

Terrorism and Consumerism: An Analysis of Terrorism Development in Zygmunt Bauman's Liquid Modernity based on Paul Ricoeur's Critique of Ideology

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Abstract: Globalization is an era that is marked by the ease of interaction and the exchange information all over the world. It encourages people to continue following the movements of the world, as an effort to survive, or what Bauman named it as survival-and-gratification consumerism method. The pattern of consumerism leads to the existence of flawed consumers, namely those who are unable to keep up the global world movement in liquid modernity era. In the midst of liquid modernity, Bauman thought that the presence of terrorism is not possible. Using descriptive analysis and alternative explanation methods, this study found that some of the premises or reasons used by Bauman to support his claims contains logical inconsistencies if traced in fundamentalist ideology. By rectifying some of the inconsistencies found in Bauman's concept, this study found that terrorism remained undoubtedly in the era of liquid modernity, even showing its still growth as a result of liquid modernity, not as something that was separated from it. In addition, this research also found that terrorism has already become an identity, or what Paul Ricoeur calls as a distortion and a dissimulation of ideology, therefore critique of ideology is needed to overcome this problem.

1 INTRODUCTION

Today we are living in the era of globalization marked by the massive increase of use of information technology which makes states borders fade. The impact of globalization is the emergence what is called *liquid modernity* with its signs of uncertainty and rapid changes which were not predicted before. This condition makes the society unstable and is full of uncertainty. At the same time there appears to be *society of consumers* in which maximum satisfaction can never be reached because the ending point of consumerism keeps moving on. "*In the consumer race the finishing line always moves faster than the fastest of runners*" (Bauman, 2000: 72).

The direct impact of consumerism and uncertainty in this era is the changes in rate standard of happiness. In the past, people looked for heavenly happiness through standardized values and religious morals but now people look for happiness in this

world through what they call *earthy life*. Therefore, there is no room for the absolute religious

fundamentalists and and terrorist group. This is due to the fact that terrorism is against the principles of *liquid modernity*. The truth offered by the fundamentalists is absolute about the happiness in heaven, or future life, while this is in contrast with the characteristics of *liquid modernity*. So, according to Bauman, *liquid modernity* does not allow room for fundamentalist movement including terrorism. "*The liquid modern, consumer society settled in the affluent part of the globe has no room for either martyrs or heroes*" (Bauman, 2005b: 47).

The idea of the failure of fundamentalism and terrorisms in the globalization era is agreed by Audrey Kurth Cronin as written in his research titled *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism*. He summarized that globalization can help curb terrorism through international relationship among countries. Nahla Shahrouri noted the same thing as presented in his research titled "*Does a Link Exist between Democracy and Terrorism?*" which concluded that democracy is the way out to prevent and reduce the growth of terrorism.

The statements above are all interesting to investigate further as some other researches posted various findings and contradicted the existence of

fundamentalism and terrorism in the era of *liquid modernity*. In 2013, Mark Davis wrote a research about *liquid modernity* and its relation with depression and solitude titled *Hurried Life: Dialectics of Time and Technology in Liquid Modernity*. The findings of his research state that the advance of communication technology is expected to increase connectivity among individuals as well as save time in doing activities, but, on the other hand, it also increases depression and solitude. What's more, it also creates marginal community economically and politically, especially those in susceptible productive age. According to Tinka Veldhuis & Jørgen Staun in their writing titled *Islamist Radicalisation: A Root Cause Model*, they claimed that the increase of marginal community and crisis in identity cause people to be fundamentalists and terrorists as solution of their inability to follow the wave of changes and uncertainty of global world, especially political, cultural, economical global changes (Tinka, & Jørgen, 2009; 63-64).

The same perspective is also presented by Wilkinson in his writing, *A World Uuthority in Internationl Relations and a Pioneer of the Study of Terrorism and Political violence* which says that the movement of terrorism starts from the marginal community either one of these; exclusion in religion, nation, separation, religious fundamental, political ideology or other (Sandler, Todd, 2013: 7). Research done by Nahla Shahroui which claimed that democracy is a way out to prevent and curb the development of terrorism is also antithesis with the claim by Sadler which stated that the likelihood of terrorism spread is more in democratic government than in autocratic government (Sandler, Todd, 2013: 8).

