

# Sekuritisasi Pandemi Covid-19 Di Indonesia

Prasojo <sup>1,\*</sup>, M Lukman Arifianto <sup>1</sup>, Azhar Irfansyah <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fakultas Ilmu Komunikasi; Universitas Bhayangkara Jakarta Raya; e-mail:  
[prasojo@dsn.ubharajaya.ac.id](mailto:prasojo@dsn.ubharajaya.ac.id), [muhamad.lukman@dsn.ubharajaya.ac.id](mailto:muhamad.lukman@dsn.ubharajaya.ac.id),  
[azhar.irfansyah@dsn.ubharajaya.ac.id](mailto:azhar.irfansyah@dsn.ubharajaya.ac.id)

\* Korespondensi: e-mail: [prasojo@dsn.ubharajaya.ac.id](mailto:prasojo@dsn.ubharajaya.ac.id)

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## Abstract

*This study aims to examine the theory of securitization and relate it to the strategy undertaken by the Indonesian government to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic. This is interesting to study because the main demands on every country during this pandemic are; what to do, how to do it, is the strategy for handling Covid-19 by the state the answer for the wider community? This question is the duty of the state to be able to provide a sense of security for the community. The research methodology will be carried out under a qualitative umbrella with the thick description method. The results found in this study were that Indonesia initially considered Covid-19 only as a health problem before the WHO gave an appeal. It can be said that this appeal is a norm that was formed in which Indonesia must implement an appeal from WHO. This is a turning point for the Indonesian government in dealing with the spread of Covid-19. In addition to forming this justification, the Indonesian people are also an important object in tackling the spread of COVID-19 in Indonesia where the level of discipline of the Indonesian people determines the success of the Indonesian Government's direction in the issue of the spread of COVID-19 as a security issue.*

**Keywords:** Covid-19, Indonesia, Pandemi, Security

## Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk melakukan penelaahan teori mengenai sekuritisasi dan menghubungkannya dengan strategi yang dilakukan oleh pemerintah Indonesia untuk menghadapi pandemi Covid-19. Hal ini menarik untuk ditelaah karena adanya tuntutan utama terhadap setiap negara pada masa pandemi ini adalah; apa yang harus dilakukan, bagaimana melakukannya, apakah strategi penanganan Covid-19 oleh negara menjadi jawaban bagi masyarakat luas? Pertanyaan tersebut yang menjadi tugas negara untuk bisa memberikan rasa aman bagi masyarakat. Metodologi penelitian akan dilakukan dalam payung kualitatif dengan metode thick description. Hasil yang ditemukan dalam penelitian ini adalah Indonesia awalnya menganggap covid-19 hanya sebagai masalah kesehatan sebelum pihak WHO memberikan himbauan. Bisa dikatakan himbauan tersebut merupakan norma yang dibentuk dimana Indonesia harus melaksanakan himbauan dari WHO. Hal ini menjadi titik balik bagi pemerintah Indonesia dalam menangani penyebaran covid-19. Selain pembentukan justifikasi tersebut, masyarakat Indonesia juga menjadi obyek penting dalam penanggulangan penyebaran COVID-19 di Indonesia dimana tingkat kedisiplinan masyarakat Indonesia menjadi penentu keberhasilan arah Pemerintah Indonesia dalam isu penyebaran COVID-19 sebagai isu keamanan.

**Kata kunci:** Covid-19, Indonesia, Pandemi, Sekuritisasi

## **1. Pendahuluan**

Dalam lanskap teori keamanan tradisional, Negara merupakan objek utama dan menjadi rujukan utama jika berbicara keamanan (Prasojo, 2022). Kerap kali dikatakan bahwa keamanan negara dari ancaman militer di luar negaranya maka otomatis rakyat negara tersebut juga merasakan aman (Islami et al., 2021). Ini menunjukkan bahwa negara sebagai inti penyelenggara keamanan bagi rakyatnya memang menjadi jangkar bagi teori-teori yang diusung oleh pemikir keamanan tradisional. Sejalan dengan perkembangan teori dan studi keamanan, maka penegasan-penegasan semacam itu terbantahkan oleh para pendukung studi keamanan kritis. Sejalan dengan berkembangnya fenomena keamanan dan berbagai macam kemunculan bentuk-bentuk ancaman baru, sepertinya negara malah tampak seperti ancaman bagi rakyatnya sendiri.

Kerangka pemikiran utama dalam studi keamanan kritis adalah menunjukkan bahwa bahwa objek rujukan keamanan adalah individu (Peoples & Williams, 2014). Studi keamanan kritis menantang pemahaman tradisional dengan berpendapat bahwa ancaman terhadap keamanan manusia telah jauh melampaui dan tidak berhenti hanya pada ancaman militer (Thamrin, Prasojo, & Perdini, 2022). Konsekuensi dari kondisi tersebut adalah analisis keamanan juga harus diperluas. Untuk melindungi individu, banyak aspek keamanan yang juga harus menjadi perhatian, seperti keamanan lingkungan dan keamanan kesehatan yang merupakan bagian penting dari hak asasi manusia (Thamrin, Prasojo, Hutahaean, et al., 2022).

Proposal penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkontekstualisasikan wacana keilmuan keamanan kritis terhadap respon pemerintah Indonesia menghadapi COVID-19 di Tanah Air. Satu hal yang melandasi pemikiran keamanan kritis yaitu negara dapat dikatakan gagal mengelola krisis apabila ia tidak bisa menyelesaikan krisis yang menjadi ancaman bagi rakyatnya. Kesehatan dianggap sebagai ancaman keamanan nasional jika membahayakan kemampuan suatu negara untuk berfungsi dan melindungi dirinya sendiri. Penyebaran Covid-19 di Indonesia dianggap sebagai masalah keamanan kesehatan karena virus tersebut jelas muncul sebagai ancaman yang signifikan bagi semua lapisan masyarakat.

Pada saat virus ini menyebar dengan sangat cepat, negara tidak memiliki vaksin penawar yang bisa langsung digunakan, sehingga negara maupun penduduk berkewajiban untuk menjalankan protokol kesehatan untuk melandaikan kurva penyebaran dan kematian akibat pandemi Covid-19. Indonesia adalah negara dengan populasi yang sangat besar, sehingga diperlukan kebijakan yang efektif sekaligus koheren untuk memunculkan kepatuhan yang efektif dalam mematuhi protokol kesehatan (Sari & Sukestiyarno, 2021). Negara diharapkan memimpin dalam memerangi krisis kesehatan masyarakat, seraya tetap melindungi hak dan kebebasan masyarakat. Negara memiliki kewenangan untuk menetapkan kebijakan dan kekuasaan untuk mempertahankan ketertiban dan keadilan sosial. Sehubungan dengan pandemi tersebut, merupakan tanggung jawab dasar negara untuk memberikan jaminan kesehatan bagi warga negara dan non-warga negara, tanpa memandang jenis kelamin, status sosial ekonomi dan lokasi geografis.

Sepanjang pandemi, pemerintah telah memberlakukan banyak kebijakan yang ambigu tentang pembatasan pekerjaan, perjalanan, dan pertemuan sosial sehingga menyebabkan kebingungan publik. Kebijakan tersebut juga terkadang tidak sinergis di antara Kementerian dan lembaga, sehingga sulit untuk menyampaikan pesan dan informasi terpadu yang jelas kepada masyarakat.

Transparansi data juga dipertanyakan karena pemerintah enggan menginformasikan secara terbuka kepada masyarakat tentang perkembangan pandemi. Data tidak transparan yang disajikan serta pernyataan meremehkan yang dibuat oleh pemerintah telah meningkatkan kerugian yang disebabkan oleh pandemi di seluruh negeri, karena gagal meningkatkan kesadaran publik dan merumuskan kebijakan yang efektif. Pejabat pemerintah dan kementerian juga cukup sering mengambil dan melakukan pendekatan tidak ilmiah, yang memperburuk situasi.

Nampaknya kebijakan tersebut tidak hanya dirumuskan secara menyeluruh dan ilmiah tetapi juga kurang dikomunikasikan kepada masyarakat. Sumber daya material, terutama pemanfaatan anggaran dalam penanggulangan pandemi secara umum serta kesehatan masyarakat juga bermasalah karena tidak dapat mengimbangi situasi yang semakin memburuk dengan cepat. Presiden Joko Widodo tampak geram dalam pidatonya di hadapan para menteri, terutamaketika ia menunjukkan bahwa pemerintah Indonesia telah mengalokasikan sekitar \$ 5,2 miliar untuk anggaran kesehatan, tetapi Kementerian Kesehatan hanya membelanjakan 1,53 persen padasaat itu. Sementara itu, angka kematian meningkat dan tenaga medis kelelahan, karena angka kematian Indonesia masih termasuk yang terburuk di Asia Tenggara.

Melihat dinamika keamanan nasional yang ditimbulkan karena penanganan Covid-19 oleh pemerintah, dapatkah kesalahan kebijakan yang sering dilakukan oleh Negara selama pandemi global yang mematikan dipandang sebagai ancaman keamanan? Untuk menghindari penilaian tersebut dan untuk mempertahankan legitimasinya sebagai penyedia keamanan, Negara harus mendasarkan keputusan keamanan kesehatannya pada data atau bukti ilmiah. Jika Negara dapat mencapai ini dengan baik, ia dapat secara efektif mencapai lebih dari sekedar jaminan kesehatan, termasuk pemulihan ekonomi dan dukungan politik dari masyarakat.

Adam Kamradt-Scott dan Colin McInnes, dalam artikel berjudul *the securitisation of pandemic influenza : framing, security and public policy*, menyatakan bahwa secara umum pandemi seperti influenza telah di tempatkan sebagai ancaman terhadap negara dan masyarakat.. Hal ini terlihat dari beberapa kali pandemi influenza melanda dunia, seperti pada tahun 1918, lalu 1950 dan medio 2005 silam dimana negara dan dunia internasional bisa menerima dan mengambil tindakan segera untuk melakukan sekuritisasi terhadap peristiwa influenza tersebut. Keberhasilan

untuk menjadikan influenza sebagai sebuah ancaman keamanan bersama adalah kekompakan negara dan komunitas internasional untuk membingkai influenza sebagai sebuah ancaman.

Framing perihal sekuritisasi terhadap pandemi juga dikemukakan oleh Ferhani & Rushton (2020), bahwa penekanan penulis ada pada kenyataan bahwa pandemi tidak mengenal batas negara. Berkaca dari kasus Covid-19 walaupun pandemi ini terjadi lintas batas namun penanganannya tetap mengikuti kaidah kedaulatan negara. Tantangan terbesar dari pemerintah adalah melakukan pembatasan terhadap siapa yang harus ditangani pertama kali ditengah lalu lintas manusia tidak bisa dicegah. Tantangan bagi Indonesia untuk menjadikan pandemi Covid-19 sebagai sebuah isu keamanan nasional, datang dari artikel berjudul Covid-19 (Indonesia needs to consider pandemic diseases a national security issue), yang ditulis oleh R.Moh Hiu Dilangit Ramadhan Sasongkojati. Ketika Indonesia menghadapi Covid-19, maka waktu krusial dan genting yang dihadapi Indonesia ada pada saat awal pandemi berlangsung. Hal yang paling rentan adalah perekonomian Indonesia tidak mampu untuk mempertahankan keadaan darurat pandemi yang berkepanjangan.

Selain itu terlihat kurangnya koordinasi antara pemerintah pusat dan daerah selama fase mitigasi awal. Tak lama setelah kasus pertama yang dikonfirmasi dilaporkan di Depok, Jawa Barat, pemerintah Jakarta mengumumkan penutupan perbatasan ibu kota dan melarang pertemuan massal, juga menyatakan bahwa jumlah pasien yang dirawat di rumah sakit Jakarta yang menunjukkan gejala serupa dengan COVID-19 telah mencapai ratusan. Selanjutnya yang tidak kalah mengkhawatirkan adalah pengelolaan terhadap harapan publik terhadap pemerintah untuk mengatasi pandemi ini.

## **2. Metode Penelitian**

Payung penelitian ini adalah kualitatif. Sehingga proses pengumpulan data hingga analisa data, mengikuti standar prosedur metode kualitatif. Dalam melakukan penelitian ini, akan dilakukan proses penelusuran data melalui studi literatur dan dokumen terkurasi. Studi literatur dan dokumen yang digunakan adalah karya ilmiah yang telah terpublikasi pada jurnal internasional, buku teks dan pemberitaan media massa yang berkaitan secara teori maupun kasus penanganan Covid-19 di Indonesia yang sesuai dengan penelitian ini.

Teknik analisa data menggunakan pendekatan *thick description* (penjelasan mendalam). Tujuan menggunakan teknik ini adalah untuk menemukan informasi mendalam mengenai penanganan pandemi Covid-19 di Indonesia. Tahapan penelitian akan dilakukan sebagai berikut: a) Pengumpulan literatur ilmiah nasional dan internasional terkurasi; b) Penjabaran landasan teoritik dan penyusunan kerangka teoritik dari sekuritisasi penanganan Covid-19 di Indonesia; c) Elaborasi dan proses konstruksi upaya sekuritisasi penanganan Covid-19 di Indonesia.

### **3. Hasil dan Pembahasan**

Langkah pemerintah Indonesia untuk mengendalikan penyakit coronavirus 2019 (COVID-19) pandemi dapat ditandai dengan respons yang terlambat karena de-sekuritisasi awal dari masalah tersebut, dan sekuritisasi kemudian yang membatasi kemanjurannya dalam membatasi penyebaran pandemi (Agustino, 2020). Artikel ini menggunakan teori sekuritisasi untuk menganalisis langkah-langkah pemerintah dalam mengendalikan COVID-19 pandemi dan membahas bagaimana ketergantungan pemerintah pada tokoh militer dan badan keamanan nasional memengaruhi langkah-langkah yang digunakan untuk mengendalikan pandemi COVID-19. Studi ini menemukan bahwa pada awalnya, pemerintah tampaknya berusaha untuk menghilangkan keamanan masalah ini, menyangkal peringatan bahwa virus tersebut mungkin telah ada tanpa terdeteksi di Indonesia. Kemudian, setelah kasus pertama dikonfirmasi pada Maret 2020, pemerintah merespons dengan mengamankan masalah tersebut. Keterlambatan di Tanggapan pemerintah terhadap COVID-19 menyebabkan khalayak tidak sepenuhnya menerima pemerintah upaya sekuritisasi karena kepercayaan masyarakat terhadap langkah-langkah pemerintah sudah rendah sarana tindakan darurat yang diambil oleh pemerintah terhadap ancaman COVID-19 juga terbatas (Irfani & Arif, 2022). Pemerintah juga terlalu bergantung pada tokoh-tokoh militer dan nasional yang berpengaruh badan keamanan. Pemerintah juga cenderung menurunkan tingkat ancaman, kurang transparan, dan bahkan menggunakan pandemi untuk menindas fitnah anti-pemerintah. Artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa pemerintah perlu mengubah pendekatan mereka terhadap tindakan COVID-19 dan memprioritaskan manusia dimensi keamanan dengan tidak menurunkan tingkat ancaman dan menjunjung tinggi transparansi.

