problems, let alone a planned movement. Meanwhile, the FBI defines terrorism as the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, civilian populations, or any segment threat, in furtherance of political or social objectives.

Thus terrorism in a way interpreted, can be an action that is associated for the purpose or specific motif (terrorism interests), and may be interpreted as an act of criminalization of terrorism. (Laporan Polri)

According to Law Number 15 Year 2003 on the Eradication of Terrorism Crime Article 1 paragraph (1), Criminal Acts of Terrorism shall be all acts which fulfill the elements of crime in accordance with the provisions of this Law. Regarding any acts categorized in the Terrorism Crime, set out in the provisions

of Chapter III (Criminal Acts of Terrorism), Article 6, 7, that every person is punished for committing the Criminal Act of Terrorism, if:

a. By deliberately using violence or the threat of violence creates an atmosphere of terror or fear of a widespread or massive victim, by depriving the liberty or eliminating the life and property of others or causing damage or destruction of strategic vital objects or environments or public facilities or international facilities (Article 6).

b. By deliberately using violence or the threat of violence intends to inflict an atmosphere of terror or fear of a widespread or massive victim by depriving the liberty or eliminating the life and property of others or causing damage or destruction of strategic vital objects or environmental or public facilities or international facilities (Article 7).

A person is also considered to have a Criminal Act on Terrorism under the provisions of 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 of Law Number 15 of 2003 on Combating Terrorism Crime, which characterizes a Terrorism Crime as following:

A. There is a plan to carry out the action.

B. Performed by a particular group.

C. Use violence.

D. Taking casualties from civil society, with intent to intimidate the government.

E. Performed to achieve fulfillment of a particular purpose of the perpetrator and this may be a social, political or religious motive.

d. Public Perception

Understanding perceptions in scientific dictionaries is observation, compilation of impulses in units, things to know, through the senses, responses (senses) and the power of understanding (Barry,2001:591). Therefore, human ability to differentiate grouping and focusing in their environment is called the ability to organize observations or perceptions. Perception is a process that is preceded by a sensing that is a tangible process of receiving a stimulus by an individual through its receptor tool (Sarwono,1976:39).

Based on Kartini Kartono's opinion, perceptions are global observations, accompanied by awareness yet, meanwhile the subject and object are distinguished yet from one another (there is only a process that has a response). According to Ben Walgito, perception is organizing, interpreting, towards stimuli received by organisms or individuals so that it is an integrated activity within oneself (Walgito,1994:53).

Perception is a set of mental actions that regulate sensory impulses into a meaningful pattern. Perception ability is something that is innate and develops at a very early time. Although most perceptual abilities are innate, experience also plays an important role. Innate abilities will no long last because cells in logic experience setbacks, change, or fail to form feasible logic paths. Overall, our perceptual abilities are instilled and depend on experience.

a. The process of perception

The process of perception occurs through three processes, namely physical processes, physiological processes and psychological processes. The

physical process in the form of an object raises a stimulus, then a stimulus regarding the sensory tool or receptor. The physiological process in the form of a stimulus received by the senses which is transmitted by the sensory nerves to the brain. Meanwhile psychological processes are in the form of processes in the brain so that individuals realize the stimulus received.

b. Factors that influence perception,

Factors that influence perception, include the self concerned when someone sees and tries to give an interpretation of what is seen. Individual characteristics that influence include attitudes, motives, interests, experiences and expectations. There are also perceptual targets that might be people, objects or events. This principle influences perceptions, as well as factors of the situation, namely perception must be viewed contextually which means that in situations where perception arises it needs attention. The situation is a factor that plays a role in growing perception.

G. CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION

The conceptual definition is as an attempt to explain about a limitation of understanding between concepts with each other in order to avoid misunderstanding in the research. This concept is used to describe the meaning of the words in the title. The limits of definition or conceptual definition in this discussion are:

a. Public Policy

Public policy is the principled guide to action taken by the administrative executive branches of the state with regard to a class of issues in a manner consistent with law and institutional customs and considered strong when it solves problems efficiently and effectively, serves justice, supports governmental institutions and policies, and encourages active citizenship. In this research Law No. 15 of 2003 are going to examined.

b. Terrorism

Terrorism is organized crime which can also be categorized as extraordinary crimes and crimes against humanity. The aim of the act of terrorism is that the struggle or the existence of a group can be heard by the authorities to achieve certain goals.

c. Public Perception

Public perception is the point of view of the community on a policy from the government through careful observation and will then be formulated collectively to be followed up with appreciation, criticism or rejection.

d. Policy Follow-up

Policy follow-up is an evaluation, both renewal, refinement or reimbursement of policies to be applied to new policies obtained directly from

community groups or also from issues that develop in the community at the regional or national scale.

H. OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

Operational definition is an instrument to prove and analyze the formulation of research problems in this case is the perception of Catholics community in Sukoharjo region toward the policy implementation in Indonesia terrorism prevention (Case Study of Church of the *Hati Kudus Yesus* in Sukoharjo District) and the government's follow-up in uncovering the issue.

- a. The perception of Catholics in Sukoharjo region in uncovering the policy of handling and overcoming terrorism in Indonesia (Case Study of Church of the *Hati Kudus Yesus* in Sukoharjo District) in terms of the theory of public perception in uncovering acts and threats of terrorism as extraordinary crimes, including:
 - The process of perception among Catholics community in the Sukoharjo region in uncovering the policy of handling and overcoming terrorism in Indonesia.
 - Factors that influence perceptions among Catholics community in the Sukoharjo region, including mass media and social media coverage, law enforcement processes to various national and local issues that develop.
- b. Follow-up by the government and other stakeholders on the perceptions that developed in the Catholic community in Sukoharjo region in uncovering the

policy of handling and overcoming terrorism in Indonesia (Case Study of Church of the *Hati Kudus Yesus* in Sukoharjo District) including :

- Communication : The steps of the local government and other stakeholders can build effective communication with Catholic community in Sukoharjo.
- Bureaucratic structure : The steps of the regional government and other stakeholders can build a bureaucratic system to bridge the interests and aspirations of Catholic community in Sukoharjo.
- Resources : The steps of the regional government and other stakeholders can build resources to bridge services to the Catholic community in Sukoharjo.
- Disposition : Supervision of policy makers at the Sukoharjo District level in implementation and evaluation of public policy through directives and discretion from Sukoharjo leaders (Police).

I. RESEARCH METHOD

a. Type of the Research

This research is classified as descriptive qualitative research method. Descriptive research is research that explains and describes the systematic factual and actual information on the facts, nature and

relationships between the phenomena under the investigation (Nasir, 1980 : 63).

From the definition of qualitative research methods, the researcher is interested in knowing the paradigm of the perception of the Sukoharjo Catholic community on counter-terrorism in Indonesia because with this method researcher can find out the point of view of more research objects that cannot be represented by statistics. In addition, the data obtained from this qualitative method is deeper and stronger. The results of qualitative research emphasize more than the general meaning. In the qualitative research field, data is presented descriptively in the form of reports and descriptions (Lindsay, 1988).

In this qualitative research study, it is also designed to obtain objective information. For this study, researcher focused on how the perceptions of the Sukoharjo Catholic community towards the policy of dealing with terrorism, as well as the follow-up of the stakeholders of Sukoharjo District in uncovering the issue. In the field of qualitative research, samples and instruments are chosen by purposive sampling where the sampling are data sources with certain considerations, such as people who are considered to know the most about what we expect (Lindsay, 1988). The choice of sample was taken from representatives of Catholics community in Sukoharjo Regency and stakeholder representatives of Sukoharjo Regency who had links with security policies, especially related to the development of the issue of terrorism.

b. Location of Research

The place of this research is located in Sukoharjo Regency, especially in the Hati Kudus Jesus Parish Church, Sukoharjo. Author chose this location because Sukoharjo is one of area which is the basis of terrorism that spread jihadist ideology. Sukoharjo is a district in Central Java that has a strong history of terrorism which was often happened.