In line with Sandler's perspective, there have been a number and development of radical organizations in Indonesia after the fall of autocratic New Order or in Reform Era, such as MMI, HTI, and lately Ansharu d-daulah and ansharu l-khilafah. The same thing can be observed in Egypt in 2011 when the autocratic regime led by Husni Mubarak was defeated by The Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) in general election. FJP is actually a political party owned by Ikhwanul Muslimin, an Egyptian Islamic Fundamental Party.

According to *Global Terrorism Index*, even though there has been a decline in the number of percentage of loss in economy as a result of terrorism at 7%, from US\$104 billion in 2014 to US\$84 billion in 2016, this is still considered significant loss in economy. Since 2001, there have been three major causes of loss in global economy. The first wave that took place in 2001 was 9/11 attack which claimed loss

of US\$65 billion. This excluded the indirect loss which affected the economic system of the US, which ranged between 0.7 and 1% of its *GDP (Gross Domestic Product)*, or about US\$190 billion. The second wave happened in 2007, which was indicated by terrorist movement in Iraq. This was closely related to the massive activities of Al-Qa'ida and its allies. Next development occurred in Syria and Iraq beginning in 2013 when ISIS caused loss of US\$84 billion by 2016. (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2017: 82).

Based on the above explanation, the author thinks that fundamentalist and terrorist movement is still a threat in the era of *liquid modernity* and its existence is still on. So, it is prudent to further investigate and analyze the root causes. This research also claims that consumerism pattern and the absence of absolute values which are the two special characteristics of *liquid modernity* will still be the factors that can cause terrorism even can become the factor to support their spread and ideology growth. The author therefore refutes the claim by Bauman on the failure of fundamentalists and terrorists in the era of *liquid modernity*.

2 ZYGMUNT BAUMAN: SOLID MODERNITY AND LIQUID MODERNITY

Zygmunt Bauman was born in Poznań, Polandia, on November 19, 1925 and died at the beginning of 2017. Bauman was born in a Jewish family. His background really influenced his development of thoughts about *liquid modernity*. For Bauman, there is no significant gap between Pasca Modernity and Modernity. What is called pasca modernity for him is called *liquid modernity*. If modernity was signalled by the emergence of industrial revolution initiated by IP and technology with human as the center of the universe, while universe is considered as object being exploited. Human in modernity is considered as the designer as well as the ruler to conquer the universe (Robet, 2016: 143). Bauman emphasized modernity as 'an age of gardeners' who treat society as a virgin plot of land expertly designed and then cultivated and doctored to keep till the design form" (Bauman, 1989:113). Historically, modernity refers to the formation of society in Europe in 17th and 18th centuries guided by enlightenment about human reasonality. In the present day, human is optimistic that IP and technology can determine the future of nature and human. On moral side, Bauman

formulated modern era as a war and human liberation from mysteries and magics and a foundation for human reasonability and freedom, as he said, “*The war against mystery and magic was for modernity the war liberation leading to declaration of reason’s independence*” (Bauman, 1992).

Modernity is also marked by the strong roles of three pillars; state, religion and moral which he called the strong roles of the big others (Myrs, 2003:35). For Bauman, *liquid modernity* can be seen the liquid life. Zygmunt Bauman firstly named the term of *liquid modernity* on *Liquid Life* (2005). Bauman said that *Liquid life is “a precarious life, living under conditions of constant uncertainty”* (Bauman, 2005: 2). In *liquid modernity* human lives in uncertainty and permanent conflict as a result of rapid changes, so he cannot live his life as a routine (Bauman, 2005a: 1). In this condition, the way that human behaves is determined by his ability to get involved in media as the logic of news, and because everyday the news changes and opens for new unpredicted possibilities, many things are not permanent. Everything in *liquid modernity* must be *liquid* and *fluid* so that it can sustain in the stream of changes. “*‘Solidity’ is now a synonym of ‘waste’*” (Bauman, 2005a: 89). That’s why, every individual is pushed to constantly change. As a result, human loses his substantial foundation to build life of certainty.

