

# Journal of Social and Political Sciences

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**Prakoso, Lukman Yudho. (2021), Defense Policy Analysis to Deal with Radicalism and Terrorism in Indonesian Universities. In: *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, Vol.4, No.1, 202-210.**

ISSN 2615-3718

DOI: 10.31014/aior.1991.04.01.265

The online version of this article can be found at:  
<https://www.asianinstituteofresearch.org/>

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Published by:  
The Asian Institute of Research

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# Defense Policy Analysis to Deal with Radicalism and Terrorism in Indonesian Universities

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## Abstract

Indonesia has a diversity of ethnic groups, as well as the various religions practiced by its people. The impact of the development of the global and regional strategic environment. Indonesia also cannot remove the influence of the development of ideologies from outside which threatens the unity of the state. The research currently being carried out is to determine the extent to which state policy programs regarding state defense can be implemented in universities in Indonesia. This is interesting given the vulnerability of students to be influenced by radical understandings currently developing. Researchers analyzed the implementation of this state defense policy using the theory of Gerorge Edward III, which analyzes the focus under study using factors, Communication, Resources, Disposition and Bureaucratic Structure. The results of the research show that the state defense policy that has been implemented so far still needs to be further improved, so far the state defense program with the civic education model is only carried out at the beginning when students enter university. Furthermore, no more citizenship programs were found. the related entities also have not found the best model so that the state defense program can be integrated and interactive. The recommendation from the current research is that state defense in universities needs to be optimized again, considering that several cases were found to involve students from high schools. Students are the nation's human resource which is very valuable to determine this nation in the future. Policies on national defense, especially the state defense program in higher education, must receive serious attention from the government, so that the younger generation, especially students, can avoid radicalism and terrorism.

**Keywords:** Defence State, Public Policy Implementation, Universities, Urban Areas

## 1. Background

Based on the 2015 National Defense White Paper, terrorists are still a threat to the Indonesian people in the future. This is evidenced by the development of terrorist networks after the destruction of Al-Qaeda by the United States. Seeing from this condition, the government needs to immediately determine its position and take anticipatory actions to prevent acts of terror. In addition to making persuasive efforts, the law enforcement side must also be given a balanced portion. Citing the Routine Activities theory proposed by Marcus Felson and Lawrence E. Cohen in 1979, crime will arise if there are three components in the same space and time, namely: motivated offenders, suitable targets (appropriate targets) and the absence of capable guardians or protectors (no guards or protectors).

The perpetrators of acts of terrorism and radicalism in Indonesia mostly come from students and students (BNPT, 2012). Based on research on 110 perpetrators of terrorism in 2012, most were in the age range of 21-30 years (47.3 percent), after that in the age range of 31-40 years (29.1 percent) and 11.8 percent under age 21 years old, as shown in the following picture:

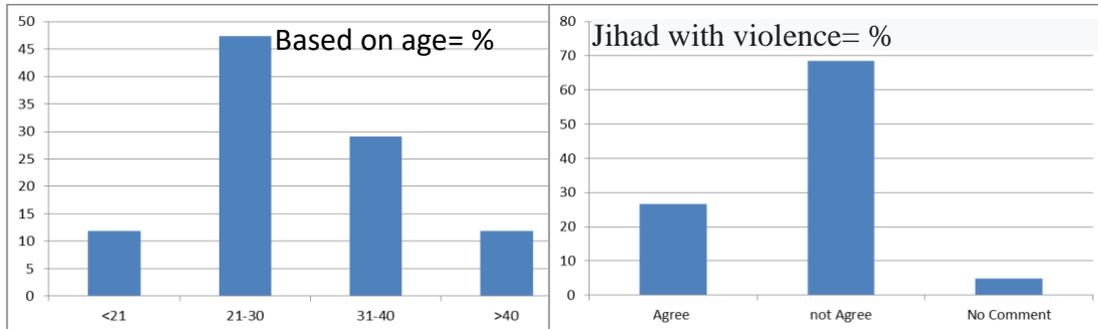


Figure 1: Potential of Radicalism in the Student Environment

Source: BNPT, 2016

Seeing the cases that have existed lately, the fact that more young terrorists are hard to disprove. The same year survey of potential radicalism in the student environment showed 26.7 percent agreed to jihad with the use of violence, while those who did not agree 68.4 percent. Besides that the facts also prove the results of a survey from the BNPT in 2016 saying that terrorists came from educated circles, such as the graph below:

