The Securitization Theory and Counter Terrorism in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The counter terrorism in Indonesia applies the theory of securitization. The theory of securitization is the new ways of counterterrorism and security studies. This article explores the emergence of securitization the end of the post-Cold War, securitization in security, securitization in international studies and securitization in fighting terrorism in Indonesia. Security studies emerged the end of the Cold War with focus on military and political deterrence from the Western and the Soviet Union perspectives. Finally, in the late 1980s, the security study has rapidly developed from the threat issues into international security. The national security state strengthen the orthodox concept in the first half of the 20th century.

Keywords: Counterterrorism, securitization, post-cold war

INTRODUCTION

Security studies emerged the end of the Cold War with focus on military and political deterrence from the Western and the Soviet Union perspectives. Finally, in the late 1980s, the security study has rapidly developed from the threat issues into international security. A new framework for security analysis by Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde argue that "security can be broadened to include other threats beyond the traditional military and political domain.Security depends on the character of the referent object in question" (1988).

Furthermore, Buzan developed the concept of security in the end of the Cold War.He states that there are four categories of security study, such as: traditionalists, wideners, critical schools and Copenhagen School (1997). Gray points out that the traditionalist trend based on rationalist paradigms. Showing the homogenous in security studies, such as during in the Cold War, security seen as a narrow agenda in the military and political cases.

Moreover, according to Mandel, "narrow or traditional approach focuses on the study of the threat, use and control of military force and examining causes, cures and consequences for war"(1994:18). The latter approach, security studies points out international relations as power of central and the states only considering their own interests and of not caring about things that would help other country in an anarchic system (Walt, 1997). Walt argues that "the main focus of security studies is easy to identify. It is the phenomenon of war" (1991: 212). Security study concerns the military power, arms control, and statecraft. On the other hand, it does not give attention nonmilitary threats to states, as Walt states that "the discipline is weakened by efforts to widen it: By this logic, issues such as pollution, disease, child abuse, or economic recessions could all be viewed as threats to security" (1991:213).

ANALYSES

The national security state strengthen the orthodox concept in the first half of the 20th century. "The unlucky discovery by an immature civilization of the internal combustion engine and the art of flying" (Churchill, 1948:99) changes the balance of power between states with the development and proliferation of nuclear weapons much faster and much less

predictable. Therefore, the national security is established to face an existential threat to a nation or its culture becomes a necessity.

The questions about the traditional concepts of security emerge in the late 20th century as transformative events: "whether and to what degree security is affected by globalization and the changing nature of threats themselves" (Ripsman & Paul,2005), "the growing fusion between law enforcement and national security mission" (Andreas & Price,2001:31), "even the very sorts of forces that brought down the Soviet Union" (Kolodziej,1992).

Theory of critical security argues that security has a role in playing the human condition better than before therefore the act of extention of security issues is an essential action (Stamnes,2004). "The critical approach seeks to deepen conceptions of security, rather than merely to broaden them"(Smith,2005), "the realism of orthodox security studies is part of the problem in world politics rather than being the problem solver" (Booth,2005:3). As a branch of social science, considering an excessively positivist and excessively Western as the goals of a critical security approach. "Nonconventional weapons and terrorism are certainly security threats, but so are consumerism, tyranny, massive disparities of wealth....and brute capitalism – as well as the more traditional cultural threats to people's security as a result of patriarchy and religious bigotry" (2005:1). Critical theorists suggest that "any study of security that does not point toward emancipatory practices is effectively guilty of perpetuating the oppressive systems it describes"(Taureck,2006).