c. Unit Analysis

The unit of analysis is defined as the real object to be studied, according to the existing problems and the subject matter in this study the author will conduct research on the attitude, and the response of representatives of the parish church of Hati kudus Jesus, Sukoharjo.

d. Data Sources

There are two data needed in this research that is primary and secondary data.

a. Primary Data

Primary data is data obtained through interviews directly with the data source or collected directly in the field by people who do research concerned or who needs it. These primary data also called the original data or new data.

b. Secondary Data

Secondary data is supporting data from studies conducted and the form of information, documents, archives, books, and other documents

relating the perception of the Catholics community in the Sukoharjo region in uncovering the policy of handling and overcoming terrorism in Indonesia. This group was chosen because it can be a benchmark for the response of the marginal community in uncovering security developments, policies carried out by the government within the national scale, and uncovering the public's attention in Indonesia about the connection between Sukoharjo and regional and national terrorism constellations.

e. Data Colleting Techniques

a. Interview Technique

Interview is a conversation that is directed to a specific problem. This is a verbal question and answer process, where two or more people face to face physically (Kartono, 1980: 171). There are two sides with the different positions in the interview process. The first side, serves as a questioner, also called the interviewer, meanwhile the second side, serves as information suppliers (Gunawan, 2003: 160).

In this research, the sources interviewed by the author are:

No.	Position	Institution
1.	Church Leader	Church of <i>Hati Kudus Yesus</i>
2.	Representative of congregation (<i>Jemaat</i>)	Church of <i>Hati Kudus Yesus</i>
3.	Stakeholder	Representative of Polres Sukoharjo

Specifically the speaker is chosen by determining several conditions for respondents, including age considerations for accurate data based on the reasonable argument and the capabilities of the statements in accordance with the problem being researched is the perception of Catholic community in the Church of the *Hati Kudus Yesus* in Sukoharjo regency against the handling of terrorism.

As for some respondents to this study in detail can be seen in the table as follows:

Table 1.2.
Informant List

No	Name	Gender and Age	Job / Position	Address
1.	Petrus Sajiyana.PR	Male (53 years old)	Pastor parish church of <i>Hati Kudus Yesus</i> in Sukoharjo Regency	Jl. Slamet Riyadi 26, Gayamsari, Kecamatan Sukoharjo, Kabupaten Sukoharjo
2.	Pita Yulraningsih	Female (30 years old)	Teacher of PAUD Cor Jesu, Sukoharjo	Gayamsari, Kecamatan Sukoharjo, Kabupaten Sukoharjo
3.	Maria Fransisca Deny S	Female (28 years old)	Private employees and housewives	Ponowaren Tawang Sari Sukoharjo
4.	Achileus Sandy Kristiawan	Male (21 years old)	Student	Wotgaleh RT 3 Kabupaten Sukoharjo
5.	Martinus Tulus	Male (63 years old)	Retired civil servants	Pangin rt 01/7 Joho, Kabupaten Sukoharjo
6.	Yohanes Wiratama	Male (26 years old)	Student	Jl. Seram no.13 RT.04 RW.02 Sukoharjo
7.	Irwan Wahyudi	Male (43 years)	Member of Intelkam	Jalan R. Suprpto No 15, Tanjungsari,

		old)	POLRES Sukoharjo	Kecamatan Sukoharjo, Kabupaten Sukoharjo.
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Source : Processed from observation

Seven respondents, which can represent the community due to fragmentation, where the personality can represent the group (cluster) Church of the *Hati Kudus Yesus* in Regency Sukoharjo, as well as government representatives, especially the apparatus Implementing law enforcement in the eradication of terrorism. In this regard, this has fulfilled the so-called sampling technique based on the concept of snow ball. This concept does not emphasize the number of respondents, but at the quality by classifying the speakers first and does not apply the determination randomly. Thus, the information and data can be obtained in detail, and to minimize statements that are contrary to the determination and lack of the quality of the speakers.