The constant changes cause unstable condition in the society, uncertain situation and loss of trust. The biggest fear and worries in this era are being afraid to fail to catch up with the rapid changes of an event, and consequently one can be left behind. Every event that happens in *liquid modernity* is the time flow of *pointillist*, which is time flow that is unlikely to be consistent. In the model of time flow of *pointillist*, continual concept is not available (Bauman, 2007: 33). All events taking place in *liquid modernity* are separated events from one to another, so for Bauman, the continual concept can not be implemented. The progressive concept in *liquid modernity* is not a continual or developing concept, nor improvement, but it is a repetitive short pattern that aims to make sure everything is alright in short time, or “*staying alive and well*”. When in *solid modernity*, the past is considered determining factor for what will happen in the future, in *liquid modernity* this does not apply. The past and the future are not interrelated; what happened in the past will not cause the future. According to him, what has been disconnected, or separated, cannot be connected again. By entering the era of *liquid modernity*, presupposition of the concept of totality, either the future or the past, has to be left behind (Bauman, 2005b: 22).

Something important happening today is how one can maximize his power and ability to experience and go beyond the changes that exist or may exist, like a media containing countless opportunities, even totalling more than individual’s opportunities to feel every single available change. Consequently, what happens is every individual does not focus on exploring one object more deeply, but focuses on maintaining his ability to follow changes. Each individual will have to be forced to be aware of every possibility of what will happen. Generally, flexibility, willingness, and readiness to follow the changes are important aspects to sustain in *liquid modernity*. Due to rapid changes in *liquid modernity*, this invalidates the concept of loyalty to something that is certain and absolute including religious teachings or moral system. What is considered good today can change to be poison next day, as Bauman said, “*Whatever is good for you today, may be reclassified as your poison tomorrow*”. *Liquid modernity* does not give opportunity to sustain in one spot.

3 RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses the qualitative method through primer reference, reference comparison, selection and reference selection, matching concepts related references, and reference analysis related to the cases of fundamentalism in the era of *liquid modernity*. We also establish synchronization between findings in references and in cases. Later, analysis-descriptive method is done to give conceptual analysis and critical analysis on the thoughts of Zygmunt Bauman on *liquid modernity* and consumerism and their relation with terrorism phenomenon.

The writer also uses the method of alternative-explanation. In philosophy, finding alternative explanation is an activity which is done when the present explanation is considered insufficient, incomplete or contains distortion (Baggini & Fosl, 2003: 72). This method is done by asking critical and deep questions. The responses to the questions are combined with the available literature and the author’s experience and reflexion to come to a distinguished explanation different from the general ones.

The two methods are chosen based on the characteristics of problems being investigated which are the thoughts of Baumann on the failure of fundamentalism and terrorism in the era of *liquid modernity*. The author thinks that the thoughts of Bauman on the failure of fundamentalism and terrorism in the era of *liquid modernity* have defects

and therefore need to be investigated further. The significance of using alternative explanation appears after the author thinks that the general explanations on the problems of fundamentalism and terrorism and their causes are still far from satisfaction, so this triggers the author to try to come up with a different explanation in the hope that the community will have various and rich perspectives on the phenomenon of fundamentalism and terrorism in this era of *liquid modernity*. This research offers solutions to the spread and growth of fundamentalism and terrorism and that their existence at this time is not solely due to economical factor or the factor of illiteracy of the perpetrators but the phenomenon has become the problem of ideology and the solution needs critique over fundamentalist ideology in the era of *liquid modernity* and this needs to be done using the approach of critique of ideology by Paul Ricoeur.

For Ricoeur, the approach of critique of ideology is an effort to uncover the hidden meanings of the sacred texts that used by terrorism as an ideological text that is able to legitimize the terror actions. The interpretation is an activity of reason to open one by one the level of symbolic meaning behind the literal meaning by taking distance and behaving critically towards what is called "ideal", because ideology is often distorted and assumed with heaven illusion. This is necessary to purify the religious understanding from illusions.

4 CHALLENGES IN LIQUID MODERNITY

The idea of Bauman's *liquid modernity* is a form of disagreement or modification of idea presented by Ulrich Beck, which says that the characteristics of modernity era is the existence of the process of *disembedding* and *re-embedding* (Atkinson, 2008: 5). However, this relation is not valid anymore today, according to Bauman. In liquid modernity what happens is *disembedding* process without *re-embedding*. Individuals are disconnected and marginalized from their environment, but there is no new environment waiting to accommodate these individuals. What happens is each individual stops at a disconnecting phase and has to continue moving with flexible identity while building identity through consumption.

