Terrorism Habitus Reproduction In Indonesia (Study of Pierre Bordieu's Thought in Potraying Terror Behavior in Indonesia)

Sociology Education Laboratory
STKIP PGRI West Sumatra

TERRORISM HABITUS REPRODUCTION IN INDONESIA (STUDY OF PIERRE BORDIEU'S THOUGHT IN POTRAYING TERROR BEHAVIOR IN INDONESIA)

Sopian Tamrin[1], Idham Irwansyah[2], Mario[3], Arisnawawi[4]

[1,2,3] Sosiologi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Universitas Negeri Makassar
Email: Sopiantamrin@unm.ac.id
Email: Idham.irwansyah@unm.ac.id
Email: Mariosm@unm.ac.id
[4]Pasca sarjana Sosiologi Universitas Hasanuddin
Email: Aris19n@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The problem of terrorism in Indonesia is clearly troubling all circles to any social aspect. Efforts made by the government are still predominantly spontaneous and repressive. Besides, the explanation of social theory in explaining terror behavior in Indonesia is still not able to provide a broad and in-depth insight, so this problem has solved on the phenomena that appear on the surface only. Therefore, it is important to find a complex theoretical explanation that can be overcome to the root. The focus of the study is to analyze how the social reproduction of terror behavior in Indonesia with the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu. The descriptive method with a qualitative approach was used in this research. The method of data collection is done by using observation, interview and documentation techniques. The results of this study show that terror behavior in Indonesia is an inner thought that lasts for quite a long time. The practice of terror does not happen instantly due to a certain momentum reaction. The reproduction of the terror behavior practice indicates the existence of a well-maintained habitus in the community. Their struggle is also inseparable from the existence of social capital and economic capital for the actors. Religious tendencies are used as a media that is considered appropriate to perpetuate the socialization process.

Keyword: ***Terrorism, Habittus, and Social Reproduction***

INTRODUCTION

The suicide bombing in front of the cathedral in Makassar city is a fact that terrorism in Indonesia still exists. Many efforts have been made by the government but still cannot get rid of this anti-social behavior.

The developments of this suicide bombing issue of the last few decades have shown that terrorism is a reality that really threatens the social order of our society.

Compiled data from sulsel.id since the last 21 years show that has been hundreds of terror cases in Indonesia. Until now the number of cases is 552 and if averaged, there are about 26 incidents in a year or 2 cases in a month.

According to data from the directorate general of society, there were 470 terrorism convicts in all UT society in Indonesia in March 2020. This number has exceeded human trafficking and money laundering (Fauzi, 2021) while throughout 2019 there were 297 arrests of terrorism suspects (Liputan6.com, 2019). In 2020

there were 228 arrests of terrorism (Wibowo, 2020), and this year, 94 suspected terrorists have been arrested from January to March 2021 (Ayuningtyas, 2021).

The efforts that have been achieved so far have not yielded significant results. The approach taken is still spontaneous and militaristic. Thus, this phenomenon cannot see case by case but it needs to be traced to their roots through sufficient theoretical references.

The pattern of capturing the phenomenon of terrorism in Indonesia also tends to be viewed from a theological perspective. However, such views are very sensitive in the context of our multi-religious society. As explained by Zidan (2017) that involving religion in terror behavior is very sensitive in Indonesia because of the Indonesians' plurality. Terrorism is one of the most frightening behaviors in a country and humanity.

Sujoko and Mukti (2018) also state that terrorism, especially in Indonesia, is considered an extraordinary crime. In addition to material losses, acts of terror also harm people who have symbolic similarities with terrorists such as Islam. The implication is that Islam as a whole will inevitably get symbolic violence through the main labeling of Islam.

This phenomenon needs to be further deepened and fully explained to get a complete portrait by considering the complexity of its depth. Several previous studies still look at this phenomenon with classical theory by looking at factors outside the individual as determinants. For example, Wicaksono reveal that the altruism factor towards the group makes someone commit suicide (2018).

The concept of the religion sociology initiated by Durkheim overly put structure as a determining factor. On the other hand, the Weberian-style theory over-privileges the rational capacity of the individual in

providing interpretation by denying the social context that surrounds it.

Due to insufficient explanation of those two theories, this increasingly complex phenomenon today is more comprehensive if analyzed with the theory from Pierre Bourdieu. In which terrorism can be explained through tracking between the two that terror behavior is a historical process which links the condition of the actor and the social conditions that surround it.

Therefore, it is considered to provide a description related to behavior by making a relation between structure and actor with the concept of Pierre Bourdieu. This paper will provide an overview of the basis of terror behavior as a social practice that is so fertile in society.