Pandemi Covid-19 telah memperkuat pesan keamanan manusia. Analisis keamanan dan kebijakan, jika efektif dan sah, harus berorientasi pada keseharian tantangan yang dihadapi individu dan masyarakat, apapun sumber tantangan tersebut. Model keamanan nasional yang tradisional dan berpusat pada negara – yang mengistimewakan militer, visi negara-sentris integritas teritorial dan pertahanan – adalah fitur yang tampaknya tak terelakkan politik, tetapi mereka tidak menjamin bahkan tingkat minimal kesejahteraan manusia. Untuk orang kaya masyarakat, Covid-19 menjungkir balikkan semua asumsi mapan tentang arti keamanan, dari mana datangnya ancaman terhadap keamanan, dan bagaimana ancaman tersebut harus ditangani . Untuk masyarakat yang kekurangan ekonomi, pandemi adalah pengingat akan kenyataan yang mereka miliki selalu sadar akan: tantangan seperti penyakit yang dapat dicegah, polusi, malnutrisi dan kemiskinan ekstrem adalah ancaman eksistensial utama, dan jauh lebih parah daripada ancaman terkait dengan paradigma keamanan tradisional.

Sejak keamanan manusia memaksa analisis untuk mempertimbangkan ancaman terhadap kehidupan manusia terlepas dari sumber ancaman tersebut, telah memperkuat pelebaran agenda keamanan akhir-akhir ini dekade dan – terkadang kontroversial – kecenderungan untuk mengamankan tantangan non-militer. Sebagai contoh kunci dari hal ini, konsep tersebut telah digunakan untuk mengeksplorasi konsekuensi yang luas perubahan iklim

dalam hal mata pencaharian individu dan konflik. Tujuan dalam pendekatan ini adalah untuk membayangkan model yang lebih komprehensif keamanan dan untuk menarik perhatian yang lebih besar, dan terkadang sumber daya, untuk ditangani perubahan iklim sebagai tantangan 'keamanan'. Argumen di sini sekarang menjadi arus utama: perubahan iklim merupakan ancaman eksistensial terhadap kehidupan yang melampaui semua batas dan asumsi pemikiran keamanan konvensional. Untuk alasan yang sama, keamanan manusia telah populer di kalangan ilmuwan sosial yang mengeksplorasi kesehatan masyarakat. Tantangan kesehatan – termasuk penyakit yang dapat dicegah dan menular – disekritisasi untuk menggarisbawahi fakta bahwa kesehatan yang buruk merusak peluang hidup jauh lebih banyak orang daripada mereka yang terancam atau terbunuh oleh tantangan keamanan tradisional dan tantangan seperti HIV/AIDS merupakan ancaman eksistensial bagi beberapa masyarakat dengan cara yang tidak dapat dijelaskan melalui pemikiran keamanan tradisional.

Penelitian di bidang ini juga menyoroti bagaimana tantangan kesehatan dapat bertambah dampak bersamaan dengan ancaman non-tradisional lainnya. Sebuah pesan kunci adalah bahwa lebih banyak sumber daya dan perhatian politik perlu diinvestasikan dalam perawatan kesehatan publik. Menarik juga untuk dicatat bahwa pada tahun di mana tengara tersebut laporan tentang keamanan manusia diterbitkan oleh Program Pembangunan Manusia PBB, jurnal Kesehatan dan Hak Asasi Manusia diluncurkan, mengeksplorasi hubungan antara manusia hak dan kesehatan masyarakat. Covid-19 memiliki dampak global yang besar karena tingkat dan sifat globalnya pandemi meskipun, dalam perspektif sejarah, dampak pandemi pasti belum pernah terjadi sebelumnya.

Dari perspektif keamanan manusia, pandemi mengungkap keterbatasan pemikiran keamanan tradisional. Ini ditunjukkan melalui dua argumen sederhana. Negara-negara maju secara militer bercokol di tradisional pandangan dunia keamanan seringkali gagal menangani tantangan Covid-19 secara efektif, dan dengan demikian gagal memenuhi kebutuhan keamanan esensial warga negara dan masyarakat mereka. Karena itu, negara yang dicirikan sebagai 'kuat' dari perspektif keamanan tradisional – di yang diistimewakan oleh kapasitas militer – tidak serta merta mengatasi Covid-19 dengan baik pandemi dalam istilah manusia. Selain itu, negara-negara dengan pandangan yang lebih luas tentang keamanan nasional – di mana pengeluaran dan prioritas politik lebih seimbang antara pengeluaran militer dan kesejahteraan masyarakat – cenderung memitigasi dampak Covid-19 secara lebih efektif. Meskipun bukti bersifat anekdot, cukup untuk mendukung pengamatan luas ini.

Banyak pemimpin politik menggunakan bahasa dan metafora keamanan tradisional berpikir dalam membingkai respons mereka terhadap Covid-19. Belum beberapa negara paling 'maju', diukur dengan kapasitas keamanan militer tradisional, kurang siap untuk menghadapi tantangan tersebut (Floyd & Croft, 2011). Faktanya, ada korelasi anekdot yang kasar antara pengeluaran militer yang lebih tinggi dan persiapan yang buruk. Beberapa negara bagian dengan pengeluaran per PDB terbesar untuk kapasitas militer – seperti AS, Inggris, Brasil,

Prancis dan Rusia – mengalami kesulitan terkait penyediaan layanan kesehatan dasar dan dalam hal dampak sosial yang lebih luas dari infeksi Covid-19 serta tingkat kematian.

Di mana masyarakat seperti itu – misalnya, AS – menggabungkan tradisi militer yang kuat dengan ketentuan kesejahteraan publik yang rendah, paradoksnya sangat mencolok. Meskipun memiliki anggaran militer tahunan sebesar \$649 miliar (3,2% dari PDB) pada tahun 2018, AS mengalami kekurangan yang parah peralatan perawatan intensif dalam menanggapi Covid-19. Meskipun AS memiliki pengeluaran kesehatan per kapita terbesar di dunia, sejumlah besar ini didanai melalui asuransi kesehatan swasta, dan dengan demikian tidak dibiayai publik. Alhasil, menurut angka resmi, 8,5% orang (27,5 juta), tidak memiliki asuransi kesehatan dalam bentuk apapun di tahun 2018, meningkat dari 2017 ketika 7,9% (25,6 juta) tidak diasuransikan.

Beberapa komentator berpendapat bahwa negara bagian Amerika perawatan kesehatan lebih terancam dan tidak setara daripada yang ditunjukkan oleh angka-angka ini, yang mana memberikan konteks penting untuk memahami dampak Covid-19 di negara tersebut. Dari Tentu saja, negara-negara tidak terpapar Covid-19 secara seragam, dan banyak faktor menjelaskan bagaimana dan mengapa masyarakat mengalami dan mengatasi virus secara berbeda; itu poin sederhana di sini adalah kemampuan militer yang maju – sebagai ukuran utama keamanan nasional didefinisikan secara tradisional dan dari 'negara yang kuat' - tidak dapat menjamin tanggapan yang efektif terhadap darurat kesehatan masyarakat ini, dan ini menimbulkan pertanyaan tentang prioritas politik sekitar 'keamanan'.

#### **4. Kesimpulan**

Pernyataan yang disampaikan beberapa pejabat tinggi memosisikan penyebaran COVID-19 hanya sebagai masalah kesehatan. Namun, tindakan Pemerintah Indonesia berubah ketika ada lembaga GHG WHO yang menghimbau penanganan COVID-19 di Indonesia. Bisa dikatakan himbauan tersebut merupakan norma yang dibentuk dimana Indonesia harus melaksanakan himbauan dari WHO. Kewajiban untuk mematuhi itu merupakan bentuk “tekanan” yang diberikan oleh WHO. Dari himbauan tersebut, Pemerintah Indonesia mengeluarkan Keputusan Presiden nomor 7 Tahun 2020 tentang Gugus Tugas Percepatan Penanganan COVID-19. Hal ini menjadi “titik balik” langkah pemerintah dalam penanganan penyebaran COVID-19 di Indonesia. Perubahan tersebut menyebabkan posisi isu penyebaran COVID-19 sebagai isu keamanan di masyarakat Indonesia menjadi objek rujukan karena merupakan pihak yang terancam secara eksistensial. Hingga akhirnya terbentuk sebuah justifikasi dari masyarakat Indonesia yang juga menjadi penonton tindak tutur pelaku sekuritisasi bahwa penyebaran COVID-19 akan membahayakan masyarakat Indonesia secara keseluruhan yang menuntut masyarakat untuk lebih memperhatikan arahan pemerintah. Selain pembentukan justifikasi tersebut, masyarakat Indonesia juga menjadi obyek penting dalam penanggulangan penyebaran COVID-19 di Indonesia dimana tingkat kedisiplinan masyarakat Indonesia menjadi penentu keberhasilan arah Pemerintah Indonesia dalam isu penyebaran COVID-19 sebagai isu keamanan.

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## Study on Policing Management for Terrorism Crimes in Indonesia of the decade 2000-2020

Djuni Thamrin<sup>1</sup>, Prasojo<sup>2</sup>, Erik Saut H Hutahaean<sup>3</sup>, Tiara Anggita Perdini<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Faculty of Economic and Business, Bhayangkara Jakarta Raya University, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup> Faculty of Communication Studies, Bhayangkara Jakarta Raya University, Indonesia

<sup>3</sup> Faculty of Psychology, Bhayangkara Jakarta Raya University, Indonesia

<sup>4</sup> Faculty of Psychology, Persada Indonesia University YAI

Corresponding author-e-mail: \*[tiaraanggitaperdini@gmail.com](mailto:tiaraanggitaperdini@gmail.com)

### ABSTRACT

*In dealing with terrorism in Indonesia in the decade 2000-2020, police management has indicated a change towards a more integrative, comprehensive and transformative direction. It led to the terror management that followed the terrorist's bombing began in 2000 attacking the Philippines embassy in Menteng, Jakarta. Thereafter, acts of terrorism occurred consecutively, with the Bali Bombing I being the biggest one. Terrorism in Indonesia is closely related to the global terrorist movement. Before the Pre-ISIS or Al Qaeda era in 2000-2013, Indonesia had the Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT) network; ISIS terror networks worked at the international level and in 2014-2018, Indonesia had Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD); 2019 to date is for post ISIS networks. The individual terror model is still playing its role. The integrative handling carried out by the National Police (Polri) through Special Detachment 88 Anti-Terror has managed to unify the database and intersectoral actions. Comprehensive handling is democratic policing management that does not violate human rights which handles identification and profiling of perpetrators, scanning, recruitment, funding, surveillance, arrests, interrogation and guidance during detention and reintegration into society.*

*Keywords: Management, Terrorism, Democratic Policing, Securitization, Human Rights, National Security*

### 1. Introduction

The series of terrorist acts in Indonesia and foreign countries over the last two decades has forced the Indonesian National Police (Polri) to anticipate and implement more stringent and measurable domestic security management (Kruglanski et al., 2014). In this handling terrorism management, the police are increasingly required to comply with international standards and guidelines for upholding human rights. Acts of terrorism are internationally considered a grave crime against humanity. Terrorism is a crime against civilization and a disaster for civil society. Terrorism is also one of the Trans-Organized Crime (TOC) that can endanger, tarnish world peace and harm the welfare of the community so that it requires special and continuous prevention and handling efforts.



In the course of history, terror has a long enough journey to be called a fairly old phenomenon. They are acts and actions that can cause fear, accompanied by violence, even murder to spread ominous fear. Referring to (Sinclair, Mills, & Guarente, 1997) and (Djelantik, 2008), the most classic recorded acts of terror were carried out by the Sicarii group in Palestine (66-73 AD), an organized religious sect. During the French Revolution (1793-1794), the term terror became very popular. One of the leaders of the terror regime at that time, Maximilien Robespierre, expressed that during the revolution, the people had to choose terror methods to attract the attention of elite groups and even the authoritarian government. In the face of an increasingly complex terrorist landscape, Indonesia is home to a diverse range of actors who use new technologies and tactics to advance their agendas. The terrorist threat to Indonesia has become more dynamic and pervasive as the number of groups, networks and individuals exploit global trends, including by the emergence of safer modes of communication, the expansion of media and social media, and the constant instability of security in various parts of the world. In some areas in Indonesia, many terrorist cells are still dormant or inactive. At the international level, what has contributed to the patterns and variety of forms of terrorism in Indonesia is the post-war influence in Afghanistan which later gave birth to the Al Qaeda network and its successor ISIS after the leadership of Al Qaeda fell under attack by allied forces (Saugel, Heeschen, Hapfelmeier, Romagnoli, & Greiwe, 2020)(Ashgar, 2016; Ali, 2014).

Terrorism acts, which are often brutal, have undergone paradigm shifts and mutations over time. It was originally categorized as a crime against the state, now it includes acts of crime against humanity, with innocent people as victims of their crimes, all of which are carried out with intentionally and can be included in criminal offences with violence, threats of violence or anti-humanitarian actions (Newman, 2010). The terrorism handling management in Indonesia has changed. It was originally the management of 'war' that increasingly led to the adoption of democracy and humanism. Changes in the direction and orientation of the domestic security management and governance in the face of threats of intolerance and terrorism, especially threats to the national interests, the existence of the nation as well as threats that hinder the development process, must be appropriately and quickly addressed (Harrison, 2014). Referring to (Osse, 2006), police management which includes law enforcement functions, social order maintenance and internal security as well as public services, needs to be reoriented by incorporating democratic principles, respect for human rights and ECOSOC, and good governance to make police management that is more humane and in line with international police management standards.

The scope of basic security services includes freeing every citizen from fear and also freeing them from basic human needs. The whole series certainly contains interrelated security managerial dimensions. The National Police must be able to carry out the management of preventing terrorist crimes to the management of handling terrorist acts in an integrated manner. Loopholes in the management of this handling cycle can cause significant damage. Terror prevention management must be able to easily put forward various methods of strict control over potential direct actions to be carried out in detail. In this phase, for example, the contribution of the community becomes very important. That is, communication management and monitoring of attitudes or



behaviour of a group of people need to be arranged in such a way that as a whole will result in layered management (Clarke & Newman, 2006).