A new security approach emerged in the end of the Cold War: "not a full-scale retreat from realism but a growing recognition in parts of the interstate community that states are ultimately made up of individuals and household" (Alker,2005). A military connotation has not dominated this concept after the Cold War. The widening traditional security concepts address the advocates of securitization, known as the Copenhagen School. But there were two important hurdles placed by the Copenhagen School. "Not only must an existential threat requiring emergency action be identified, but also a significant part of the audience needs to accept that designation" (Buzan, Waever, & de Wilde, 1998:27). Taureck states:

> Such a threat might not be as self-evident as an erupting volcano or an invading barbarian horde; more likely, a political actor will have to build a persuasive case for securitizing the threat using the mass media. Although securitization draws attention to a range of issues that are highly valued from a critical perspective, then, it remains largely based on power and capability and therewith the means to socially and politically construct a threat(2006:55).

Buzan in his work divides security analysis into four areas, namely, military, political, economic and ecological (environmental) (Buzan, 1983: 75-83). The formulation of security economic and environmental was developed from military and political security by traditionalist formulation. The focus of the formulation of military and political security is state. The state was looked as a primary actor and reference object by securitizing. There are several ways to identify military and political threats: "Generally speaking, military security concerns the two-level interplay of the armed offensive and defensive capabilities of states, and state's perceptions of each other's intentions. Political security concerns the organizational stability of states, systems of government and the ideologies that give them legitimacy" (Buzan, 1991:19). The state also "remains at the centre of this discussion in more recent formulations, although giving greater room for possible reconstructions of securities and referent objects" (e.g. Buzan, 1997:6-7; Buzan et al., 1998: 52-57 and 145-150).

The progressive 'triadisation'[‡] of the world market gave deductions to the formulation of economic security, i.e. following the end of the Second World War was dominated by the US economy with aims to the progressive recovery, Japan and Europe also emerged as economic power, and there is intense competition between East countries and West countries. After the Cold War, the concept of economic security focused on military and political dominance between East and West. Further, Buzan stated that "economic security may apply to the need or the attempt to not 'generate more losers than winners' in the economic system" (1997:8).

The formulation of environmental security focuses on the major problems such as, climate, nature, resources and biodiversity. The environment can give a threat to national security, for example, during the late Cold War period; the Soviet bloc looked the environment as a security problem because it can provide interference to public in military and political sectors.

Securitization, then, shares both the critical theorists' interest in expanding the scope of issues that reflect "security" (Booth,2005) and the traditional realists' primary that emphasis on issues affecting the state (Smith,2005). At the same time, several scholars gave critical comment (Elbe,2006), "the Copenhagen scholars' work draws praise for its originality and its systematic study of what it means to place nonmilitary issues on the security agenda."

The 'Copenhagen School'

Affiliation between Ole Waever and Barry Buzan and a group of scholars the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute under the Copenhagen School framework produced security studies as an alternative perspective. This perspective can be applicated to regional security. This framework acts as a part of the security studies within the widening category.

The Copenhagen School broadened and deepened the traditional understanding of security since the end of the Cold War. New security threats were identified by the Copenhagen School, such as, the economy, society, the environment or individuals. This theory emphasized on states actors, individuals and groups of individuals in the securitization as human security threats. According to Altheide, "this can also apply in the context of human security when, for example, the state is perceived to have more information on a threat to individuals' safety" (2006). Unlike neo-realism, which is "mainly concerned with the security of states (and explaining the relations among them), human security is a policy-making agenda and a top down approach focusing on the security of individuals" (Floyd, 2007). The neorealist's perspective on the state security is "also poorly suited to address the new non-traditional hazards and to explain solely the promotion of the transnational co-operative responses they require"(Bellamy,2004; Mearsheimer, 2007; Rüland,2005). "Due to its broadness and inclusive characters, the transdisciplinary concept of human security is still contested and is both analytically and methodically difficult to apply" (Acharya, 2008; Floyd, 2007; Kerr, 2007; Peou, 2009). The narrower 'freedom from fear' perspective emphasizes direct violent threats to survival, formed from an authoritarian government, the police, rebels, or criminals.