Liquid life grows in *liquid society* and each individual in *liquid society* has to be a consumer in the consumerism pattern. The law and the pattern of consumerism is the impossibility of finished

satisfaction with assumption that what happens today is only a small part of millions of opportunities that have to be chased to get the next satisfaction. The point of maximum satisfaction will always move forward faster than what can be achieved by individual. Even though each individual realizes that he will not get maximum satisfaction, all individuals in *liquid modernity*, in reality, will continue to consume. This is based on the starting point that the most important is becoming *survival-and-gratification consumerism* to sustain or survive. *Survival-and-gratification consumerism* puts forward consumerism as a means of improving self in participating in modernization stream. At this time, people have shifted themselves from producers to consumers. Consumerism in *liquid modernity* is not interpreted as consuming activities to fulfil the need of individual, but consuming products as a form of freedom or embodiment of wants. Bauman quoted the statement of Harvie Ferguson, who says that the present consumerism is not stimulated by desire anymore but by wish and fantasy (Bauman, 2000: 75). In *liquid modernity*, consumption activities are solely based on freedom of choice and ability of each individual. When consumption activities are assumed as materialization of an ideal form, today it goes the other way round which is an idealization process of material form.

Consumption activities are personal activities because the experience of these activities is purely subjective experience of each individual or consumer. There is no right-wrong value in the choice of the consumer; each choice has its own right. This is based by a concept that the most important is not what is chosen, but the process in choosing. It is then realized that what is interesting in consumerism is how the responsibility is all on each individual. The freedom received by each individual, on one hand, burdens the individual with responsibility afterward. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction is solely something each individual should bear (Bauman, 2000:19).

The happiness received from consuming is measured by level of satisfaction received even though this is difficult to achieve considering the volume total and intensity of one's wants will continue to increase and dissatisfaction becomes the energy of consumerism. The improvement of the two above influences the speed of object substitution which is expected to give satisfaction. The continuity of *consumer society* depends on social ability to maintain the dissatisfaction which then becomes the trigger in searching the new satisfaction. Promises offered by producers can be interesting only when the satisfaction from the goods does not *completely*

satisfy. One of many ways to do is minimizing the satisfaction score of an object slowly, so society cannot reach the point of satisfaction and can cause them to be addicted to consuming. Each promise about satisfaction presented by the producer on an object has to be cancelled, so frustration can be created to chase the satisfaction.

The pattern in *consumer society*, according to Norbert Elias, quoted by Bauman, was identical to '*Society of Individuals*'. Elias redefined the concept of society and individual by replacing the term of '*and*' or '*versus*', which is usually used as connectors, with '*of*'. According to him, relation of *society* and *individuals* is not contradicting relation or separated, but the relation is '*reciprocal conception*'. Society forms individual members in it, and all individuals form society through their activities in the connectedness of social networks (Bauman, 2000: 30). Up to this point, the concept of society and individual looks separated; is it the society that forms individuals or the other way round. In reality, both of them are interrelated. It is correct if we say that individuals form society, but it is wrong if the meaning of that relationship is one way only. The society formed by individuals will then form the individuals themselves.

It is unavoidable, in *consumer society*, that the process of individualization can happen. In this phase, identity is no longer something that is given, but something that is formed and burdens the actor to be fully responsible. Although it was described that it was possible when individuals get together in a room and their presence confirms social acceptance, in reality it was only an *action*, not *inter-action*. Individuals are still compartmentalized in an effort to pursue their own satisfaction and interaction among them are getting less. The characteristics in *liquid modernity* are how to continually make ourselves happy and not to interfere in other people's affairs. Interfering in other people's affairs will only make someone become dependent turning him into passive person and this is something we need to avoid in this era.

In *liquid modernity*, identity building is fully up to each individual with his ability and his idol. Desire turmoil to own identity is based on instability built in *liquid modernity*. The uncertainty in *liquid modernity* and the feeling of present ambiguity trigger each individual to form identity as a sign of his participation in something and to gain 'access', such as security and recognition which can only be gained through that identity. Identity building then becomes necessity in group to get the level of security and strength in participating in the stream of changes.

Here, the identity concept is distinguished from the concept of citizenship. The concept of citizenship cannot fully explain individual experience naturally and it cannot alone prove the facts of individual's life. According to Bauman, the concept of citizenship is not more than 'forced, given, constructed' identity by the state to its people due to certain reasons. Citizenship is solid and cannot change, but identity itself is precisely a neverending job, something that can never be fulfilled, a continual thing. Different from the concept of identity, in citizenship there is no competition. Citizenship is only a constructed identity created by state and its personnel aiming at monopolizing and giving distinction between 'us' and 'them' (Bauman, 2004: 22).