This research will explore the dimensions of police governance or management in tackling the threat of terrorism carried out in the last two decades, as well as reflecting and critically evaluating the management of handling terrorism in the previous decade. This research also includes the context of international influence, including the specific managerial efforts carried out by several countries: from a very human approach by adopting democratic principles at first, to a very harsh approach using 'war' management (Osse, 2006).

## 2. Literature Review

In the course of history, terror has a long enough journey to be considered an old phenomenon. Measures and actions that can cause fear, accompanied by violent performances, even murder to spread a gripping fear.

Black's legal dictionary defines terror as:

"an activity that involves a violent act or an act dangerous to human life that is a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or any State, or that would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States or any State and appears to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by assassination and kidnapping".

According to The Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism 1998:

"any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs for the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda, causing terror among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or aiming to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installations or property or to occupy or to seize them, or aiming to jeopardize national resources"

According to (Sinclair et al., 1997) and (Djelantik, 2008), the most classic acts of terror recorded were by the Sicarii group in Palestine (66-73 AD), which was an organized religious sect. During the French Revolution (1793-1794), the term terror became very popular. One of the leaders of the terror regime at the time, Maximilien Robespierre, expressed that the people had to choose the methods of terror during the revolution to attract the attention of elite groups and even the authoritarian government. The main characteristic of terrorism in France at that time was the application of management of anti-regime power which was carried out massively, systematically, liberally and well organized.

Political terrorism at that time had relatively the same characteristics, namely: (1) imposing political views and intimidating the insistent public; (2) in carrying out their actions, they kill and burn systematically as a way to achieve certain goals and leave a clear message; (3) victims are not the goal, but as a means to create a war of nerves, with the principle of "kill one person to frighten thousands of others"; (4) for targets, terrorist groups usually choose to be easily covered through their secret works, with the aim of free publication; (5) they convey messages of action very clearly, even though they do not always reveal personal identities; (6) terrorists are those who have very

strong motivation and idealism values, as exemplified by those who struggle for the value of a particular movement, religion and struggle.

The phenomenon of a new model of terrorism then reappeared in the 9/11 event which brought down two twin towers that were symbols of the supremacy of the United States of America. The incident then gave rise to a phenomenon of terrorism with a new dimension which was labelled 'religion' and involved non-state agents as actors. These changes bring consequences for changes in issues, structures and international organizations. This form is a mutation of the old terror forms, which are static, relatively predictable, homogeneous, hierarchical, rigid and not easy to change. The new form of terror movement is then more dynamic, unpredictable, has a wide network, can organize itself well, is independent, and easily adapts to local situations (Karnavian & Sulisty, 2017).

New terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda and ISIS, for example, are very different from "traditional" terrorist organizations such as the PKK (Kurdish) or IRA (Ireland). Terrorist groups often identify themselves as "weak groups" and "oppressed" in waging war against the state so that they seem to have an asymmetric framework of the oppressed (Ashgar, 2016).

The new model of terrorism is characterized and metamorphosed from several conditions that were born after the cold war and the hardening of the negative impacts of globalization, some of which are: first, it generally arises from failed or weak countries; secondly, it coincided with or intertwined with the post-Cold War communal violence in these divided and failed countries; third, it appears in countries that fail to control the production of light military weapons so that they are distributed to various regions without strict control; fourth, it arises in countries that fail to integrate well-organized and mobilized military and police personnel; fifth, the increase in smuggled goods and refugees across national borders; and sixth, the expansion of underground economic activity and the black market.

Furthermore, Cragin (2017) says that the emergence of terrorists with the label 'religion' in the phenomenon of terrorism after the 9/11 events at least raises two general arguments related to the basic problem of the rise of the terrorism movement. The first argument is the problem of widespread poverty, the practice of injustice, and the emergence of social inequality. These social problems then accumulate, causing marginalization and ultimately encouraging certain groups who feel disadvantaged to fight. The resistance model is very easy and becomes sexy by being wrapped with the label 'religion' so that it is easily inflamed as a weapon to build solidarity and at the same time recruit new personnel to fight, including using women and children as war personnel. As a second argument, through manipulation of religious narratives, it can become a strong attraction and be able to encourage a handful of groups to carry out terror movements, especially youth groups.

The combination of manipulation of religious teachings by ideologues of terror groups was also triggered by widespread anti-Western, anti-capitalist, anti-modern and anti-globalization sentiments, which wanted to restore messianic teachings in this modern age. This terrorism uses religion as a justification for revolutionary actions and their violent nature (Robinson, 2017).

This new model of the terrorist group requires territory to breed and stand for its operational purposes, that is, operation in weak and failed countries. These countries



were selected based on several considerations. First, it deals with the ease of consolidation and control. Territories with weak control and tend to have local conflicts are ideal places to incubate and breed terrorism. Weak and failed countries usually have undergone long-term wars, have the potential for relatively large local conflicts and loose government systems. Such a situation becomes a greater opportunity for the availability of a breeding ground for terrorism (Beninati, 2016; Robinson, 2017).

It will be easier for terrorist networks that already have certain operational areas to escape government supervision and distance themselves from people's surveillance so that they can more easily carry out illegal activities. In carrying out their activities, terrorist networks also often approach corrupt local authorities who are afraid of local conflict or competition, as has happened in several areas such as Bosnia, Kosovo, Chechnya, Sudan, Afghanistan, Columbia, Albania, Sierra Leone (Harrison, 2014).

The tragedy of the Bali Bombing 1 on October 12, 2002, followed by the successful arrest of the perpetrators by the Police, has provided evidence that what is alleged in the various quotations above turns out to have a basis of truth. A series of bombings that followed in Indonesia further proves that Indonesia is one of the countries where international terrorism networks operate. This was partly due to the weak control and supervision of the Indonesian national government since Indonesia was still in the process of transitioning to democracy. Indonesia is used as a potential location for breeding and training terrorist network operations. With various police efforts and in line with the political transition to an increasingly democratic country, several systematic steps for dealing with terror have been carried out optimally with measurable anti-terror management and governance (Karnavian & Sulisty, 2017).

We can measure the success of the Indonesian government in anti-terror governance and management based on several indicators. First, the presence of a legal basis that can be used as the main reference in efforts to prevent and deal with terrorism. In this case, the government immediately issued Government Regulation in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia (PERPU) No. 1 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism a week after the Bali bombings. The PERPU later became Law no. 15 of 2003. It was considered that there were still shortcomings in its implementation, so the government issued another Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (PERPU) No. 2 of 2002 which later became Law no. 16 of 2003. These two anti-terror laws were accompanied by the establishment of a Special Detachment 88 tasked with implementing the handling and eradication of terror in this country.

Armed with this legal basis, coupled with experience in handling a series of acts of terrorism in Indonesia, the National Police are more mature and experienced in law enforcement for terrorism cases. Handling terrorism management and governance have been highly integrated into the work pattern of the Indonesian National Police, especially in Special Detachment 88. Like the research conducted by Skolnick and Friedman and Ponomarenko in dealing with terror crimes in the United States, they closely monitored potential suspects in democratic principles that do not violate human rights. Strict surveillance of people suspected of endangering state security is carried out in silence without disturbing individual freedom until the person concerned performs a dangerous action or has found strong evidence to immediately arrest potential terrorists before carrying out their actions.



### 3. Research Method

This study will use a qualitative approach combined with a rigorous desk review of various journals and secondary sources of information accessible for researchers. Bogdan and Taylor define a qualitative approach as a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of narrative or verbal information from people and observed behaviour (Moleong, 2002). This qualitative research involves important efforts, such as asking questions and procedures, collecting data from participants, analyzing data and the final report of this research which has a flexible structure or framework (Creswell, 2016).

Researchers will combine the search for information with the Delphi method. The purpose of using this method is to improve the information obtained from respondents, generally, it is used to improve the quality of data obtained from interviews with respondents. The Delphi method is generally carried out in four (4) stages or the following phases (Gosling, 1996) collecting as much information as possible from the respondent group, 2) exploring the views or opinions of the respondents on the issues being discussed, 3) This conflict, if any, will be used as the basis for finding out the reasons for the conflict, 4) delivering the results and drawing conclusions.

The subjects selected as key informants in this study are individuals and groups involved in handling terrorism, especially terrorism networks that use social media in Indonesia and related parties in it (society, government and law enforcement officers). In addition, the subject of this research will also deal with groups or individuals who have committed or been involved in terrorist networks. Some elements that can be used as subjects in this research are religious leaders, academics, law enforcement officers, terrorism convicts, ex-terrorist convicts. Primary data will be obtained from research subjects to obtain comprehensive conclusions from various groups.

### 4. Result

#### 4.1 Strategic Management for Terror Control

Strategic management is a set of governance that is planned, implemented, monitored, evaluated and as a basis for Polri's decision making, which is made to be implemented to control the growth and expansion of acts of terrorism, while at the same time maintaining social order (Karnavian & Sulisty, 2017; Mappasiara, 2018). Strategic management in handling terrorist prisoners can be implemented by separating terrorist them into various levels, ranging from the highest level of radicalization to the lowest one (McDaniel, Greenberg, & Kim, 2019). The management process for handling terrorism is the Polri's choice of strategy to secure and control violent acts of terrorism. What is meant by management here concerns the public policies that the Polri carry out in guaranteeing and providing a sense of security for all citizens from disturbances or terrors from a handful of people who have certain intentions to damage the main aspects of life within the nation and state. . On an operational scale, the strategic management of dealing with terrorism is a series of actions and choices of actions to tackle the threat of terrorism, including handling the spread of terrorism, preventing the recruitment of members of prohibited organizations, arresting terrorist suspects, mentoring during the detention and punishment process as well as the deradicalization

process as well as handling terrorist acculturation when returning them to society (T. Ali, 2002).

#### 4.2 Strategic Management for Scanning and Identification of Terrorist Groups in the Community

Polri's strategic management, particularly Special Detachment 88 in their efforts to identify terrorist groups, is to collect information from various sources. The first source of information about terrorist network and its characteristics comes from terrorism convicts who have been arrested. Before terrorists are caught red-handed, there is a scanning process or 'surveillance' in a fairly long time. This is to obtain accurate data and to as much as possible minimize the side effects of the arrest. Special Detachment 88 should not cause a long commotion or noise when arresting suspected terrorists. The second source of information comes from intelligence sources. The terrorists carry out their activities covertly and are often not recognized by members of the surrounding community. Terrorists disguise their identities in such a way that ordinary people or neighbours often do not know and realize that there are terrorist members among them (Mahony, 2010).

#### 4.3 Strategic Management for Deradicalization of Terrorist Prisoners in Correctional Facilities

Regarding supermaximum security, many years ago the management was implemented by arresting terrorists after a terrorist event occurred, although with quite a lot of victims. In the first batch of terror acts in Indonesia after the bombing of the Philippines embassy in Jakarta during the President Gus Dur era, the perpetrators of the bombing were alumni of the Afghan war against the invasion of the Eastern Bloc, especially the Soviet Union. The terrorists were later arrested and then they became "figures" among the prisoners at the correctional facility so that they could build a new terrorist network by spreading the teachings of violence wrapped in Islamic religious jargon. They built a "pesantren" in the correctional facility without worrying about being spied on or arrested again for spreading hatred, anti-state and technical lessons in making terror bombs.

Based on in-depth observations and evaluations, it was found that one of the learning processes for transferring and socializing terror and violence occurred in prisons, then Densus 88 changed the strategy and management of detaining terrorists with the concept of a supermaximum prison, that is one cell for one person with CCTV placed in prison. They were not able to meet and be visited by outsiders in the early days of their detention. Prison management for terrorists is carried out with the concept of "loneliness" or solitude without violence to avoid criticism based on human rights instruments. The management of loneliness makes a prisoner unable to see other prisoners, cannot interact or communicate with one another, makes these terrorist prisoners psychologically devastated and many regret the actions he did before. According to respondents who participated in the detention process at the correctional facility that implemented the system, the detainees turned out to be "screwed". Loneliness is very torturous, especially for terrorist figures who are very used to giving lectures and assignments as well as brainwashing to maintain their fighting spirit (Ashgar, 2016).

The deradicalization process is carried out by providing counter de-ideologisation through equal figures or the ones having more mastery in a rival

ideology. The combination of prison with maximum security and lecture delivery or de-ideologisation that directly hits the basis of trust by using the same argument but by reinterpreting it is a deradicalization modality carried out in a correctional facility. Applying scientific arguments, especially individual psychology and a human approach as a new "helping god" as well as programmed discussions in counter ideology with humanist values, is one of the most successful deradicalization approaches in the case of terrorist prisoners. Indonesia is currently facing ideological terrorism. Ideology is one of the contents of thoughts and feelings, so even though we can disband the group, it may not necessarily neutralize the mind and heart. As an example, individuals do not hesitate to commit suicide bombings (Lonewolf).

Terrorist groups will usually approach powerful people in the field they need. They took a financial approach and continued with an ideological approach. Terrorists were once very closed and exclusive. But now they dare to blend into the community. Therefore we need to make a more mature strategy to deal with terrorism. Why does terrorism thrive (openly) in Indonesia? That Indonesia adheres to a one-man vote system is one of the reasons. This makes political parties look for supporters, and terrorist members join them. They can support each other and create a mutualistic relationship. It is possible in the future, if a terrorist member is caught and imprisoned, there will also be a member of a political party who opposes and seeks the terrorist's freedom (Mahony, 2010; Ashgar, 2016 and as'ad said Ali, 2014).

#### 4.4 Strategic Management for Preventing Terrorism

Institutionalize all experiences and governance architecture as well as prevention strategies to thwart all forms of terrorism in Indonesia. The Special Detachment 88 anti-terror will support all proposed solutions locally and empower stakeholders at the local level, accompanying and empowering communities with the information and knowledge and resources they need to address the terrorist threat. Early warning systems, including bystander reporting, will be a critical component of governance of this architecture. Special Detachment 88 will also work closely with foreign partners, technology sector development, collaboration with religious leaders, local stakeholders, and international forums to identify and share best practices. The Indonesian government is also trying to promote a voice of pluralism and tolerance to offset the efforts of radical groups to campaign for the establishment of a caliphate in Indonesia (Ashgar, 2016; Newman, 2010).