Ideally, national and human security are complementary, yet, there remain theoretical, analytical, and normative difference between state-centric neorealist approaches and those concerned with individual security (Kerr,2007; UNDP,1994). Among the concepts developed

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[‡] "Triadisation means that the technological, commercial, and socio-cultural integration processes between the three most developed regions of the world (Japan and the newly industrialized nations of South and South-East Asia, Western Europe and North America) are more general, more intensive and more important than integration between these three regions and the less developed countries, or the integration between the disadvantaged countries themselves."

by the Copenhagen School, the notion of securitization is especially helpful in compensating for neorealism's somewhat narrows focus on traditional threats and inter-state relations. Many security threats are constructed (or at least open to interpretation) and as such are affected by political, economic, social, cultural, and historical conditions (Buzan, Waever, & de Wilde, 1998; Wendt, 1997). "Not least among these are the perceptions and rationalisations of the governments, which remain the key actors in the securitisation process, as they possess the main capabilities to make securitization happen" (Floyd, 2007:41). The efforts of civil society groups move only a securitization because they don't have capability in the political area although actually they have an important role in shaping the security discourse. "The Copenhagen School's realistic assessment of the dominance of state actors in the securitization process is therefore in fact an analytical strength. Criticism of its analytical closeness to neorealism is thus only partly justified" (Booth, 2005; Williams, 2003).

The securitization theory proposed by the Copenhagen School as a crucial amendment. "A successful process of securitization results in an issue being framed in such a way that 'special or emergency measures' are deemed acceptable and necessary to deal with the threat in question" (Buzan et al.1998:27). A successful securitization is divided on three levels to avoid confusion with other issues of security, namely: "(1) identification of existential threat; (2) emergency action; and (3) effects on inter-unit relations by breaking free of rules" (Buzan et.al.1998:6). Furthermore, Buzan et al. maintain "two characteristics are essential in an issue that has become securitized, *first*, the issue must be seen as an existential threat and *second,* this threat must be the kind for which extraordinary, if not extralegal, measures may be invoked" (1998).

Buzan et al, state that: "If we do not tackle this problem, everything else will be irrelevant (because we will not be here or will not tackle this problem, everything else will be irrelevant)" (1998:24). A securitizing move as a proof of a successful securitization in the first step. In this theory, a securitizing move accepts to any unit because an audience (inter-unit relations) convinced by an actor of its legitimate. A case of securitization can be identified with binding rules and regulations (emergency mode). In Practice, all units and subjective threats accepted by securitization.

The Securitization Framework

A theoretical framework designed in this section to explore the securitization theory that apllied to this research. Securitization theory, initially posited by the so-called Copenhagen School of International Relations, is an analytical framework intended toincrease understanding about how traditional and non-traditional security threats are perceived and managed, chiefly by states. Buzan, Weaver and Wilde argue that when an agent identifies and communicates an issue means securitization theory occurs because an existential threat to a referent object. According to Buzan *et al.*

> An issue can be securitized when it is presented as posing an existential threat to a designated referent object, thus justifying the use of extraordinary measures. Therefore addressing the threat becomes a priority with supersedes the normal political logic of weighing against one another. Buzan et al. characterize an existential threat as such: If we do not tackle this problem, everything else will be irrelevant (because we will not be here, or will not be free to deal with it in our own way) (1998: 21 & 24).

For Buzan, Weaver and de Wilde this allows an agent, in addressing the threat, to break rules by which it would otherwise be bound. More specifically, securitization moves an issue beyond the scope of public debate and warrants the use of emergency measures such as

limiting citizen rights, or reallocating resources.[§] The Indonesian state, or nation, is also the security referent.[**] Potential referent objects include the economy, the environment and most commonly, the state. The audience can be civil elite, politicians, military officers or the general public. In addition, the Copenhagen School highlighted "the whether the key decision-makers, e.g. politicians or the media, succeed in convincing a specific target group through a discursive 'speech act', i.e. speeches, declarations, articles, and concrete political measures" (Acharya, 2006: 247), "that a certain danger posed an existential threat to a specific referent object" (Buzan, Waever, & de Wilde, 1998; Emmers,2007).