In the concept of snow ball researchers can collect accurate information because of the flexibility of research time with a smaller number of respondents/speakers. According to Allen Rubin the application of snow ball as a sampling technique, the researcher can collected between 10 and 20 speakers even less than 10 speakers. Accuracy is easier to achieve because the author can explore data that has never been before and eliminate the saturation of the distribution of data that has many similarities (Rubbin and Babbie, 2009:149).

b. Documentation Technique

Documentation is a record of events that have been passed in the form of writing, pictures or monumental work of someone (Sugiyono,

2007: 82). The study document is complementary to the use of methods of observation and interviews. Results of the research will be more reliable if it is supported by a document. Documentation techniques used to collect data from the non-human source. Source consists of documents and records (Ibid :176).

c. Observation Technique

Observation is an option, conversion, recording, and coding set of behavior and atmosphere with respect to the organism there, according to the empirical objectives.

From the definition above, there are seven things of observation components, as follows (Hasan, 2002: 86):

a. *Election*, indicate observer edit and observations focused intentionally or not.

b. *Alteration*, indicates that the observations may change behavior or the atmosphere without disturbing the naturalness.

c. *Recording*, indicates an effort to record the events by using field notes, system of categories and other methods.

d. *Coding*, shows the process of simplification of the records through data reduction methods.

e. *Series of behavior and the atmosphere*, suggest that the observations do a series of different measurements on a variety of behavioral and atmosphere.

f. *In situ*, indicates that the observation of events occurs through natural

situation, although does not mean without using any experimental manipulations.

g. Empirical purposes, shows that observation has various functions in research, descriptions, makes the theories and hypotheses, or testing the theory or hypothesis.

Various observation techniques are carried out on the specifics of the Catholic community in the Church of *Hati Kudus Yesus* in Sukoharjo District against the handling of terrorism. In the first component is the election of the author will determine the place, activities and personal that can represent the congregation. Relates to the author determining the place of the Church of *Hati Kudus Yesus* and the congregation, as well as the Polres Sukoharjo. In the second component, the researcher sort, the time of research which can be achieved accurate observation, including the observation of writers at the religious event (Misa) in the church.

In the third component, the researcher collects the initial data by recording and doing documentation. In the fourth component, the researcher observe the research object as a form of cross check to avoid manipulation, including by comparing research with printed data. The fifth component is sorting out observations to fit various predetermined approaches / theories, including public policy theory, terrorism and public perception.

f. Data Analysis Technique

Data analysis is the process of arranging the order of the data and coordinating them into a pattern, categories and descriptions of base.(Jmeleong, 2001:103)

The data analysis technique used qualitative, is the data obtained in the form of words written or spoken of the people and observed behavior, processed by selected, classified in a systematic, logical and juridical order to get a general overview to support qualitative data analysis.

Then the data analysis done by analyzing the data obtained from the questionnaire, interviews and review of documents in the form of descriptions of the stages are follows:

a. Data collection

Data were collected by using observation, interviews and questionnaires.

b. Conducting Categorization

Separating data into similar parts with step of grouping similar data into a frequency table in order to further facilitate the problem solving research.

c. Conducting Interpretive Data

By providing interpretation in the form of a detailed explanation of the data obtained.

d. Conducting Generalization and Conclusion Withdrawal

Generalization is made by relating the theory underlying the research done, then after it had drawn a conclusion.

From the research method above, the instrumentation and operationalization of research methodology can be seen in table 1.3. as follows :

**Table 1.3.
Instrumentation and Operationalization of Research Methodology**

Research Type	Data source	Data Analysis Techniques	Data Analysis
Primary Data Source	Interview	Give questions in depth to the speaker.	Providing questions to leaders and representatives of the congregation, as well as community leaders in the Sukoharjo area that have been predetermined.
	Field observation	Carry out observations which are then systematically written in the narrative.	Going down directly in the field to observe various problems that occur in the object of research and the resource environment in the Sukoharjo region.
Secondary Data Sources	Report Book Newspaper	Sort out the narratives that are related to the problems that occur.	Sorting out the narratives related to the problems that occurred to later be written / included in the

			text about the development of national terrorism, as well as social and security dynamics in the Sukoharjo region.
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Source : collected from various sources