To combat violent extremist ideology, the Government of Indonesia is carrying out a process to weaken the capabilities of terrorist ideologies, particularly radical Islamic terrorist ideologies, to create a common identity and purpose among recruited terrorist candidates. We must combat the resilience of terrorist narratives by recognizing that their ideology contains elements that have lasting appeal among their audiences. To reduce the recruitment of terrorists, we need to show that their claims are false and do not offer effective solutions. We will exploit the scepticism among would-be terrorists to suppress the terrorist's ability to incite violence and recruit. We will also communicate on alternatives and promote diversity and plurality to address the various forms of violence that prevent individuals from becoming more committed to these ideologies and their violent methods.



Throughout the recruitment and mobilization cycle, we will draw on operational, diplomatic and developmental successes to demonstrate the futility of terrorist violence (Robinson, 2017; as'ad said Ali, 2014).

Civil Society needs to be empowered for the prevention and expansion of violent ideological campaigns. Through engagement, public communication and diplomacy, governments strengthen and connect our partners with civil society passionate about expanding their terrorism prevention. We will raise awareness of radicalization and recruitment dynamics, highlight successful approaches and interventions at home and abroad, and empower local partners through Counter Radicalization. Over the past twenty years, Special Detachment 88 has built a strong counterterrorism architecture to stop attacks and eliminate terrorists, but we have not developed a deterrence architecture to thwart terrorist radicalization and recruitment. Unless we fight radicalization and terrorist recruitment, we will fight endlessly against terrorism at home, abroad, and online. Therefore, our strategy is to champion and institutionalize prevention and create a global prevention architecture with the help of civil society, private partners and the technology industry (Hryniewicz, 2011; Hilmy, 2014).

## 5. Discussion

This research optimizes and borrows a strategic management framework or theory by Walayat (2014). This theory states that strategic management plays a very important role in organizations, especially planning and action and is result-oriented, especially in terms of performance (Syauket & Thamrin, 2021). This framework can be borrowed to help Polri analyze the problem of dealing with terrorism in Indonesia. According to Wheelen and Hunger, there are three (3) benefits of strategic management, which consist of:

- a. A clearer strategic vision of the organization, in this case, Polri; how is the attitude of the Police and the state towards the threat of terrorism in the country, how the state behaves and seeks the best solution in dealing with the terror threat without sacrificing citizens or valuable assets;
- b. A sharper focus on what is thought of as a coping strategy and the achievement and time span of the occurrence of social order. Of course, improving people's welfare is also important;
- c. Increased understanding of the ever-changing strategic environment is certainly the denominator for the selection of strategies to deal with the threat of terrorism. From these points, four basic elements of Wheelen and Hunger's theory can be selected, known as Environmental Scanning, Strategy Formulation, Strategy Implementation, and Evaluation and Controlled (Walayat, 2014).

Information directly comes from the public who report situations that attract attention or snippets of events related to certain situations related to terrorism. The National Police, in this case, Special Detachment 88, will follow up on this information by taking further surveillance steps until they have sufficient material and initial evidence to immediately detain terrorists. The old regulations did not allow the police to detain someone suspected of committing a terrorist crime until the act of terror claimed a victim. The new regulations allow the police, particularly Special Detachment

88, to make arrests, once two preliminary pieces of evidence are found. With this latest regulation, Special Detachment 88 can carry out anticipatory activities and pursue terrorist members who are "down" or "sleep" after carrying out their terrorist acts.

The process of recruiting members who will carry out a program is generally carried out through the spread of radical Islamic ideology, for example through the Tauhid series of books, books of teachings derived from Al-Maqdisi's books. Some discussed Saudi disbelief in the eyes of Al-Qaida (Itv A9) and also about Ad-Dimugrothuyah. It is implemented in Indonesia by making the government a near enemy, since the government does not operate according to Islamic law, so it is considered apostate. That is different from the "far enemy" where terror can occur in Indonesia but the perpetrators of the attacks come from foreign countries, for example, Dr Azhari's attacks. The derivation of a near enemy is "syrik akbar" (itv A4) since the country adheres to a democratic system and is based on Pancasila (itv A9, A10). Therefore, jihad is needed as an act of struggle and makes the police the target of attack.

## 6. Conclusion

Indonesia, which continues to grow towards democracy, experiences clashes and is intertwined with social frictions that can lead to conflict. This is fertile ground for the emergence of terrorism. Political dynamics, especially local political competition, are increasingly becoming a fertile ground to express terror as exacerbated by structural poverty and social inequalities that have not been evenly addressed. The recruitment process and propaganda of terrorist networks are still very active, targeting the younger generation through the use of interpretations of certain religious verses who want to learn religion instantly. Even though the Special Detachment 88 task force has strictly monitored the flow of information and this well-established recruitment process, loopholes remain. For this reason, democratic policing management that is more deeply rooted in the community needs to be equipped with religious literacy and counter-discourse with the anti-terrorist movement that uses a religious basis. Religious people need to develop the practice of pluralism that upholds the dimensions of humanity, compassion, social justice and mutual cooperation.

Concrete collaboration across religions, ethnicities, the private sector and between stakeholders in one jurisdiction should be developed and carried out intensively. It is necessary to develop a conceptual, planned and integrated collaboration between the National Police and community leaders who have terrorist prisoners under their guidance. Terrorist families who are not involved in the activities of their parents need special guidance, support and education from the ministry and the state. Thus, they can be neutralized from the radical ideas understood by their parents.

The government through the ministry of religion needs to produce counter-discourse content against the understanding of Islam that deviates from the teachings of fostering good morals, polite behaviour, mutual love, tolerance and mutual help as taught by Rasulullah Muhammad SAW. Content creation in the form of educational materials for children, youth and adults by utilizing social media, mass media and general teachings in education in formal schools is also necessary.

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## **POLICE MANAGEMENT HANDLES THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT OF ARMED CRIMINAL GROUP (ACG) IN PAPUA BETWEEN 2017-2022**

**Djuni Thamrin<sup>1</sup>, Prasojo<sup>2</sup>, Tiara Anggita Perdini<sup>3\*</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> Faculty of Economic and Business, Bhayangkara Jakarta Raya University, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup> Faculty of Communication Studies, Bhayangkara Jakarta Raya University, Indonesia

<sup>3</sup> Faculty of Psychology, Persada Indonesia University YAI

Corresponding author-email: <sup>3\*</sup> [tiaraanggitaperdini@gmail.com](mailto:tiaraanggitaperdini@gmail.com)

### **ABSTRACT**

*Policing is a collection of police management governance in handling security issues and social disturbances to legitimate and legal communities that are based on applicable national laws and norms and rules. The handling of ACG movement in Papua carried out by the Indonesian National Police (INP), starting from the aspects of participatory planning in dealing with the threat of ACG, budget allocation, counter-violence actions in law enforcement, operating control system to the evaluation stage of handling ACG that has been conceptually carried out by INP. In Papua, INP has implemented two security strategies in management of security disturbances so far. First, is Binmas Noken operation activity, which is to provide socio-economic support to the Papuan people, especially IP through a welfare approach. Second operation is law enforcement and security controls, especially in the central mountainous region of Papua. This area is known as a conflict area where ACG uses the area as their base for demonstrating brutal guerilla actions. This study is an evaluative and reflective managerial study of handling ACG which is a contribution of UBJ in carrying out its security-based vision and mission. Focus of this study is management, especially those run by Papua Regional Police who carry out Newangkawi Operation in winning the hearts and minds of indigenous Papuans. Data and information tracing mostly used secondary data from reports of Newangkawi Operation activity, clippings of mass media published in Papua, personal communication with indigenous figures in Papua that has been established for more than 10 years and accessing police sources.*

*Keywords: Separatism, Police management, ACG, Conflict, Community police*

### **1. Introduction**

The incident of taking and shooting hostages, who were contract workers (bridge makers) working in Nduga regency, Papua province on December 2, 2018, was a milestone in the re-emergence of the Armed Criminal Group (ACG) movement in Papua. ACG's efforts to take hostage and kill some of the workers who were building bridges in remote areas in Nduga regency, Papua, were also intended to make areas that were still isolated in Papua as places where ACG could carry out maneuvers and guerrilla resistance. In these mountainous areas in Central Papua, local government also very





rarely visits and provides public services to the community. This area became the "territory" of guerrilla resistance which was relatively easily controlled by ACG to run and shelter from attacks by Police and Indonesian Army (TNI) that has been under the control of the Police to maintain social order and law enforcement there.

The series of terrorist acts in Papua, which occurred for more than three decades, has further forced Indonesian National Police to anticipate and implement increasingly strict and measurable domestic security management (Kruglanski et al., 2014). In the management of handling this separatist movement, police are increasingly required to meet international standards and signs in the aspects of law enforcement and respect for human rights. As a de jure, ACG is still a local people who needs to be disciplined by the homeland security authority, namely Indonesian National Police.

This study seeks to identify various strategic options made by INP to dismiss and control separatism movement carried out by ACG against the Indonesian government and indigenous Papuans, especially in the Central Mountainous Region - Papua. The focus is more specifically on police management in handling threats and brutal actions carried out by ACG. Indonesian National Police, which has a legitimate mandate in addressing security disturbances and law violation, at the same time is seeking to prepare development infrastructure in remote areas of Papua, by building economy and education for the citizens.

The first separatist movement in Papua began with the disappointments of some IP (Indigenous Papuan) elites to the results of a UN conducted poll in 1962. The poll determined whether West Papua or West Irian at that time, would integrate with Indonesia as part of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia or become independent into an independent state. When Indonesia succeeded in seizing independence in 1945, West Irian was still under Dutch rule. Then there was a war of seizures of Irian Jaya and United Nations took over the authority over West Irian. At the time of the poll on aspirations of local citizens, UN conducted a poll collection, and it was stated that West Irian integrated with Indonesia. IP figures stated that they rejected the results of the polls, because methodologically it could not be done in a one man one vote manner. This disappointment was partly responded to by a small number of Papuan figures by establishing a Free Papua movement. Some IP who was disappointed follow the mainstream to integrate with the Republic of Indonesia where they then fill the position of local political elite, thus occupying positions as state officials in the executive, legislative and judicial sectors. The others fill political positions through political parties that are allowed to operate in Indonesia, as well as Papua.

The anti-separatism countermeasures strategy in Papua carried out by INP through several channels, first, is to label ACG on all armed resistance groups in Papua that interfere with local security and make trouble to the point of attempting to carry out brutal acts of murder that can attract worldwide attention. Second, running and developing Newangkawi task force which the last two months has changed its name to the Cartenz Peace 2022 task force. The task force contains two elements of approach, namely the Binmas Noken approach which provides socio-economic assistance to IP to develop their social and economic life, and the Program and task force focus on efforts to win the hearts and minds of Indigenous Papuans (IP) through various IP economic and social development activities. In general, the government has granted Special Autonomy status to Papua, namely by providing wider opportunities for IP in carrying



out government processes within the corridors of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

A separatist movement is widely understood as an attempt to break away from a country or movement to fight for independence with an armed movement, or with other motives. Disappointment with the situation and the feeling of unfairness of the state are some of the most common motives. However, there are often other motives such as the existence of foreign parties who want an invasion of a certain area, as well as personal and class interests. These class interests are the most prominent which then laid down as if these were mass economic and political interests. In Papua, Free Papua Movement (OPM) armed resistance broke out for the first time on July 26, 1965 in Manokwari (Jones & Nolan, 2015). Freeport's giant mining efforts in 1973 also triggered OPM's military activities in Timika region. Involvement of local people in the main economic vortex in the new region is often overlooked. This is an important issue in the face of any treason resistance.

During the New Order government, in May 1977, about 200 ACG men attacked Freeport, which was then responded to by Soeharto government's military operations, mainly in Amungme Village. The land of Freeport itself was once a customary land of Amungme and Komoro tribes who were indigenous peoples in the region. Executive Director of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) Markus Haluk in the book "Suing Freeport" mentioned that 60 Amungme people were victims of military violence in the incident.

The separatism movement according to Golese is very similar to ACG movement. The difference is that separatism movements lead to the ideal of common independence, while terrorism leads to the spreading of fear and worry in established societies. For ACG members who have surrendered or been caught, they must still be treated humanely. In its implementation, ACG prisoners (prisoners) must undergo a systematic deradicalization process, so that they can balance new understanding. And there is hope that prisoners can become more tolerant of differences and willing to become Indonesian citizens who can work together to obey the laws that apply in this country.

Police management, which includes the functions of law enforcement, maintaining social order and homeland security as well as public services, needs to be reoriented by incorporating democratic principles, respect for human rights and ECOSOC as well as good governance, to become a more humane police management and in line with international police management standards. This is where it is very important and crucial to overcome the threat of separatism, it must be carried out by the police, not the TNI or the military. ACG is not an enemy of the state, but citizens who have not accepted the common ideology that has been declared and violate the law by using armed force.

The management of terrorist crimes prevention and the management of handling separatism actions must be carried out by INP in an integrated manner. Management vacancies or gaps in this handling cycle can lead to significant damage. So, by putting forward various methods of strict control over direct potential action, the management of terror prevention must be carried out in detail. In this phase for example, the contribution of society becomes very important. This means that management of communication and supervision of actions or behavior of a group of people need to be



organized in such a way so that overall, this management becomes layered in countering the acts of separatism they carry out.

Further stated by Clarke & Newman (2006), management of separatism prevention is applied through the principles of situational prevention. This kind of management of separatism prevention has been applied in efforts to identify suicide bombers in London and Israel. Their dominant behavior in the form of provocations and incitement-spreading efforts, that can build public solidarity, must be reduced, and balanced with counter narratives. In this case, management to offset the flow of information, from distribution of incitement or twisting of news through mass media and social media, is very important. The ability of INP to control the spread of hatred and political lies and hoaxes aimed at finally seizing state power and replacing the state basis of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution into a new state is the key to maintaining state stability. This is where the police must be able to reconcile and be neutral in the face of criticism, even slander, especially in the field (Osse, 2006).

Internationally, separatism is no longer considered a major threat to humanity and human rights (Threats & Change, 2004). Separatism is the internal affairs of every country, provided they are labeled as an armed criminal group. The degree of insurgency action is largely determined by the "political weight" of a country it faces. The level of democratization that has been practiced by the country, further determines the procedures for handling this action. Sometimes in practice, insurgency actions that describe brutality of the perpetrator, at a certain moment increasingly target innocent victims of society, are all carried out with violence offense, violence and threats of violence (Newman, 2010).