According to Austin (1975), securitization is "distinguished from other framing models because it suggests that this transformation comes about by a speech act: a particular rhetorical action in which the mere pronouncing of a condition has the force of bringing the condition about, as in pronouncing a legal verdict, declaring a couple married, or naming a vessel.""These are performative utterances: To utter the sentence (in, of course, the appropriate circumstance) is not to describe my doing...or to state that I am doing it: It is to do it" (Austin, 1975: 6; Waever, 1995; 55). Austin and Waever also explain "how such statements can work in securitization: By uttering security a state-representative moves a particular development into a specific area, and thereby claims a special right to use whatever means are necessary to block it" (1975: 6; 1995; 55).

The Concept of securitization by the Copenhagen School is "the understanding that an existential threat is not an objective reality *per se*; rather, it is the act of articulating an issue as existential which results in securitization" (Buzan et al, 1998). Thus the Copenhagen School places considerable importance on the securitizing agent's "speech act," and deems it the starting point in the process of securitization. An act of securitization is successful when the relevant audience is convinced of the existential threat to the referent (Emmers, 2004: 6-7). Accordingly, successful securitization is a matter of establishing an intersubjective understanding between the agent and audience about the existential nature of a threat.

Figure 1. The Copenhagen School Framework Successful Securitization

Using the Copenhagen School's framework, Mely Caballero-Anthony and Ralf Emmers analyze non-traditional security threats in Asia in two methods. *First,* Emmers, taking a more rationalist approach, distracts from the Copenhagen School's constructivist perspective by emphasizing the material reality of the threat behind the speech act. Therefore while the Copenhagen School identifies securitization through a speech act, Emmers adds a policy action requirement to the process. He states "a successful act of securitization is said to demand both discursive (speech act and shared understanding) and non-discursive (policy implementation and action) dimensions (Emmers,2003:419-438; Caballero-Anthony, Mely, and Ralf Emmers:2006)." *Second,* Caballero-Anthony and Emmers argue that it is not enough to ask who securitizes an issue and how much can also be learned by asking why states securitize, desecuritize, or refrain from securitizing. It is an inherently political act; therefore their framework seeks to identify the motives and intentions which lead agents to securitize an issue (Caballero-Anthony, Mely, and Ralf Emmers, 2006).

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[§]Buzan et al., also "list secrecy, the levying of taxes and conscription as examples of actions which could be legitimized through securitization" (1998:24-26).

[**] "Generally is Asia, the security referent is the state. According to Mely Caballero-Anthony, this is due to that fact that the two most importance security conceptions for Southeast Asian states are regime security and economic stability, both of which require state security"("Revisioning Human Security in Southeast Asia." 2004. *Asian Perspective*. 28:3. p.155-89).
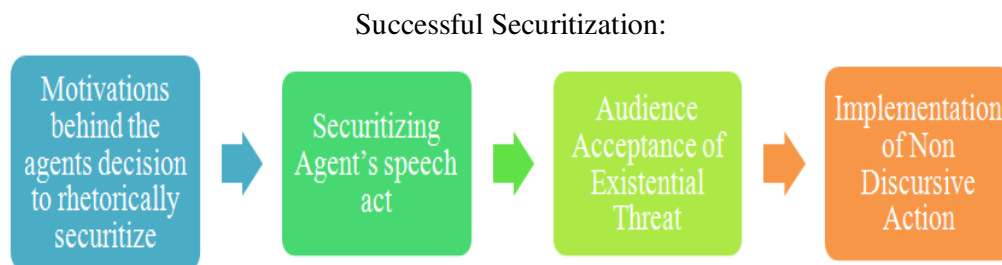
Successful Securitization:

Figure 2. Caballero-Anthony and Emmers' Approach

Based on the figure above, modification of securitization theory, modification the of Caballero-Anthony and Emmers focused on the importance of political context in the process of securitization. Given the social and political complexities surrounding the management of terrorism Indonesia these additions allow securitization theory to better explain counterterrorism strategies. The terrorist organization has made their mark with the series of bomb attacks in Indonesia. The bombings of Sari Club and Paddy Cafe Bali on October 12, 2002 have significantly made the Indonesian government to fight terrorism seriously. This was the deadliest terrorist attack in Indonesia's history, in which some 202 people were killed (88 of whom were Australian tourists). The Indonesian defense Minister Matori remarked that the Bali bombing was an act of Al Qaeda terrorist group (Rabasa, 2004: 397-398). Besides the Bali bombing, there were also bombings at a McDonalds outlet and a car showroom in South Sulawesi on December 5, 2002, on the J.W.Marriott hotel in Jakarta on 5th August, 2003, outside the Australian embassy in Jakarta on 9th September, 2004, Bali bombing II on October 1st 2005, bombing on 17th July, 2009 on the JW Mariott and Ritz Carlton Hotel in Jakarta. Subsequently, police raid terrorist camp at Aceh, a base camp for the terrorist network of new alliances of organizations in the jihad movement in Indonesia March 2010. The more recent, a bomb exploded at the Adz-Zikro Mosque located in the compound of Cirebon City Police Headquarter in West Java on 15 April 2011. At the same year, there was also a suicide bombing in Surakarta, Central Java on 16 October 2011. There are many affirmative actions from the Indonesian government to fight terrorism. For example Indonesia has established cooperation with international countries such as the Unites States of America, ASEAN and Australia in combating terrorism.
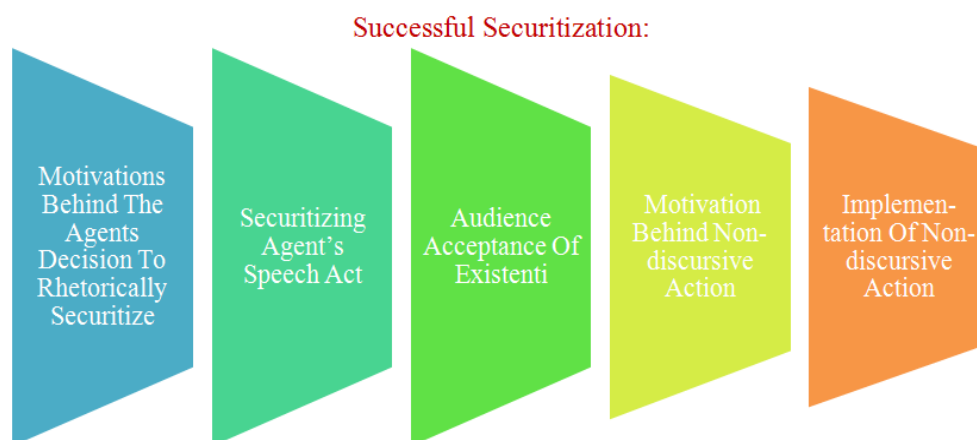
Successful Securitization:

Figure 3. Modified Securitization Framework

However, their framework is still limited because they focus only on the motives and intentions behind the rhetorical component of securitization. Caballero-Anthony and Emmers argue that "a securitizing act creates the kind of political momentum necessary for the

adoption of appropriate measures" (Caballero-Anthony and Emmers, 2006). In this sense they indicate that the non-discursive element of securitization naturally flows from rhetorical securitization. It is both based upon and indicative of the degree to which an issue has been securitized (Caballero-Anthony and Emmers, 2006).

Finally, this article builds upon the theory of securitization by Caballero-Anthony and Emmers. Their theory emphasized motivations behind the agents decision to rhetorically securitize, but this article views that the importance of motivation not only behind the agents decision but also behind non-discursive action.

CONCLUSION

This framework requires that scholars identify the securitizing agent, referent, speech act, and audience involved in a securitization process. Securitizing agents, while often state governments, can also be NGOs, civil society or political elites. For the purposes of this article, the securitizing agent is the state executive, or more specifically, the Indonesia president and members of the political elite who speak on the behalf of the government.

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