The basic problem that appears in regard to *consumer society* is the appearance of social groups in a different social relation. The impact of this was explained through a metaphor; that is as tourist and the homeless (Peter, 2004: 2). In *liquid modernity*, social disparity is experienced differently by the tourists and the vagabonds. The tourists is the group who has access and sufficient resources to follow the changes. For the tourists, *liquid modernity* provides various means, convenience and commodity that can be faced with consumption. This group comes from individuals who are at the highest level of social pyramid. In contrast, the vagabonds are those who do not have sufficient equipment to go round or those who are at the lowest position of the pyramid. The most basic of social obligations, which they do not comply, is the duty to be active and effective purchasers of goods and services offered by the market (Palese, 2013: 2). Their existence is considered unimportant and is not needed, so their existence is underestimated and made a scapegoat of global problem (Peter, 2004: 3). They are marginalized and imprisoned because of their limitations in economy (Bauman, 1997: 92). They are even unable to bear freedom, like a child who cannot manage himself but needs to be managed (Bauman, 2005b: 111).

5 FUNDAMENTALISM AS EMBODIMENT OF FLAWED CONSUMERISM

As mentioned earlier, Bauman is convinced about his idea that says that in *liquid modernity* there is no possibility of room for fundamentalism including terrorism. This is due to the fact that the basic principles of terrorism are considered against the main principles of *liquid modernity*, that is eternal happiness. In the imagination of fundamentalists, especially the terrorists, promoting eternal life in the hereafter on behalf of their religion is against the concepts of happiness in *earthy life* embraced in *liquid modernity*. Postponing happiness today for the purpose of having it in the hereafter is considered too imaginative. Other than that, sacrificing one's own life on behalf of religion or group cannot be accepted in the thoughts of Bauman because, according to him, individual happiness is the main aspect in this era. He insisted that everything with its potential to present satisfaction should also be consumed at the present moment before it turns into necessity (Bauman, 2004: 74). For Bauman, Fundamentalists are not more than flawed consumers who are not important and are not able to follow the changes in *liquid modernity*, so they will be excommunicated and they cannot survive.

Flawed consumers presented by Bauman, according to the author, are not a representation of all individuals who are not able to follow the changes in *liquid modernity*. For the author, it is considered too simple because it takes only economical aspect into account. Bauman put aside the possibility that there are individuals who are capable to consume and follow the changes but do not want to do it. The concept of "You can, therefore, you ought" (Bauman, 2013: 51) proposed by him clearly shows that he focused on the importance of ability not the willingness of the individuals. There is then a gap of inconsistency in his thoughts. It can be interpreted that he is not able to see the existence of *middleman minorities*, the individuals who are able to follow the changes but do not have the opportunity as they are minority and then tend to get involved in fundamentalist movement as they have access to globalization as well as alienated from it. The existence of *middleman minorities* refutes the idea presented by Bauman that the ability in finance is not the same as the ability to follow the changes in *liquid modernity*. *Middleman minorities* are minority group who come from middle class. They come from different backgrounds; either ethnics, culture or superordinate or subordinate group (Portes: 4). The

presence of *middleman minorities* in *liquid modernity* refutes the idea of Bauman.

Fundamentalism and terrorism are possibly present and develop in *liquid modernity*. This can happen due to the fact that in *liquid modernity* someone can be trapped when pursuing his happiness only to himself. The increased level of individualism in *liquid modernity* is parallel movement with rate of depression. Individual feels that depression and thinks that his life is no longer meaningful and this is the time when they are easily influenced by the ideas of fundamentalism and radicalism which promise the meaning of life and utopian eternal life. Therefore, the consumerism pattern in *liquid modernity* which is firstly considered to able to curb the development of fundamentalist movement, in contrast, contributes to the its development by separating those who are capable to follow the changes from those who do not. In addition, the ease of information sharing, on one hand, has its noble function to bridge nations by establishing cooperation on security system to eradicate the terrorist movement but, on the other hand, it provides room and helps develop the terrorist movement and escalate terror scale by spreading news which is not certainly true.