The actions of insurgency and separatism groups carried out by their networks, often implement closed management. They are connected to each other, especially with propaganda abroad. ACG hid not only in the villages, but they threatened security and safety of the villagers and tried to influence them to join the rebellion. If the state is not present, ACG usually takes over the regulatory functions within the community. For example, ACG in Papua can manage and invite human resources from various countries and nationalities. It is conceivable that the management mechanisms managed for this are very sophisticated and require intensive communication but remain closed so that they cannot be tracked by the security apparatus in Indonesia. Clandestine networks underground in Papua are obtained from individual local official who misuse their special autonomy budgets or routine development budgets.

## 2. Literature Review

In the course of history, separatism, or often known generally as an uprising, was often present in a country. This is because in the journey of a nation there are always some people who feel disappointed about a predetermined form and choice of the state or feel excluded, there is inspiration that is not accommodated in the government system or even become an outsider agent who wants to invade the country.

Counterinsurgents are long-term operations to eliminate the sources of riots in one of the sovereign state's territories. These tasks require the participation of relevant civic bodies, both indigenous and in cooperation with international institutions (Hinton, 2005). Some guidelines of counter-insurgency theory in the British classical view are





winning the 'hearts and minds' of local people (Egnell, 2020). The idea of winning the 'hearts and minds' of local people had been implemented by the British government in the sixties by applying it to the Northern Ireland conflict. The four conditions of the counterinsurgency theory are: showing 'political will' to defeat the rebels as a key to victory; the importance of winning the 'battle of hearts and minds' of the affected people; the 'police preference' over the army in defeating the rebels; and the importance of civil-military coordination to unite all elements of a successful counterinsurgency campaign (Dixon, 2011).

Outside of its country, UK has also tried to practice the concept of winning the 'hearts and minds' of local people in Afghanistan. The British ran an operation to quell the resistance of the rebellious group in Helmand province, Afghanistan. They had put into practice the theory of counterinsurgency. Then they conducted an evaluation of its effectiveness and success in carrying out various approaches and operations in the field. It turns out that Thompson's idea can be clearly detected and has been proven to be very precise and effective to be applied in the field. Thompson's moderate idea that effectively stomped the rebellion are as follows:

1. Capturing the hearts and minds of local people. Support of local people is the key variable. The assistance of local people is essential for recruitment of rebels, food support, protection shelter and temporary shelter, funding support, and other supporting materials. The strength of the insurgency group is their efforts to do guerilla tactic, maintain the support of physical security, food from local people and defend it from state attacks or its formal forces. In Papua, this is not even fully established, even INP can separate local people from the rebel members, especially in areas that are already open.
2. Establish and win a clear political and social counter-vision that can overshadow, compete with, or neutralize the views and philosophies of the insurgency group. Spreading the common counter-vision by ACG group becomes important, especially if the vision is still very far to be achieved. It was a promotional and propaganda work to intervene in a new awareness of the vision of state that is essential to be maintained together and built with an integrated approach. Nationalist narratives and counter visions constitute a verbal 'war' of the desired condition and the ability to realize it.
3. Develop practical actions at local level that are in accordance with a promising or propagandized political vision. Not to be provoked by the strategy of the counter-rebel parties who declare that they are carrying out sacred mission of liberation of the country by pursuing a liquidation strategy that attracts external support. Control over acts of armed resistance is to use armed tactics equipped with appropriate technology and intelligence, replace corrupt and hostile officials in the assignment area, clean up all elements of fraud, build more infrastructure, collect taxes honestly, and deal with all the practical needs of citizens, especially handle citizen complaints on a sense of security to damage the appeal of the guerrilla fighter in society.



4. Effective use of socioeconomic assistance. The government regime should not overreact to the provocations of ACG, especially at local level. That situation will be used as a huge capital to create a new moral crisis in society. The use of weapons needs to be very measured, make efforts to bring down the resistance with paralyzing devices instead of deadly weapons whenever possible. Build intensive and productive civic communication. Try to keep safe areas, especially in urban areas. In the event of gun contact, try to do it only in remote areas. Intensify patrols together with local communities.
5. Large unit support is required as the main support only. If policing measures are not enough to stop ACG attack, then military use may be necessary. But they remained behind the legitimate operations of the police force and for a limited period of time. Such a large operation was only necessary to break up the significant concentration of ACG and divide it into small groups that are increasingly insignificant in armaments, then the joint actions of the police-citizens could immediately control them and make them ordinary citizens again.
6. Control mobility is carried out through aggressive policing forces. The large and measured action of a small unit of aggressive policing is essential to shock ACG. Such actions must be supported by tested intelligence information. Heavy attacks must be accompanied by a rapid recovery process. The large operation of policing is only to find, pursue, and neutralize ACG units. The focus of action is only at the strong points and areas that are strategically consensual for ACG. Make field sweeping efforts so that ACG's space is increasingly limited. Aggressive pursuit of policing patrols, raids, ambushes, sweeps, guards, roadblocks, and other necessary acts will make them continue on the run.
7. We need to immediately carry out adequate social, economic and infrastructure development and continue to provide with assistance such as education, health, and nutritious food to local communities in the regions that have been free from the influence of ACG. Then carry out national development and regional economic recovery.
8. Rewards and integrations for ACG members who put down the weapons need to be promoted openly. There needs to be an award and promotion to the ACG members who have left their group to be immediately integrated with local forces, to ensure their safety and at the same time improve their living conditions.

### 3. Research Method

This research was conducted by choosing a qualitative approach combined with desk reviews of various journals and secondary sources of information that can be accessed by researchers. The qualitative approach turned out to be able to produce descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observed behaviors (Moleong, 2018). This qualitative research process involves important efforts, such as asking questions and procedures, collecting data from participants, estimating data and the final report of this study and has a flexible structure or framework (Creswell & Poth, 2018).



There are several considerations on why this research uses a qualitative approach. First, the reality to be studied is more of a dynamic social symptom, namely regarding the policing management model in responding to ACG in their insurgency actions. These actions must still be treated humanely and not to violate human rights. Indonesia has experienced in facing and resolving cases of insurgency in the early decades of independence. Second, this study concerns a lot about the narrative process that is spoken and carried out by limited and special people. So, there are many restrictions, both to meet with detained ACG members and police involved in arrest operations or the struggle to break ACG actions in several locations in Indonesia. Third, it is more about the subjective consideration of the researcher, namely that the events of insurgency that look so complex and can only be well understood after the information data is completely reconstructed. News information about ACG action incident, which was suppressed by the mass media, is also equipped with news and information from social media networks about the same thing but from different angles and perspectives.

### **3.1 Data Collection Methods**

In an effort to collect field data and secondary data, the researchers carried out a technique of collecting all publications about ACG in Papua. Secondary data from mass media writings, information on research results, reports of activities related to ACG and its relation to their actions. From there, pattern of interaction of individuals, groups, institutions or indigenous peoples was successfully obtained. Creswell (2016) says that qualitative research is to exploit and understand meanings that a number of individuals as well as a number of groups of people is deemed to be derived from social or humanitarian problems.

Data collection in this study was carried out through two stages. The first stage is to review the literature of all news sources, books, documents, and manuscripts to collect information to obtain secondary data. The second stage is to conduct interviews with the speakers in order to obtain primary and secondary data counters in the form of Expert Meetings.

### **3.2 Research Instruments**

This research uses a qualitative approach, then the researcher himself becomes the main instrument of research. The researcher conducted a series of in-depth interviews, reading, discussions and various actions to obtain information and data on ACG in Papua. The research data was redeveloped, to improve understanding iteratively by interviewing various levels of key informants to add and complete information about ACG. Thus, the presence of researcher is a key instrument in this qualitative research, especially to obtain relevant information related to the phenomenon under study.

### **3.3 Key Informants**

The subjects who will be selected as key informants in this study are individuals and groups related to handling ACG network in Papua that uses social media in Indonesia and related parties in it (the community, government and law enforcement officials, student groups, church leaders). In addition, the subject of this study will also deal with groups or individuals who have conducted or been involved in ACG network. Some of the elements that can be used as subjects in this



study are: Religious figures, academics, law enforcement officers, ACG criminal prisoners, former terror convicts. Primary data will be obtained from the research subject to obtain comprehensive conclusions from various circles.

#### **4. Result**

##### **4.1 Optimizing The Implementation of Strategic Management of Policing in Papua**

Newangkawi Operation, which was later followed by Cartenz Peace Operation, is a new approach management of policing in Papua to deal with ACG problem with the approach of "winning hearts and minds" of the IP. In it, a democratic policing style that can be a problem solver and partnership in terms of service and aegis on IP has been designed, especially those who do not get optimal services from local governments. Prioritizing service, aegis in policing compared to law enforcement, is a style of policing that is currently considered the most appropriate in Papua. The policing process that prioritizes community empowerment turns out to be, at the same time, able to build public awareness to maintain social order in their area (Karnavian & Sulisty, 2016; Mappasiara, 2018; Samah & Susanti, 2014). Strategic management in the handling of prisoners of captured ACG members can be implemented by the method of separating ACG prisoners in various levels, from the highest level to the lowest level of radicalization (McDaniel et al., 2019). ACG handling management is a choice of strategy from INP to secure and control ACG actions that often use violence. On an operational scale, the strategic management of handling ACG is a series of acts and action choices to overcome the threat of ACG, starting from handling the spread of independence concept, preventing the recruitment of members of ACG organization, arresting ACG terror suspects, coaching during the detention and punishment process as well as the deradicalization process in conjunction with the process of acculturation of ACG actors who are returned to the community (Tariq, .2002).

##### **4.2 Participatory Policing Encourages Scanning and Identification of ACG by The Community**

Participatory policing management, particularly Brimob troops who were included in the law enforcement team in Cartenz Peace Operation, made a very participatory effort. This effort is to provide a strengthening program in the community, so that local people feel greatly helped by the presence of INP. Local people often help to identify ACG groups. The first source is information from ACG members who have been caught, who their network is and how the characteristics. If ACG members are not being caught, then the scanning or surveillance process is carried out in a fairly long time, so that accurate data will be obtained and there are no side effects from arrest. In the process of arresting a suspected ACG, INP Brimob did not cause a long commotion or riot. The second source of information is from intelligence sources. ACG members who carry out their activities in disguise are still recognizable by members of the community (Mahony, 2010).

##### **4.3 Strategic Management for Prisoners of ACG Members in Prisons**



The process to return ACG members who were caught was carried out in a scenario of returning them to their families and indigenous people. The spirit then guided the prisoners of ACG since they are treated very well and invited to interact with their security personnel. The process of dialogue, which is generally carried out by volunteers and religious leaders and traditional leaders, led them to realize how useless it is to carry out armed resistance. It is better to help local governments to build their areas and catch up with other regions. Recovery process of ACG members is relatively easier than that of terrorist prisoners due to its different ideological basis. A combination of prisons with rehabilitation programs and provision of assistance to their families, is a recovery capital carried out in custody.

The members of ACG Group, who are still in the field, can also melt away and reintegrate with other ordinary citizens if the tribal or customary leaders they respected then intend to put down the weapons. Locally, cases of the return of some ACG have occurred a lot. According to researchers' records, at least more than 6 cases of group surrender from ACG who put down the weapons and returned to Indonesia. The approach taken in terms of finances and facilities of armaments must continue to be carried out, especially approach in connection with the source of money from Central government's development budget which is leaked and corrupted. ACG network is suspected of having relationships with certain people in local government who can supply development funds and special autonomy funds. Therefore, we need to make a more mature strategy regarding the handling of ACG. Why in Indonesia ACG grows so fast? Is there anything wrong in development management, or are the roads of corruption still very open? It is possible that in the future, if there are ACG members who are caught and imprisoned, there will be members of political parties who also dislike and will seek freedom for the ACG members (Mahony, 2010; Ashgar, 2016; Ali, 2014).

#### **4.4 Strategic Management in Preventing Insurgency**

Institutionalizing all governance experiences and architectures as well as prevention strategies to defeat all forms of ACG in Indonesia is a strategic thing (Thamrin et al., 2022). INP certainly urgently needs an approach and proposed solutions in local area as long as development management can prioritize human welfare development through the process of empowering stakeholders at local level, assisting and empowering communities with the information and knowledge and resources they need to overcome the threat of ACG. Early warning systems, including observer reports, will be an important component of this architecture governance. Densus 88 will also work with foreign partners, technology sector development, cooperation with religious leaders, local stakeholders, and international forums to identify and share best practices. Indonesian government also seeks to promote the voice of pluralism and tolerance as an effort to counterbalance radicalistic groups efforts that seek to carry out a campaign to establish a caliphate in Indonesia (Ashgar, 2016; Clarke & Newman, 2006).

We must fight terrorists by acknowledging that their ideology contains elements that have a lasting appeal among their audience. To reduce the recruitment of terrorists, we will show that their claims are false and do not offer





an effective solution. We will exploit doubts among potential recruits to reduce the ability of terrorists to incite violence and recruitment. We will also communicate alternative and promote diversity and plurality to address various attempts of violence to prevent individuals from becoming more committed to these ideologies and their violent ways. Throughout this cycle of recruitment and mobilization, we will use our operational, diplomatic, and development successes to demonstrate the futility and resistance of ACG (Robinson, 2017).

#### **4.5 Multi-Party Dialogue Management on 4 Key Papua Issues**

The most qualified management in Papua is a multi-party dialogue that discusses four main issues that are often demanded by ACG and many parties who want to develop Papua. The police, on a limited basis, have succeeded in inviting various parties to discuss the four issues in dialogue spaces of scientific and constructive nature. Even though the pro-independence groups and ACG have not fully accepted yet. The four main issues that must be dialogued and then followed by concrete steps, are: (1) History of Papua Integration into Indonesia, which was carried out through referendum on the Act of Free Choice (Pepera) in 1969, was indicated fraud committed by the Indonesian government since it was not in accordance with the content of the New York Agreement, namely "one man one vote"; (2) Human rights violations committed by the government and state security forces that have lasted to date; (3) Increasing marginalization and discrimination against Papuans; and (4) Failures in social infrastructure development that occur in Papua, such as health and education facilities, and people's economy.

#### **4.6 Pi-Ajar Police Management For Inland Children in Papua**

One of the cores of Binmas Noken policing program in Papua is to develop pi-ajar police management, which complements the ability of police members to teach children in rural areas whose schools are closed due to ACG attacks or the absence of teachers who want to teach to ACG base area, especially in the Central Mountainous region of Papua. The educational materials presented by Pi-ajar police, are materials of love for the homeland, peace, humanity, cooperation, nationalism, nationality that can foster children's love for Indonesia. According to the results of dialogues with residents, many children were taught by their parents about violence committed by the military who killed their previous parents. Through stories, verses, children are then exposed to stories of violence, murder by soldiers they hear in honai, gardens delivered and sung by children in the process of socialization from their parents. The main tribes in Amungme, Timika, sang and lived the songs and eventually brought the seeds of hatred that led to becoming members of ACG (Jarvis & Lister, 2013).