METHODS

The research method used in this study is a qualitative approach. Data obtained through the process of observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Interview data were obtained from the director of the counter-terrorism communication forum (forum komunikasi penanggulangan terorisme - FKPT), the Director of Deradicalization of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (Deradikalisasi Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme- BNPT), academics and the socio-religious Commission that are relevant to the phenomenon of terrorism and radicalism in Indonesia.

The validity test is done by triangulation, means that the data obtained were compared with different sources of information to obtain holistic information. As according to Meleong and Lexy, checking the validity of the data needs to take advantage of something other than the data for checking and comparison purposes (2013). The data that have been validated then analyzed using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of

social reproduction and ends with drawing conclusions.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Terror behavior associated with religion is not new issue. In many cases, there are attachments of symbolic events to many events. It is just that religion is always doubted if it appears as a trigger for asocial behavior, but facts are always more convincing than assumptions about something.

Religion does motivate a person to take action. As Durkheim views religion as a circulation in transmitting emotional energy and its expression and regulation through ritual, presupposes a lasting significance regarding the relationship among religion, manifestation and society even in highly rationalist modern societies (Turner & Bryan, 2013). Even though religion cannot be fully seen as a creation, individual rationale like Weber's picture. Terror behavior must be seen from the attraction of the duality of the actor structure.

The terror behavior that sacrificed itself was not a fear for them. Mauss realizes that it is a sacrifice that provides a more powerful means, so the habitus is conducive to community reproduction (in Turner & Bryan, 2013). Thus, it is difficult to judge that the incidence of suicide bombings in one place can reduce their number. On the other hand, it could be a trigger for reactions from different places. We can see that almost every event always appears in a certain sequence.

Based on data from interviews with several informants, several outlines are obtained about the description of terrorism. The picture is then explained with a theoretical analysis based on the thoughts of Pierre Bourdieu.

a. Terrorism as a habitus

According to George Simmel religious habitus must be expressed and the cost of sacrifice can sometimes be too great and this is dangerous for the religious content of the individual personality. Bataille also explains that the act of sacrifice is an attempt to become part of a religious society. Even a relationship with the sacred requires a forced divorce from the profane world. (Turner & Bryan, 2013). This kind of religious language is continuously reproduced in the inner process of religious communities who carry out suicide bombings. If it is experienced continuously for a long period of time, the suicidal tendency can turn into a habitus.

Siregar states that habitus is a durable disposition system and can be transferred (transposable), structured that are assumed to function as structuring structures, which the principle that generates and organizes practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to the results without presupposing a conscious effort to achieve certain goals or a quick mastery of the means and operations necessary to achieve them (2016).

According to Haryatmoko, habitus is an interpretive framework for understanding and assessing reality and producing life practices that are in accordance with objective structures. Habitus is the basis of individual personality (2016).

Radicalism is a social construction in a long vulnerability for each individual because the social process experienced by those who become radicals and so terrorists lasts a long time. Hence, understanding has a strong inner feeling. Only in this way is it possible for the behavior of terrorism to be explained in detail in order to trace its sociological roots.

Human consciousness and thinking are socially shaped, and the possibilities of

an action are socially and historically defined (Indonesia, 2015). Thus, the act of terror is not a spontaneous behavior, but the culmination of a trusted understanding of certain teachings. Someone becomes brave and loyal because that understanding has been socialized for a long time. Terror behavior is proof of his loyalty to his group.

It is difficult for terrorism not to be associated with religion, because of its symbolic significance. According to Bourdieu, of the existing capital, symbolic capital is the most desirable. It goes beyond the desire to acquire social, cultural, and even economic capital. What the terrorists did can also be seen as a symbolic practice of violence against a particular religion.

Habitus needs to be distinguished from biological habitat. Habitus is not a thing that is inherent since birth. Habitus is not heredity from one generation to another. Rather, it is obtained through internalization in the social realm with the capital capacity it has.

However, habitus is not a pressing structure that makes individuals helpless. Structure is very influential as an objective reality that surrounds each individual, but it does not turn off the actor's capacity to play his subjectivity. It is precisely the intensity of the two that gives birth to habitus. This process is what Bourdieu calls constructivist structuralism.

Analyzing with Bourdieu's theory means that we want to see how social practice reproduces through the relationship between individuals as actors and their social structures. This means that acts of terrorism are not an independent initiative of the actor but that there is a linkage of relevant structures that construct their behavior. Bourdieu considers that there is a mutually influencing relationship between subjectivity and objectivity, between agent and structure.

Habitus is the result of learning, through parenting, play activities, education

(Siregar, 2016). Habitus is not determinism, but an attempt to adapt. When the habitus has been obtained, it will be difficult to remove, even though the habitus has deviated in the wider community.