The fast changes in *liquid modernity* followed by the loss of solid guidance and universal norm can cause true-false value to be shaky. The shakiness and the intention of people to take control and have a free life in *liquid modernity* supports and develops the fundamentalist groups. People are losing their way to let out their frustration (Robet:146). In addition, the pattern of consumerism in *liquid modernity* also participates in this support as it, on one hand, forces individuals to catch up with the changes and, on the other hand, it also separates those who are not able to follow the changes or who do not want to follow the changes from social environment, so the alienation can take place.

The alienation felt by marginalized individuals helps them form exclusive identity. They identify themselves as others who are separated from their surrounding. Their exclusive identity is formed in *enclave* or small group. Even though they live in *liquid modernity* and consumerism, the pattern of life they apply in *enclave* is totally different from *liquid modernity*. Their traditional way of thinking can still be found in this *enclave*, that there is something that is considered as the basis of decision making.

The flawed consumers that Bauman considered as useless and unable to do things then become potential to fall to terrorism after they identify themselves as people with exclusive identity in the *enclave*. They form this in the group that they create.

They can be analogized as immigrants with their minority status who come to and blend with the majority who are totally different from them. Those who act differently from *liquid modernity* and those who are marginalized then form their own groups, enclave-group separated from the surrounding. The forming of the group is based on their unwillingness to leave their traditional values that they embrace or perhaps they are rejected by the majority due to race, religion or other consideration (Portes, Alejandro., dan Robert D. Manning, TT: 2).

They are present by promising utopian condition that they will obtain later that their efforts will be rewarded with eternal happiness that cannot be felt in *liquid modernity*. To fully become liyan (the others), this group then use violence and terror in their efforts to create instability in the society. This group also believes in something solid, the eternal happiness, something that is the opposite of the thoughts of Bauman in *liquid modernity*.

Bauman second argument that says that it is impossible for something solid to exist in *liquid modernity* finally become contrast to the thoughts of Beck that Bauman denied. The statement of Bauman that in *liquid modernity* there is a process of *disembedding* without *re-embedding*, is in contrast with the concept of that there is 'something' waiting there outside to welcome abandoned individuals from their class or group (Atkinson, 2008: 5). Bauman claimed that free identity forming in each individual shows that there is always *disembedding* and what left is the uncertainty and non-attachment. However, Bauman also stated that each individual in forming identity has to consume as realization of identity. This can be interpreted that the process of consumption is the same as the process of *re-embedding* presented by Beck, that says that there is something solid in *liquid modernity* and that is a stepping stone to move from one spot to another. Consequently, it shows that *liquid modernity* is not fully free from solid substance. The substance is solid but the process to gain the substance that changes into liquid.

Inconsistency in the thoughts of Bauman can also be seen in his statement that uncertainty stemmed from *liquid modernity* impacts the relation pattern formed in society. To realize or not, individuals who are haunted by fear of exclusion will look for individual who can accompany and help him and finally togetherness and solidarity can emerge (Bauman, 2004: 47). To conclude, fundamentalist movement is able to promise the 'reborn' for its followers, and is able to create solidarity and togetherness that cannot be provided by *liquid modernity*. Human basically when in crisis will create

bond in group to stay away from fear and various actions. These actions can be done through terror in society that creates chaos.

The idea of Bauman about fundamentalism and terrorism is naive idea as it states the relation in life is only black-white, like two opposing points. From his points of view, the continual changes justify that there is no possibility for terrorism to develop. However, in reality, the black-white relation cannot fully be implemented in life as there are a lot of variables to consider. Bauman concluded when someone is not in A position, it is sure he is not in B position; there is no other option. The fact is not like that, there are more possibilities 'than A'. The existence of liquid identity or *liquid modernity* cannot make it in contrast or separated from solid identity like fundamentalism and terrorisms because the two can relate to and influence each other.

It is neither the poverty nor disability that is the main cause of the spread of terrorism but it is the basis, alienation. When alienated, someone can be easily spoon-fed with utopian ideology, imagination of heaven and illusion of happiness by participating, bonding himself with the life in enclave. So, poverty, disability, low education, mental instability are factors that support someone to accept the ideology of fundamentalism and terrorism, ideology factors. However, it does not mean that some factors above cannot have significant roles to trigger the emergence of terrorism.

From the explanation above, it is clear that fundamentalism and terrorism are actually the impacts of *liquid modernity*. Looking at the pattern taking place in *liquid modernity*; consumerism, alienation, fundamentalist group, and terrorisms, it is not impossible for terrorism to emerge and develop. Terrorism is started with the *enclave* formation or fundamentalist group who see that there is nothing fundamental in *liquid modernity*. This fundamentalist group consists of individuals who are exclusive; those who are separated from their environment due to their non-participation in consumerism pattern which means they are not considered present in *liquid modernity*.