### **5. Discussion**

This study tries to adopt the strategic management framework of Wheelen and Hunger (2011). The framework states that strategic management plays a very important role in organizations, in particular planning, action and result-oriented, especially regarding results and performance (Thamrin, 2018). This framework is used



to look at policing in the handling of ACG in Papua, Indonesia. According to Wheelen and Hunger, there are 3 benefits of strategic management, which consist of:

1. A clearer strategic vision of the organization in this case is INP; what is the attitude of INP and this country towards the threat of ACG in the land of Papua, how the state behaves and finds the most effective solution so that it can eliminate the threat of relentless resistance from ACG, without having to sacrifice citizens or valuable assets;
2. A sharper focus on coping and achievement strategies and how long social order can be established, certainly along with improving the welfare of the people becomes something very important and strategic;
3. Increased understanding of the ever-changing strategic environment which is certainly a denominator for the selection of strategies for handling ACG threats. From this point, four basic elements of Wheelen and Hunger theory can be selected, known as Environmental Scanning, Strategy Formulation, Strategy Implementation, and Evaluation and Controlled (Wheelen & Hunger, 2011).

Throughout 2019, there were 21 gunfights between security forces (TNI and INP) and armed separatist criminal groups (ASCG), killing nine TNI soldiers and two INP personnel and ten civilians. This level of violence continued until 2020. The Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) noted that on January 1-September 26, 2020, there were 100 conflict events in Papua and West Papua, consisting of 40 battles, 22 riots, and 38 violence against civilians, with the death toll reaching 57 people. In comparison, the number of conflict events in Papua and West Papua throughout 2019 was 96 events (see Table 1) below:

**Table 1. Number of Conflict Events in Papua And West Papua, 2019 and 2020**

<b>Papua Conflict</b>	<b>1 January-31 December 2019</b>	<b>1 Januar-26 September 2020</b>
Events	96	100
Battles	27	40
Riots	19	22
Violance against civilians	50	38
Fatalities	145	57

Source: ACLED, 2021

The above data shows that if the government continues its security-based approach to the Papua conflict, the conflict will continue to drag on and increase the number of victims. In addition to the security approach, the government in the first term of President Joko Widodo (2014-2019) has also increased its focus on economic and infrastructure development in Papua. This approach is a good one and should be extended in Jokowi's second term now. On December 17, 2019, Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Mahfud MD had said that in the next five years, government would push five development programs in Papua. This indicates that government will continue to focus on the economic approach.

## 6. Conclusion



ACG movement in Papua, Indonesia, which remains, must be balanced with democratic policing management, and followed by various efforts to improve humanitarian development on all fronts. The political dynamics that occur, especially local political competition, including wars between tribes, are increasingly becoming fertile ground for political adventurers at the national level, which makes Papua a political field. Coupled with the conditions of structural poverty and social inequality that have not been overcome equally. ACG recruitment and propaganda process in Papua is still very active, targeting the younger generation using a history of violence committed by the military. The handling of ACG violence that uses weapons, must be handled by police not the military, if they need military support, they still must be under the command of the Police. The role of intelligence that works silently, must be supported by adequate technological equipment. For this reason, democratic policing management that is more rooted in the community needs to be complemented by national literacy and counter-discourse of Papua independence. The practice of pluralism that upholds the dimensions of humanity, compassion, social justice, and mutual aid needs to be built by all components of the nation in Indonesia.

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# Nexus Sekuritisasi Kesehatan dan Komunikasi Kesehatan di Masa Pandemi

## *(Nexus Health Securitization and Health Communication in a Pandemic Period)*

**Prasojo**

**Universitas Bhayangkara Jakarta Raya**

*e-mail: prasojo@dsn.uharajaya.ac.id*

### **Abstract**

*This article performs a descriptive analysis of the relationship between health securitization and health communication. The pandemic situation is a test for securitizing actors to be able to apply appropriate securitization strategies to referent objects for mutual safety. But one thing that cannot be done is predict when the pandemic will end. Eventually this becomes a long-term game that requires adaptive health communication strategies. Health securitization during a pandemic requires the application of a health communication strategy that can maintain the trust of the referent object so that the securitizing actor's efforts to return the situation to normal.*

**Keyword :** *securitization; pandemic; health communication*

### **Abstrak**

*Artikel ini melakukan analisa deskriptif terhadap hubungan antara sekuritisasi kesehatan dengan komunikasi kesehatan. Situasi pandemi adalah ujian bagi securitizing actor untuk bisa menerapkan strategi sekuritisasi yang tepat kepada referent object untuk keselamatan bersama. Namun satu hal yang tidak bisa dilakukan adalah memprediksi kapan pandemi akan berakhir. Akhirnya ini menjadi permainan jangka panjang yang membutuhkan strategi komunikasi kesehatan yang adaptif. Sekuritisasi kesehatan pada masa pandemi membutuhkan penerapan strategi komunikasi kesehatan yang bisa menjaga kepercayaan referent object agar upaya securitizing actor untuk mengembalikan situasi seperti sediakala.*

**Kata kunci :** *sekuritisasi; pandemi; komunikasi kesehatan*

## **Pendahuluan**

Kehidupan manusia kerap berdekatan dengan peristiwa yang mengancam keamanan dirinya. Salah satunya adalah ancaman terhadap kesehatan. Ancaman terhadap kesehatan telah menjadi catatan dalam sejarah bahwa manusia pernah

menghadapi wabah menular yang dapat menyebar luas dalam waktu cepat. Beberapa peristiwa besar yang mengguncang keamanan kesehatan manusia seperti *Black Death*, wabah penyakit pes, kolera 1817-1823, flu Spanyol 1918 - 1920, flu Asia 1957, HIV/AIDS 1981, SARS 2003, hingga Covid 19 pada 2019.<sup>1</sup> Selain menghadapi ancaman kesehatan, manusia pun pernah menghadapi bentuk ancaman kesehatan yang lintas negara. Pada tahun 1851, pandemi telah menjadi subjek diplomasi internasional ketika para delegasi berkumpul dalam Konferensi Sanitasi Internasional (*International Sanitary Conference*) di Paris untuk mempertimbangkan tanggapan bersama terhadap pandemi kolera yang sedang melanda benua Eropa.<sup>2</sup>

Pandemi memiliki potensi penyebaran yang cepat sehingga menjadi penyebab bagi peningkatan kematian yang tidak bisa diprediksi. Hal berbahaya selanjutnya adalah peningkatan kematian tersebut bisa saja terjadi tidak hanya di satu negara, tetapi juga meluas ke negara lainnya. Tidak bisa dipungkiri fakta bahwa virus dan bakteri tidak pernah peduli dan menghormati batas – batas negara, sehingga apabila terjadi wabah atau pandemi di belahan dunia yang lain, maka dalam tempo hitungan jam akan menjadi ancaman untuk belahan dunia lainnya.

Situasi darurat yang dapat saja muncul dan menyebar luas dengan cepat karena ancaman pada bidang kesehatan, membuat dunia internasional menyadari pentingnya untuk menjadikan kesehatan menjadi salah satu agenda keamanan. Agenda kesehatan erat dengan keamanan manusia dimana selama ini keamanan digaris bawahi sebagai konsep yang terlalu sempit di interpretasikan. Keamanan selalu identik dengan pengamanan wilayah negara dari agresi pihak eksternal atau juga perlindungan kepentingan nasional melalui kebijakan luar negeri. Eratnya agenda keamanan dengan kesehatan dikarenakan kesehatan akan membawa kebaikan untuk kondisi sosial dan stabilitas negara, sehingga agenda kesehatan selalu erat dengan keamanan manusia karena terkait secara esensial dan instrumental kepada keberlangsungan hidup manusia, mata pencaharian dan harga diri manusia.

Intisari *human security* atau keamanan insani ada pada bagaimana manusia dapat menjalani kehidupannya secara bermartabat.<sup>3</sup> Hidup yang bermartabat adalah kehidupan dimana manusia dapat hidup dalam masyarakat dan mampu menggunakan pilihan-pilihan yang mereka miliki dan kehendaki, serta memanfaatkan berbagai macam akses yang menuntun manusia untuk bisa memiliki peluang kepada akses pasar dan sosial dalam situasi damai maupun konflik.<sup>4</sup>

Keamanan insani bisa dikatakan memiliki dua aspek, pertama adalah terjaminnya rasa aman dari ancaman yang terus menerus seperti kelaparan, penyakit dan penindasan. Kedua, adalah perlindungan dari gangguan mendadak

<sup>1</sup> History, 2021, Pandemic Timeline, diakses dari <https://www.history.com/topics/middleages/pandemics-timeline>, pada 14 Mei 2022, pukul 10.38

<sup>2</sup> Stefan Elbe, Pandemic Security, dalam J. Peter. Burgees (Ed), *The Routledge Handbook of New Security Studies (First)*, 2010, New York: Routledge, hal 163 - 172.

<sup>3</sup> UNDP, *Human Development Reports 1994*, Oxford University Press : New York, hal 1 - 136.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, UNDP 1994, hal 1 - 136.

dan menyakitkan pada kehidupan keseharian, baik di rumah maupun pekerjaan atau di masyarakat. Munculnya gangguan mendadak tersebut bisa saja disebabkan oleh kesalahan pilihan kebijakan yang disebabkan oleh manusia.<sup>5</sup> Keamanan insani menekankan bahwa manusia harus bisa mampu menjaga dirinya sendiri, setiap orang harus memiliki kesempatan untuk memenuhi kebutuhannya yang paling vital yaitu nafkahnya sendiri, dan terutama keamanan insani menekankan kepada terbebasnya manusia dari rasa takut dan bebas dari kekurangan.<sup>6</sup>

Ciri utama keamanan insani adalah selalu bertindak mencegah dibandingkan melakukan intervensi. Ancaman terhadap kesehatan menjadi isu penting karena dalam perspektif keamanan, ketika menghadapi sebuah ancaman kita tidak akan pernah mengetahui berbahayanya dan gentingnya hal tersebut hingga merasa sangat terancam dan kita kehilangan rasa aman.<sup>7</sup> Oleh karena itu keamanan didefinisikan dan dihargai berdasarkan ancaman yang dihadapi, semakin tidak bisa diprediksi ancamannya, maka upaya pencegahannya perlu dilakukan dengan melakukan serangkaian pengerahan sumber daya untuk melakukan prediksi dan pencegahan yang ekstra.<sup>8</sup> Bencana alam seperti gempa bumi memang tidak disebabkan oleh manusia, tetapi kedatangan mereka tidak bisa dihalangi. Begitu pun dengan upaya untuk menghadapi ancaman kesehatan, diperlukan upaya untuk melakukan tinjauan kepada situasi masa depan dengan melakukan analisa terhadap ancaman kesehatan yang berpotensi muncul.

Perlu juga dipahami perihal cara menghadapi penyakit yang mengganggu kehidupan manusia melalui pendekatan keamanan. Pendekatan keamanan diterapkan dalam menghadapi pandemi karena terbuka kemungkinan bahwa penyebaran patogen mikroorganisme digunakan sebagai senjata kimia sehingga beberapa penyakit yang mewabah bisa menyebabkan gangguan terhadap situasi sosial, politik, ekonomi, militer sehingga berpotensi membahayakan stabilitas dan keamanan.<sup>9</sup>

Bentuk upaya untuk melakukan sekuritisasi terhadap penyakit menular bisa ditelusuri kebelakang pada tahun 1992 ketika, terjadi perubahan secara geopolitik pasca Perang Dingin. Pemerintah Amerika Serikat, mengeluarkan laporan yang cukup berpengaruh dari *Institute of Medicine*, berjudul *Emerging Infections : Microbial Threats to Health in the United States*. Laporan tersebut memberikan peringatan bahwa Amerika Serikat bisa saja 'kedatangan' penyakit menular yang menyerang manusia dan datang dari belahan bumi yang terpisah dari Amerika Serikat. Sekalipun muncul penyakit menular yang menjangkiti penduduk disuatu wilayah diluar wilayah Amerika Serikat, tetap saja hal tersebut memiliki keberbahayaan bagi Amerika

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, UNDP 1994, hal 1 - 136.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, UNDP 1994, hal 1 - 136.

<sup>7</sup> Richard H. Ullman, *Redefining Security*. *International Security*, Vol. 8, No.1, Summer 1983, hal 129-153.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, Ullman, hal 129 - 153.

<sup>9</sup> Vanja Rokvic and Zoran Jeftic, *Health Issue As Security Issues*, *Vojno Delo*, Vol 6, 2015, hal 53-69.

Serikat yang disebabkan oleh keterhubungan global, transportasi internasional, perdagangan internasional dan faktor integrasi kultural dan sosial masyarakat internasional.<sup>10</sup>

Membingkai hubungan antara kesehatan dan keamanan insani tidak bisa dihindari sehingga menjadikan upaya untuk sekuritisasi kesehatan. Mengikuti logika teoritik dari sekuritisasi ala *Copenhagen School* maka untuk menjaga keamanan kesehatan diperlukan sebuah tindakan diluar hal yang biasa untuk menghadapi bentuk-bentuk ancaman terhadap kesehatan manusia.<sup>11</sup>

Jembatan antara keamanan insani dan keamanan negara perihal ancaman kesehatan, terletak pada komunikasi keamanan. Komunikasi berperan sebagai jembatan yang menghubungkan esensi keamanan dengan publik. Dalam konteks keamanan, komunikasi dijadikan sebagai alat yang efektif untuk menyebarkan informasi strategis kepada publik.<sup>12</sup> Komunikasi digunakan sebagai alat untuk mencapai tujuan keamanan melalui strategi pewacanaan yang menuntun publik untuk bisa menerima pilihan strategi sekuritisasi yang dilakukan oleh pemerintah.

Isu kesehatan menjadi agenda yang berdampingan dengan keamanan insani, karena munculnya ancaman kesehatan disebabkan oleh situasi yang merugikan kelangsungan hidup manusia. Kesehatan menjadi agenda keamanan didasarkan kepada risiko yang ditimbulkan. Untuk meminimalkan resiko tersebut, dalam melakukan sekuritisasi kesehatan, perlu juga untuk menelaah strategi tersebut melalui pendekatan komunikasi kesehatan. Komunikasi kesehatan ditempatkan sebagai salah satu bagian yang tidak terpisahkan dari bagian respon kedaruratan dan sistem keamanan dalam menghadapi pandemi.