According to Lubis & Akhyar (2014), habitus is also defined as values that permeate one's thoughts, feelings, and aesthetics so that they can affect one's taste. In a sense, habitus are values that are internalized through social processes. With this, the habitus of terrorism is the result of deviant learning that will be difficult to recover if the handling is done haphazardly.

The family is the primary place of socialization, so the family has a great contribution to the development of an individual. If the habitus has been formed in the family, it will be good. Another way of dealing with the understanding of radicalism is through education and boarding. It will be difficult to change one's habitus if it is not inclusive.

A person's understanding is formed from the process of socializing from his environment. From this socialization process, the individual is not passively influenced by external factors as a whole. Nevertheless, the individual is also active, being creative so as to enable him to receive an understanding or even correct an understanding.

According to Azra, the cause of terrorism is a wrong understanding of Jihad. Killing infidels or non-Muslims is considered a holy war. In addition, the government system is seen as deviant if it does not apply Islamic law (in Herlina & Ahmad, 2018). This distorted understanding can only survive in society if its adherents are exclusive because understanding is not open to discussion. If such an understanding is continuously socialized, it will create conservative followers or adherents.

Conservative is a symptom where the individual refuses to change, and still

wants to be in the same situation and condition. Conservative thinking will be the gateway to the birth of radical thinking, namely someone who feels self-righteous, so they will randomly see the existence of groups outside of their group as a problem that needs to be suppressed. Someone who has been exposed to this will very easily cast infidel words against other people who are different. In addition to the lightness of pronouncing the word infidel, one of the symptoms of a radical individual is the excessive use of certain religious symbols because the habitus of someone who commits terrorism is caused by a misunderstanding that creates an exclusive attitude. This exclusive attitude leads individuals to become conservative and behave radically which can trigger acts of terror.

b. Presence and Contribution of Capital

According to Bourdieu, various types of capital can be exchanged for other types of capital, and the most powerful exchange is the exchange for symbolic capital because it is in this form that different forms of capital are perceived and recognized as legitimate (Harker et.al. 2009). Capital is a set of tools that appear to be staked in the field. Bourdieu divides four dominant capitals in society, including economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital.

Having network capital means having created roots that will be difficult to uproot. According to Huda, cases of terrorism in Indonesia have undergone many changes, especially in networking. In the hands of radical groups, social media has become a supporting medium in the construction of social networks (2019).

The act of terror is not an individual action, but a networked action, the perpetrator seen in the field is an individual. Having a social network becomes a bridge for someone to post and get new knowledge and experiences. Through these social networks, individuals will be connected to each other. Social networks can be found in a group or organization. With this network capital it is possible for someone to cooperate with each other.

The second capital is economic capital, in this case funds. It is impossible for this terrorist activity to run continuously and in a structured manner without a supply of funds. Sources of these funds can come from various parties including networks that have been built, both obtained legally and illegally. Ansyaad Mbai stated that during 2013 94 terrorist suspects were arrested, some of them managed to rob nearly 1.8 billion rupiahs, rob 1.5 kilograms of gold, and hundreds of cash in cash (2014).

Terrorism funds were also found under the guise of donations, either in the form of alms, infaq and so on. According to Fausi, from the Joint Analysis program at the end of 2015 PPATK (Financial Transaction Reports and Analysis Center) and AUSTRAC (Australian Transaction and Analysis Center) found a cash flow of 7 billion rupiah to be used by terrorist networks. This fund comes from an Australian citizen who was found in one of the foundations in Indonesia with a charity way (Putri, 2019).

The terms alms, charity and so on make it difficult to trace the source of funds from terrorism. Apart from being very familiar with this term and having no language problems, they also use the foundation as a place for transactions. Donations at foundations are places that escape suspicion, considering that foundations have a good image as an extension of the development of a private company and national development in general.

From the perspective of cultural capital, it can be understood that behind

terrorism, class struggle is reflected. The motivation for this class struggle can be debated because culture can come from the results of habituation, education, and so on that are grown from the environment. Bourdiau rejects the terminology of talent because it seems that talent cannot be changed, inherited, and there is no class distinction even though it is not, all constructed from one's culture. From a deviant cultural capital, it will legalize certain actions as a good action. One part of the culture that has the most influence on recent acts of terror is religion. Terror acts are always associated with religion, considering that terrorists use certain symbols of religion.

According to Baidhowi, religion has a very large contribution to the attitude of its adherents because religion involves motivation, ethical values and expectations (2017). Strong religious motivation will make its adherents become willing to sacrifice. Through religion, a person can become a good person, but it can also be the other way around. The existence of a biased interpretation of religion has triggered the widespread use of religion as the legalization of radical behavior. Although the term radical is actually neutral, the terminology is rife with the symptoms of terrorism, it makes it negative.