6 CRITIQUE OF IDEOLOGY: SOLUTION OF IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF FUNDAMENTALIST MOVEMENT

In the uncertainty of *liquid modernity*, fundamentalist and terrorist groups cover their teaching with ideology that promises utopian eternal happiness. The birth of fundamentalist movement is not solely as an effort to search for eternal happiness. Like other ideology, this movement embarks from the political interest. In the era of *liquid modernity*, this interest is the feeling of involvement in group as an effort to form identity. What is offered by fundamentalist movement is eternal happiness. But what is true is that they want to obtain identity and secure feeling for the flawed consumers provided by the movement of fundamentalism.

So, it is not a surprise when we find individuals who are strong in finance, good in education but endocritized by the terrorism teaching. As can be seen in the latest suicide bombing committed by a family of 6 members in three churches, in Surabaya East Java (13/5). When investigated further, it is known that they came from middle class and all members had adequate education. It is for sure that the parents decided not to send the children to formal school as they were afraid the children would receive different ideology from what the parents embraced.

"Certainty" is something promised by fundamentalist movement, selling that there is something solid in the middle of *liquid modernity*. This utopian promise is used to be the hegemony by the fundamentalist movement to add power and to help spread their teaching. It happens here that the schematic process of ideology of system of thoughts into faith and into doctrine (Ricoeur, 1991:310-312). As it is doctrinal, the fundamentalists often use the ideology into slogan, such as '*it is better to die as martyr than live in uncertainty*'. This distorted message of ideology in the society is something that is difficult to control and what's more, because its message is to comusplage the present reality or to gain power in the interest of the individual who conducts the doctrine. To release ourselves from this shackles is not easy. The ideology and the utopian message are interrelated and support one another. Promises offered by the ideology are based on the beauty of the utopia. This then is imagined to take individuals to the eternal happiness which is actually utopian. This can be observed in the relation of fundamentalist and terrorist movements. The shadow

of happiness is able to push and convince the followers of the teaching of terrorism to hold on to the ideology. The shading between the ideology and utopia creates *social imagination*, an imagination believed and supported by community. The terrorist groups are mesmerized by what is called *collective imagination*, a situation when each member is bond to each other and participates collectively when in reality it is only imagination. Therefore, the solution offered is using the concept of critique of ideology presented by Paul Ricoeur. In critique of ideology, each individual is asked to take distance and behave critically towards what is called "ideal" because ideology is often distorted and assumed with heaven illusion. Ideology in its distorted and simulated form can be seen in the fundamentalist action that only justifies himself (Taylor, 1996, 8, Ricoeur, 1991, 311) and religion is often used as a tool to gain legitimacy implemented in his terror attack. Critique is needed to open the false awareness to eliminate distortion and misuse of religious teaching for momentary interest. Critique of ideology is also used to open guise of interpretation that hides personal or group interest. These people manipulate imagination of 'certainty' on behalf of religion which was nullified by Bauman in the era of liquid modernity.

7 CONCLUSION

Fundamentalism and terrorism emerge as an impact caused by instability in the era of *liquid modernity*; it is not an anomaly or impossibility as said by Bauman. Both are bond to each other. Instability in *liquid modernity* creates imagination of utopian pictures, peaceful and beautiful condition that is totally different from the condition in *liquid modernity*. In that illusion or picture, something solid and certain is picturized which is called eternal happiness. This utopian condition is turned into sweet promise by the fundamentalist movement through the ideology that they teach. Both bond one another. As a result, terrorism can never be present as something separated.

Fundamentalism and terrorism embark from the alienated individuals who are unwilling and disabled to follow the changes. Then they form exclusive identity in the society that take them into marginalized groups who then aim at disrupting the stability by spreading terror in the society. These individuals or the disabled consumers are easily offered by ideology that dares to promise certainty in its teaching. This teaching guarantees that there is something solid that is worthwhile to fight for,

something that is worthed to pursue although reaching it requires sacrifice of present happiness. To conclude, the existence and the development of terrorism is closely related to the *liquid modernity* and to avoid this, we need critique of ideology embraced by fundamentalists so that we can stay away from false awareness.

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