Penerapan komunikasi kesehatan ketika menjadi bagian dari sekuritisasi kesehatan dalam menghadapi pandemi, bisa dibagi menjadi beberapa strategi, pertama adalah peningkatan kapasitas komunikasi kesehatan publik. Kedua, jejaring mitra kesehatan publik yang dibutuhkan untuk membentuk kesiapan dan keamanan. Ketiga, menggabungkan kesehatan publik dan komunikasi kesehatan kedalam bentuk upaya yang lebih luas untuk membentuk ketahanan komunitas.<sup>13</sup> Keberhasilan dalam menangani pandemi ditentukan oleh kualitas komunikasi kesehatan terkait risiko dan keberbahayaan yang bisa saja muncul. Artikel ini akan melakukan penelaahan secara konseptual perihal hubungan antara pendekatan keamanan dalam menghadapi pandemi yang dijemantani oleh komunikasi kesehatan. Dalam menyusun artikel ini, penulis menggunakan metode *literature review*. Metode *literature review* dilakukan dengan cara mengidentifikasi tema dan

<sup>10</sup> Loccit, Stefan Elbe, hal 163-172.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, Stefan Elbe, hal 163-172.

<sup>12</sup> Brian C.Taylor, Hamilton Bean, Ned O’Gorman, & Rebecca Rice, A fearful engine of power: conceptualizing the communication-security relationship. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 41(2),2017, hal 111-135.

<sup>13</sup> Seeger, M. W., & Sellnow, T. L. (2019). *The handbook of communication history*. In Bryan C. Taylor & H. Bean (Eds.), *The Handbook of Communication History*, New York : Routledge, hal 107-120.

literatur yang relevan dengan tema artikel yang dipilih, yaitu sekuritisasi kesehatan dan komunikasi kesehatan. Pelaksanaan metode literatur review dilakukan dalam 4 tahapan, yaitu *designing the review*, *conducting the review*, *analysis* dan *writing the review*.<sup>14</sup>

## Pembahasan

### *Kesehatan dalam agenda keamanan*

Arnold Wolfers mengatakan; keamanan adalah tanda yang ambigu.<sup>15</sup> Ambiguitas menjadi 'konotas' yang melekat kepada pemaknaan keamanan karena semua tergantung kepada objektifitas dalam melakukan analisa terhadap ancaman dan subjektifitas dalam dalam mempersepsikan ancaman. Selain faktor subjektifitas sekaligus objektifitas dalam menghadapi ancaman, hal lain yang mengemuka adalah persoalan derajat penerimaan dalam menghadapi ancaman.

Dapat dipastikan tidak ada kesamaan derajat ancaman yang dihadapi, sehingga definisi dan operasionalisasi keamanan nasional tidak akan pernah sama. Makna keamanan bagi sebagian pihak tidak bisa dibatasi hanya kepada perdebatan perihal ambiguitas objektifitas dan subjektifitas semata. Keamanan bisa dimaknai sebagai konsekuensi ketika kita merasakan ancaman untuk kehilangan hal yang berharga atau bahkan ketika hal yang berharga tersebut sudah tidak ada dan menjadi hilang.

Masalah ancaman terhadap kesehatan pun menjadi perhatian dunia internasional mengingat risiko yang ditimbulkannya. Oleh karena itu upaya untuk mensekuritisasi kesehatan dituangkan dalam laporan WHO yang berjudul "Keamanan kesehatan global: kewaspadaan epidemi dan respon" dan diuraikan secara rinci dalam laporan "Masa depan yang lebih aman: Keamanan Kesehatan Global di Abad 21". Kedua laporan tersebut menggarisbawahi perihal keamanan kesehatan global sebagai "kegiatan yang diperlukan, baik proaktif dan reaktif, untuk meminimalkan kerentanan terhadap kejadian kesehatan masyarakat yang akut dan membahayakan kesehatan kolektif populasi yang tinggal di seluruh wilayah geografis dan batas internasional" dan ancaman terhadap keamanan kesehatan ditempatkan sebagai ancaman yang memiliki dampak pada "stabilitas ekonomi atau politik, perdagangan, pariwisata, akses ke barang dan jasa dan, jika terjadi berulang kali, pada stabilitas demografis"

Dalam pengertiannya yang lebih luas, keamanan diartikan sebagai ketiadaan ancaman, bahaya dan kewaspadaan untuk mendeteksi dan mengatasi ancaman yang akan datang.<sup>16</sup> Oleh karena itu, keamanan kesehatan ditempatkan sebagai sebuah

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<sup>14</sup> Hannah Snyder, Literature review as a research methodology: An overview and guidelines. Journal of Business Research, 104, (2019), hal 333-339.

<sup>15</sup> Arnold Wolfers, "National Security" as an Ambiguous Symbol. Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 67, No. 4 (Dec.,1952), hal 481-502.

<sup>16</sup> Kathryn E. Bouskill and Elta Smith, Global Health and Security: Threats and Opportunities. Perspective : Expert Insight on A Timely Policy Issue, RAND Corporation (December 2019), hal 1-27.



kesinambungan situasi yang diciptakan untuk kesiapsiagaan. Kesiapsiagaan ini menjadi sebuah proses yang bergulir terus sehingga harus secara rutin difokuskan dan diarahkan untuk bisa mengarah kepada hasil akhir yang ingin dituju.<sup>17</sup>

Kekhawatiran terhadap ancaman kesehatan disebabkan karena kemungkinan terjadinya penyebaran massal penyakit menular yang tidak hanya mengancam individu tetapi juga masyarakat secara keseluruhan. Pun ada juga kekhawatiran bahwa mikroorganisme patogen dapat digunakan sebagai senjata biologi sehingga bisa menimbulkan dampak pada stabilitas sosial, politik dan keamanan sebuah negara. Secara khusus dengan adanya ancaman kesehatan ini maka muncul masalah yang tak terhitung bagi ekonomi dunia, karena munculnya kematian yang tinggi dan mempengaruhi tenaga kerja dan menyebabkan hilangnya kapasitas di sektor sektor utama pasar tenaga kerja.<sup>18</sup>

Dalam melakukan sekuritisasi terhadap kesehatan, ada dua kemungkinan strategi sekuritisasi yang dilakukan. Pertama adalah menjadikan manusia sebagai *referent object* dan menempatkan masalah kesehatan sebagai ancaman terhadap kehidupan dan kesejahteraan manusia. Kedua, adalah menjadikan negara sebagai *referent object* dan menjadikan isu kesehatan sebagai ancaman terhadap perdamaian dunia.<sup>19</sup> Tentunya jika berbicara mengenai esensi keamanan insani yang sebenarnya, fokus *referent object* akan berfokus kepada pendekatan keamanan kesehatan yang berbasis manusia (*people-centered approach*). Memprioritaskan keamanan insani adalah sebuah posisi yang positif, karena ia akan mengutamakan kehidupan manusia dibandingkan kepentingan keamanan negara semata.

Penanganan pandemi yang berbasis kepada *people centered approach*, membutuhkan jembatan komunikasi kesehatan yang baik. Ketika pandemi menyebar dengan cepat ke seluruh dunia, informasi terkait dengan pandemi juga turut menyebar dengan cepat dan dalam jumlah yang banyak. Seketika situasi yang penuh ketidakpastian menyeruak. Tidak bisa diketahui secara pasti informasi yang akurat tentang pandemi yang sedang melanda. Terjadi ledakan informasi sehingga menciptakan kebingungan dan ketakutan pada masyarakat. Muncul tantangan bagi pelaksanaan komunikasi kesehatan untuk dapat memberikan pesan yang jelas dan konsisten untuk dapat dipahami oleh berbagai jenis khalayak.<sup>20</sup>

### ***Sekuritisasi Kesehatan dan Komunikasi Kesehatan***

Salah satu tantangan bagi komunikasi kesehatan saat ini adalah berhadapan dengan masyarakat pasca kebenaran (*post-truth society*). Hal mendasar yang

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, Kathryn E. Bouskill and Elta Smith, hal 1-27.

<sup>18</sup> Loccit, Vanja Rokvic and Zoran Jeftic, hal 53-69.

<sup>19</sup> David. L. Heymann, et.al., Global health security: The wider lessons from the West African ebola virus disease epidemic. The Lancet, 2015, 385, hal 1884-1901.

<sup>20</sup> Caroline Benski., Aya Goto., Creative Health Teams., and Michael R Reich., Developing Health Communication Materials During a Pandemic, Perspective, Frontiers in Communication, Vol 5, November 2020, hal 1-6.

menjadi perhatian bagi masyarakat *post-truth* adalah apakah kebenaran informasi menjadi elemen bagi sebuah komunikasi kesehatan. Munculnya kegentingan dan ketidakpercayaan dari publik kepada koridor komunikasi yang ada, bisa saja terjadi karena bangunan kepercayaan diantara komunikator dengan khalayak tidak berjalan lancar. Tanpa adanya kepercayaan maka sulit untuk bisa menyentuh dimensi kehidupan dari publik sehingga semakin memudar kepercayaan publik terhadap pembuat kebijakan.<sup>21</sup>

Masyarakat *post-truth* memang teridentifikasi sebagai bagian masyarakat yang memiliki tingkat kepercayaan yang rendah kepada sistem pemerintahan. Ada beberapa hal yang bisa menjadi faktor pembuat kepercayaan masyarakat kepada pemerintah, mulai dari pengetahuan dan kepakaran, keterbukaan dan kejujuran, perhatian, kepedulian yang muncul karena adanya kepercayaan, keadilan, kompetensi dan efisien.<sup>22</sup>

Tahun 2016, laporan berjudul *Science Literacy : Concepts, Contexts, and Consequences* dan tahun 2017, laporan berjudul *Communicating Science effectively : A Research Agenda*, memberikan saran agar para ilmuwan bisa mengkomunikasikan kompleksitas nuansa ilmiah dari hasil penelitiannya agar bisa dipahami dan dimanfaatkan oleh masyarakat yang dituju.<sup>23</sup> Kedua laporan mengakui bahwa informasi saja tidak cukup untuk mendorong bagi terjadinya perubahan yang efektif. Informasi dinilai hanya sebagai sebuah prasyarat. Hal yang dibutuhkan untuk membangun kepercayaan kepada masyarakat adalah adanya keterbukaan dan berbagi. Keterbukaan dan berbagi diantara aktor yang menghasilkan pengetahuan, pembuat kebijakan, praktisi dan bisnis.<sup>24</sup>

Faktor untuk bisa menimbulkan kepercayaan publik adalah melalui empati dan transparan. tetapi empati dan transparansi apakah cukup untuk mengkomunikasikan berbagai macam komponen kepercayaan seperti yang telah terdaftar di atas? Kekurangan kepercayaan bisa mengalir dari berbagai macam faktor, mulai dari kurangnya kepercayaan terhadap kompetensi dan pengetahuan dari otoritas, kurangnya kepercayaan terhadap rasa keadilannya, kurangnya kepercayaan terhadap kejujuran, dan seterusnya.<sup>25</sup>

Dalam komunikasi keamanan adalah kunci utama yang akan mempengaruhi keputusan masyarakat untuk melindungi dan mempromosikan kesehatan pada masa krisis kesehatan. Upaya tersebut bergantung kepada kualitas dan penyebaran informasi berdasarkan keilmiahan medis yang akurat. Masyarakat membutuhkan informasi yang selalu siap dan tersedia, mudah diakses dan dapat diandalkan untuk

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<sup>21</sup> Thomas Abraham, Lessons from the pandemic: the need for new tools for risk and outbreak communication. *Emerging Health Threats Journal*, 2011, 4 (1), 7160, hal 1-4.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, Thomas Abraham, 2011, hal 1-4.

<sup>23</sup> Rima E. Rudd., A Call for More Rigor in Science and Health Communication. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 2022, 19, 1825, hal 1-7.

<sup>24</sup> Opcit, Rima E. Rudd., hal 1-7.

<sup>25</sup> Loccit, Thomas Abraham, hal 1-4.



dijadikan rujukan pengambilan keputusan yang tepat dan efektif. Namun, akses ke informasi kesehatan dapat terhambat ketika asumsi dan harapan yang salah menyebabkan ketidaksesuaian antara informasi yang diberikan kepada publik, keterampilan dan kemampuan.

Materi informasi kesehatan dan pesan harus di rancang dalam cara agar semua pihak bisa mengetahui dan tidak ada yang tertinggal. Strategi perancangan komunikasi kesehatan harus ditambah dengan temuan literatur dan literatur penelitian kesehatan. Dengan memberikan penekanan kepada pentingnya informasi, *literacy-related research* berargumen bahwa informasi harus bisa diuji, diartikulasikan secara jelas, bebas jargon, tertata berdasarkan perspektif pengguna, dan di rancang dengan kehati-hatian agar bisa berguna. Pendekatan ini mengalihkan beban literasi dari penerima informasi kepada penyalur informasi dan pada akhirnya kemampuan komunikasi menjadi penting untuk membangun ikatan kepercayaan yang kuat diantara keduanya di masyarakat.

Keterbukaan informasi menjadi pertanyaan tersendiri dalam hal kepercayaan publik. Secara umum, ketika beragam domain menjadi dan telah tersekuritisasi, informasi menjadi akan menjadi lebih terbatas dan terkontrol. Hal ini bisa saja terjadi dengan alasan pertimbangan bahwa keterbukaan informasi justru akan menambah keruwetan risiko yang akan muncul. Pada posisi yang berlawanan, komunikasi kesehatan menekankan kepada keterbukaan dan transparansi. Keterbukaan dan transparansi, sama bobotnya dengan keakuratan keilmuan pesan, akan membantu membentuk pesan kesehatan untuk publik menjadi lebih kredibel. Keterbukaan dan transparansi adalah bagian yang tidak terelakkan ketika terjadi dua kondisi, yaitu *management emergency* (sekuritisasi) dan sistem kesehatan publik.

Hal terpenting dalam melakukan pencegahan penyebaran COVID-19 adalah memberdayakan masyarakat dengan informasi yang benar. Teralalu banyak informasi yang berlebihan yang juga mencuat menjadi '*infodemic*'.<sup>26</sup> Situasi ini justru membuat banyak bermunculan informasi salah dan palsu dimasyarakat terkait dengan Covid-19. Informasi yang efektif adalah yang bersifat proaktif, sopan, imajinatif, inovatif, kreatif, konstruktif, profesional, progresif, energik, *enabling*, *transparent* dan *technology friendly*.<sup>27</sup>

Teknologi secara fundamental telah merubah bentuk alami dari komunikasi, dan tentunya berdampak kepada komunikasi yang memiliki asosiasi dengan kesehatan. Sosial media membuat situasi baru dimana upaya untuk menjangkau publik lebih mudah dilakukan seraya menyebarluaskan perihal keberbahayaan pandemi yang muncul, sekaligus melakukan pengawasan publik, dan membentuk kesadaran situasional kepada publik dan mendapatkan umpan balik perihal pesan yang disampaikan.