From the perspective of symbolic capital, terrorist actors actually benefit from using certain symbols of religion because religion and all its symbols are understood as a source of goodness. Durkheim himself considers religious symbols as something that is considered sacred and sacred (O'dea, 1995) so that religious symbols are treated differently from other symbols.

The use of religious symbols by terrorists makes their behavior as a manifestation of the sacred, so that a bad impression will be difficult to get to them before the bad behavior is carried out. Even when bad behavior is carried out by using religious attributes, someone who is not equipped with good religious literacy can consider the behavior to be good because they have built an impression as a good person through religious symbols that are considered sacred or sacred.

Thus, the symbols used will justify one's actions. It will have a different impression of someone who is giving a lecture wearing a white dress and a turban from someone who is wearing a t-shirt to a certain person. Using certain religious symbols and committing violence is actually also part of symbolic violence.Sacred religious symbols are part of the ingrained part of Sudanese people through a very long socialization process in society. Most of the people who are portrayed in the community are religious people and they usually wear religious attributes. Most of the contributors to the construction of mosques and economic assistance for the poor have the title of Hajj, which is characterized by religious symbols.

Suprapto thinks that the presence of terrorists using certain religious attributes is quite effective in causing conflict (2018). The understanding of someone who wears a religious symbol is for some people the same. Symbols in religion are not seen as neutral, but as a sign of religious values. Thus, a terrorist who uses religious attributes will make them well-accepted in society, and as a result, with their symbolic provisions, they can easily recruit in the name of religion.

C. Pengajian as an Arena

Having Capital is not enough according to Bordieu to identify a person's behavior, it is very dependent on the strategy of placing capital in the realm. Having certain capital does not necessarily make someone a terrorist. The success of terrorism can be seen when the existing capital is placed in the right domain.

A field is a place where someone will

play or adapt. In the realm of capital will be at stake. One's ability to identify what is at stake in the arena and how to place Capital in the arena determines whether one can win or lose. Even though someone has the network, funds, knowledge and symbols but chooses the wrong arena, the practice is not as expected.

We are secretly always competing in various arenas such as education, society, organization, work. For example, someone who has a tenacious habitus, is disciplined and has economic capital. With this economic capital, someone will come to various recitations. When someone comes to a place of study that has problems with intense problems for a long period of time and is exclusive, it will make that person according to the style of the place of study. Someone who has a good habitus does not rule out the possibility that it will change at some point. That is someone who has good habitus can be exposed to radicalism, what about those who have had problems since childhood. The behavior of terrorism, by having the existing capital will not succeed in creating mass fear if they choose the wrong domain. They will not exist and be discussed when their behavior is in a non-strategic arena.

d. Reproduction of Social Practices Suicide

The behavior of suicide bombing as a practice, we must look at the habitus, capital and realm of the perpetrator. Making someone a terrorist is not a haphazard job. However, it is structured, and habitual and supported by capital and strategic arena because otherwise terrorism would not have survived until now.

Social practice, this is where the incident of terrorism occurs, so, someone who commits suicide bombing is seen as a social practice resulting from the crossing of habitus, capital, and realm. It will be difficult to trace to the roots if you see the suicide bombing as a spontaneous act, or behavior

that is entirely the doctrinalization of a particular religion. Hence, the role of terrorism groups is not limited to doctrinating, but they depart from the process of habituation, capital, to the realm. This is where suicide as a social practice can be understood comprehensively.

Terror acts are always synonymous with violence and are even considered the peak of violence. There can be violence without acts of terror, but there can be no acts of terror without violence. Victims of terrorism are often innocent people in an effort to create fear (Baidhowi, 2017). This phenomenon is increasingly interesting because various religious leaders and even scientists assert that terrorists have no relationship with religion (Naharong, 2013). In Bourdieu's perspective, the practice of terror is not a sudden action that occurs instantly, as the theory of social behavior assumes in general.

Terrorism is something that is reproduced because of the existence of a spiritual process through the arena and adequate capital. Therefore, seeing terrorism needs to look at the wider social situation that the actor and the social conditions that include the actor are an inseparable unit so that the way to overcome it is not enough to be done spontaneously and solve case by case, but it is necessary to strive for long-term inner thought as it is formed otherwise.

CONCLUSION

Terror behavior in Indonesia is a mental process that lasts for quite a long time. The practice of terror does not occur instantaneously due to a certain momentum reaction. The reproduction of this practice indicates the existence of a well-maintained habitus in the community. Their struggle is also inseparable from the existence of social capital, economic capital for the actors. The tendency of diversity is used as an arena

that is considered appropriate to perpetuate the socialization process. After obtaining conclusions from the results of this study, it is recommended for the government to intervene in the handling of the problem of terrorism through an educational curriculum so that the socialization process is more educative and long-term. As for further research, it is necessary to track the operation of terrorism in the digital realm as a new medium targeting teenagers.

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