<sup>26</sup> Venkatashiva Reddy B., and Arti Gupta., Importance of Effective Communication During COVID-19 Infodemic. *Journal of Family Medicine and Primary Care*, 9(2), 2020, hal 3793-3796.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, Venkatashiva Reddy B., and Arti Gupta., hal 3793-3796.

Dengan ketersediaan teknologi, masyarakat dapat mengakses informasi kesehatan yang bersifat *real-time* dari sumber website terpercaya, sehingga tiap-tiap individu dapat mengedukasi dirinya sendiri dan melakukan lebih banyak kontrol terhadap kesehatannya dirinya sendiri. Disaat yang bersamaan, sosial media telah membentuk permintaan dan tantangan baru kepada pemerintah. Tantangan ini adalah kebutuhan untuk mengatur rumor yang bermunculan di sosial media, melakukan respon secara cepat terhadap isu yang bermunculan dan menyediakan perkembangan informasi secara cepat. Sekali lagi, teknologi semakin meningkatkan derasnya arus informasi sehingga menantang komunikator untuk dapat selalu melakukan kontrol pesan.

Namun permasalahan baru muncul ketika pada gilirannya kontrol informasi malah menjadi pembatas bagi kemampuan publik untuk memahami suatu kondisi terjadi Masyarakat akan merasakan, upaya untuk mengontrol informasi dan membatasinya akan memunculkan permasalahan dalam hal etik, terkait dengan hak individual untuk bisa memiliki akses kepada informasi yang berpengaruh terhadap kesehatan mereka dan resiko yang bisa saja dihadapi.

Semakin informasi di sekuritisasi, ia akan semakin sulit diakses oleh publik. Masa pandemi seperti ini adalah situasi yang menguji komunikasi kesehatan dan komunikasi emergensi. Sekalipun saluran resmi dan pedoman komunikasi sudah disiapkan untuk menghadapi pandemi, namun keluasan dan kedalaman sebuah pandemi akan menjadi tantangan kepada kebermanfaatan dari keberadaan saluran resmi dan pedoman yang ada ketika pandemi terjadi sekaligus belum bisa diprediksi kapan ia berakhir. Jika salah satu tujuan dari komunikasi adalah untuk membangun pemahaman diantara *securitizing actor* dan publik, maka jika muncul tuduhan bahwa ini semua adalah 'pandemi palsu' yang dibuat-buat oleh pemerintah, aktor kesehatan dan industri farmasi maka hal tersebut mutlak menjadi kegagalan dalam melakukan komunikasi kesehatan.<sup>28</sup>

Dengan semakin banyaknya liputan media perihal pandemi, maka semakin terbentuk penerimaan publik bahwa pandemi memiliki hubungan dengan isu keamanan. Ketika penerimaan tersebut sudah terbentuk maka muncul banyak pertanyaan terhadap kemampuan *securitizing actor* untuk menghadapi pandemi tersebut dalam hal kesiapan lini komunikasi kesehatan publik akan semakin menonjol.<sup>29</sup>

Pada saat yang bersamaan, komunikasi kesehatan telah membawa pentingnya sumber komunikasi kepada aras publik dalam hal penyiapan informasi dan keamanan. Dalam bahasa yang sederhana, sekuritisasi terhadap pandemi membutuhkan dukungan kompetensi dan strategi komunikasi kesehatan yang

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<sup>28</sup> Loccit, Thomas Abraham, hal 1-4.

<sup>29</sup> Matthew W. Seeger and Timothy L. Sellnow., Health Communication and Security, dalam Bryan C. Taylor and Hamilton Bean, The Handbook of Communication and Security, Routledge : New York, 2019, hal. 107-120.

sepadan. Pertanyaan penting yang lantas muncul adalah bagaimana melakukan komunikasi kesehatan yang efektif dalam kerangka kebutuhan sekuritisasi yang lebih luas. Integrasi komunikasi kesehatan kepada sekuritisasi pandemi akan terjadi dalam bentuk tanggap darurat yang akan meningkat sejalan dengan efektifitas respon terhadap masalah yang datang.<sup>30</sup>

Melaksanakan komunikasi kesehatan dimasa pandemi membutuhkan semacam '*pivotal adjustments*', terhadap beberapa hal sebagai berikut : pertama, apakah infrastruktur komunikasi kesehatan yang ada saat ini, memang sedari awal dirancang untuk menghadapi situasi pecahnya pandemi ? apakah infrastruktur komunikasi kesehatan yang ada saat ini memang dirancang untuk bisa beroperasi dan bekerja dalam situasi pandemi yang semakin meningkat dan dalam durasi panjang ?

Kedua, apakah komunikator kesehatan harus memiliki kemampuan komunikasi yang cakap dan mumpuni untuk menggunakan medium komunikasi interaktif dan dinamis yang diperantarai oleh internet? Ketiga, kepercayaan adalah prinsip kunci dalam melakukan komunikasi kesehatan dalam situasi pandemi, lalu bagaimana cara dan strategi melakukan komunikasi yang efektif ditengah masyarakat yang sedang menghadapi pandemi seperti saat ini? Keempat, pandemi tidak bisa dilepaskan dari dimensi politik, sosial, ekonomi dan juga kesehatan publik. Komunikator komunikasi kesehatan harus mampu memahami dan menggunakan hal tersebut sebagai latar belakang sebelum membangun sebuah strategi komunikasi.

Pada banyak negara berkembang, komunikasi kesehatan dinilai efektif jika bisa 'pro terhadap kalangan miskin' dan 'pro terhadap kalangan rentan'. Ini khas ditemukan pada negara berkembang, dimana masyarakat masih banyak yang tinggal di daerah yang minim pembangunan dan bertautan dengan rendahnya derajat pendidikan dan terbatasnya akses kepada fasilitas sosial. Dengan prakondisi situasi yang ada seperti ini, maka komunikasi kesehatan yang dilakukan harus sudah mempertimbangkan ketidaksetaraan, kerentanan sosial yang sudah ada, dengan tujuan adalah untuk mencegah munculnya kepanikan dan juga menekan meningkatnya angka infeksi secara signifikan.<sup>31</sup>

Tidak mudah untuk melakukan praktek komunikasi kesehatan untuk membuat perubahan kepada perilaku masyarakat berdasarkan praktik komunikasi kesehatan yang dilakukan. Situasi sosial masyarakat sudah tertata berdasarkan struktur ekonomi dan sosial yang tidak sama. Menyadari kondisi tersebut maka tidak mudah untuk melakukan sekuritisasi pandemi sekaligus menggunakan strategi komunikasi keamanan untuk mencapai perubahan perilaku di tingkat masyarakat. Ketimpangan pada masyarakat menjadi tantangan kepada pelaksana komunikasi kesehatan untuk tetap bisa menyampaikan informasi yang relevan. Sehingga

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, Matthew W. Seeger and Timothy L. Sellnow., 2019, hal 107-120.

<sup>31</sup> Ochea A. Ataguba., and John E. Ataguba., Social determinants of health: the role of effective communication in the COVID-19 pandemic in developing countries. *Global Health Action*, 2020, 13 (1), hal 1-6.

strategi komunikasi kesehatan dapat mempertimbangkan beberapa hal sebagai berikut : pertama, siapa yang dinilai atau dianggap sebagai sumber terpercaya yang bisa menyediakan informasi yang dibutuhkan. Kedua, siapa yang dinilai cocok dan tepat sebagai komunikator untuk mengoperasionalkan sekuritisasi pandemi melalui komunikasi kesehatan. Ketiga, seperti apa pesan yang sekiranya efektif untuk disampaikan berdasarkan kondisi yang spesifik dihadapi. Keempat, seperti apa pesan yang memiliki sensitifitas dan cocok dengan perbedaan nilai, budaya dan sistem kepercayaan. Kelima, seperti apa pesan yang dapat menaikkan isu moral dan etik. Keenam, dimana, kapan dan bagaimana melakukan komunikasi kepada populasi yang berasal dari grup yang berbeda.<sup>32</sup>

Dalam praktiknya, sulit untuk dapat membangun kepercayaan ketika strategi komunikasi kesehatan tidak dirancang bersifat adaptif terhadap dinamika politik yang terjadi dan pada sisi yang lain pergerakan angka korban pandemi selalu meningkat. Jika komunikasi kesehatan menginginkan terjadinya perubahan perilaku masyarakat dalam jangka waktu yang lama, maka perlu dilakukan serangkaian penelitian dengan agenda untuk mengetahui bagaimana efektifitas penggunaan internet, penelitian dengan agenda untuk mengukur efektifitas komunikasi untuk membangun kepercayaan dan juga mengembangkan semacam panduan dan prinsip dalam melakukan komunikasi ketika terjadi dinamika politik disaat pandemi melanda.<sup>33</sup>

Dalam skenario jangka panjang, sekuritisasi melalui komunikasi kesehatan yang dilakukan bertujuan untuk mempromosikan kesehatan dengan berfokus kepada perubahan perilaku seperti etika batuk, menjaga kebersihan tangan dan dalam masyarakat yang mapan adalah sikap untuk mau melakukan vaksin secara reguler. Kesemua hal tersebut dapat tercapai melalui efektifitas komunikasi kesehatan. Risiko yang bisa muncul ketika komunikas dilakukan tidak secara efektif, dalam jangka pendek dan jangka panjang akan membawa efek kepada ekonomi, penularan, kematian, kepercayaan dan reputasi *securitizing actor*.

## Penutup

Rancangan strategi komunikasi kesehatan memegang peranan penting dalam strategi sekuritisasi. Ketika krisis terjadi dengan meluasnya pandemi maka detail implementasi strategi komunikasi kesehatan bisa diterapkan melalui kanal komunikasi yang formal dan panduan menghadapi pandemi. Namun demikian, perlu dicermati bahwa strategi sekuritisasi menggunakan komunikasi kesehatan membutuhkan sumber daya yang cakap.

Jangan dilupakan bahwa keberhasilan komunikasi kesehatan didasarkan juga pada keragaman latar belakang kehidupan dari tiap manusia yang ingin disapa,

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid, Ochea A. Ataguba., and John E. Ataguba., hal 1-6.

<sup>33</sup> Loccit, Thomas Abraham, hal 1-4.

termasuk penggunaan bahasa untuk menyebarluaskan informasi. Komunikasi kesehatan ketika pandemi melanda justru diarahkan agar tidak terlalu memberikan keyakinan berlebih pada masa sulit tersebut. Melalui efektifitas komunikasi kesehatan, perlu dikembangkan semangat kemasyarakatan dan penghargaan sesama masyarakat.

Strategi sekuritisasi dengan menggunakan jalur komunikasi kesehatan adalah melakukan diseminasi mengenai informasi kepada populasi yang dituju secara akurat dan tepat waktu. Pada kesempatan yang lain, sekuritisasi melalui komunikasi kesehatan mengasumsikan bahwa terjadi kegentingan yang nyata di lapangan. Dengan kategorisasi tersebut, terbentuk juga kebutuhan kesiapan dan respons dari strategi sekuritisasi komunikasi kesehatan untuk melindungi masyarakat.

Efektifitas komunikasi kesehatan harus dilandasi kepada perbedaan krisis yang dihadapi, sehingga selalu ada penyesuaian dan adaptasi terhadap strategi yang dipilih. Sebagai contoh adalah situasi krisis yang dialami negara yang turut diperparah dengan ketiadaan sumber informasi yang dapat dipercaya dan bias dari laporan media, maka strategi komunikasi kesehatan harus mengatasi permasalahan itu terlebih dahulu.

Ditengah masyarakat yang disatu sisi mempercayai informasi yang didapatkan dari sosial media dan media konvensional namun disisi juga terjadi praktek komunikasi *'word of mouth'* dalam menyebarkan informasi terkait pandemi. Justru informasi yang bersifat informal yang tidak akurat dan tidak terverifikasi seperti itu yang cepat meluas dan pada ujungnya berkontribusi terhadap munculnya *'infodemic'* yang justru akan semakin memperburuk situasi. Faktanya, ketika pandemi pertama kali meluas, sosial media malah menjadi tempat dimana informasi yang prematur saling dipertukarkan, informasi yang tidak terverifikasi bertebaran dengan resiko akan menimbulkan kerugian kepada masyarakat.

Selain resiko terjangkit virus yang sedang meluas, resiko lainnya yang turut muncul adalah terjadinya miskomunikasi, terutama ketika kepercayaan dan kredibilitas kepada otoritas dan pemerintah telah terkikis. Sehingga yang terpenting adalah proses komunikasi kesehatan harus mengandung elemen kepercayaan, kredibilitas, kejujuran, transparansi dan akuntabilitas terkait dengan sumber informasi. Penting lagi untuk mengetahui persepsi dari risiko yang berdeteminasi terhadap bagaimana masyarakat memberikan respon terhadap pandemi.

Sekuritisasi dan komunikasi kesehatan menimbulkan kepercayaan kepada otoritas, menghilangkan berita dan informasi palsu yang tidak terverifikasi, serta berkontribusi kepada keputusan masyarakat dan tindakan untuk meningkatkan kesehatan publik dan populasi selama krisis pandemi terjadi. Terutama bagi kalangan miskin dan rentan, harus relevan secara lokal dalam hal bahasa dan budaya. Sekalipun tidak ada satu strategi yang cocok untuk semua kondisi, akan tetapi penting untuk memahami jalur komunikasi utama yang digunakan oleh populasi yang berbeda dalam merancang strategi tanpa hanya sekedar mereplikasi strategi tradisional yang ada.

Pandemi covid menunjukkan bahwa kebutuhan komunikasi berubah dari waktu ke waktu. Ketika masa inkubasi awal, masyarakat membutuhkan informasi perihal apa yang harus dilakukan untuk mengurangi penularan serta saran pengobatan. Tetapi ketika pandemi berlanjut, maka kebutuhan informasi masyarakat menjadi semakin lebih kompleks seperti kebutuhan untuk vaksinasi, keamanan vaksin, halal atau tidaknya vaksin, kewaspadaan yang berkelanjutan serta pertanyaan tentang kualitas respons kesehatan masyarakat terhadap pandemi dan pertanyaan tentang akuntabilitas, biaya dan seterusnya.

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