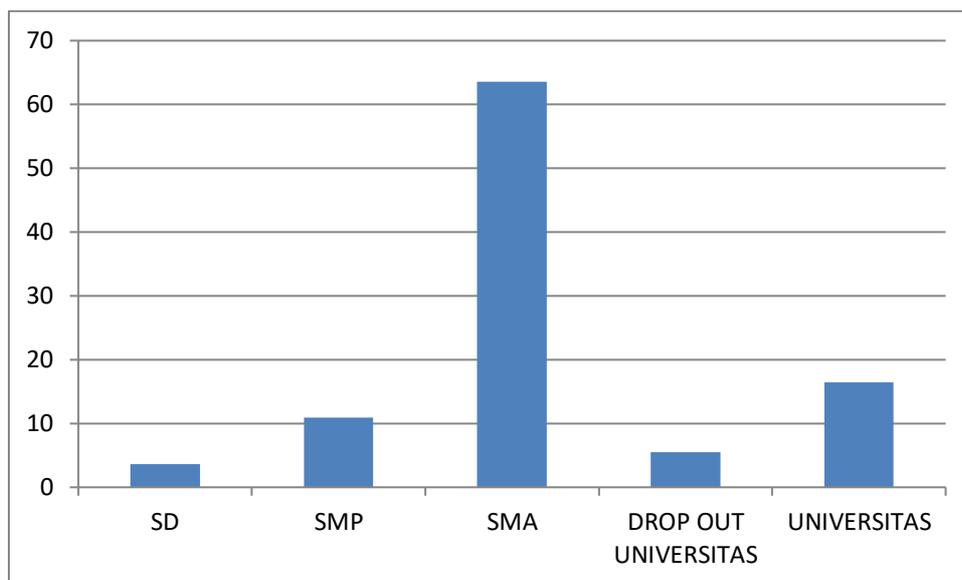


Figure 2. Facts: Terrorists are from educated circles

Source: BNPT, 2016

The ease of students and students to become sympathizers of radical groups affiliated with ISIS is because they are still in the search phase of identity, emotionally immature, so that they are easily influenced by new ideas. In addition, their adventurous spirit is still large so they tend to try something new and full of challenges.

The phenomenon of the number of students becoming sympathizers of radical groups is strengthened by the results of a recent survey from the research institute Alvara Research Center in 2017 stating that radicalism has been among students and students. The Alvara Research Center conducted a survey of the attitudes and views of students and students about religious radicalization, khilafah, jihad and Islamic states in Indonesia. The result is that

students agree with the Islamic state by 23.5% and for students agree with the amount of 16.3%. Furthermore, the state ideology, the result is that the majority of students and students choose the Pancasila ideology. The percentage of students choosing Islamic ideology is 18.6% and students are 16.8%. (Faqif, 2017)

From the description above, it can be seen that the threat of terrorism in 2017 in Indonesia is still very strong. Therefore, integrated steps are needed from the government and the community so that there are no vulnerabilities utilized by radical groups to carry out their actions. One effort to counter radicalism is a state defense program, which among others is carried out by the Ministry of Defense. Defense Minister Ryamizard Ryacudu said, the Bela Negara program was launched and became the Ministry of Defense's priority program, one of the goals and objectives was to establish the identity and personality of the Indonesian nation (Lukman Yudo Prakoso et al., 2021).

The State Defense Program is a form of mental revolution as well as to develop the nation's deterrence in facing the complexity of the threat dynamics as well as to realize national resilience. Martial arts are actualized in the roles and professions of every citizen. The state defense program is one of the government's policy efforts in empowering national defense which is regulated in Presidential Regulation number 97 of 2015 concerning General Policy on National Defense (Suhirwan & Prakoso, 2019a).

## **2. Problem Formulation**

The acts of terrorism and radicalism that occurred in Indonesia especially those involving students were of particular concern in this study, because students are the generation that determines the future of the nation in time, so that in this study the formulation of the problem presented is how to implement government policies on defense Which countries are currently implemented in universities especially those in urban areas?

## **3. Theory and Method Used**

In this study the theory used is the theory of implementation of public policy according to George Edward III there are four variables in public policy namely Communication, Resources , attitudes and bureaucratic structures (Edward, 1980 ) The type of research used is descriptive qualitative phenomenology.

## **4. Discussion**

According to the results of the 2017 National Intelligence Agency (BIN) survey, 39 (thirty nine) percent of students have been exposed to radical movements, there are 15 (fifteen) provinces that have now become BIN's attention and continue to receive attention. Of the 15 (fifteen) provinces there are three universities which are the main concern because they are the basis for the spread of radicalism. The phenomenon of radical teaching among students utilizes psychological innocence in students who are still in the process of finding identity (Rivai, 2018). BIN gave an example that Bahrun Naim was a young man who began to engage with radical activities while studying at Sebelas Maret University in Surakarta (Madrohim & Prakoso, 2021)

Judging from the legislation, the obligation to defend the country can be traced to the provisions of the 1945 Constitution and law number 3 of 2002 concerning national defense. In the 1945 Constitution Article 30 paragraph 1, it is affirmed that "each citizen has the right and obligation to participate in the defense and security efforts of the state." Whereas in paragraph 2 it is stated that "the defense and security efforts of the state are carried out through a system of defense and public security by the TNI and POLRI as the main force, and the people as supporting forces"

The concept stipulated in Article 30 is the concept of defense and state security. While the concept of defending the state is regulated in Article 27 paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution that "Every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in efforts to defend the state." Participating in the defense of the country is manifested in

the implementation of national defense activities, as stated in Law No.3 of 2002 Article 9 paragraph (1) that "Every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in efforts to defend the state which is manifested in the implementation of national defense." Then in Republic of Indonesia Law number 3 of 2002 the section weighing letters (c) is affirmed among other things "in the implementation of national defense every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in efforts to defend the state ..."

Our problem now is how to manifest the participation of citizens in efforts to defend the country. According to Article 9 paragraph (2) Law number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense, the participation of citizens in efforts to defend the country is carried out through:

- a. Civic education;
- b. Mandatory military basic training;
- c. Devotion as an Indonesian National Army soldier voluntarily or compulsorily; and
- d. Dedication in accordance with the profession.

Based on these provisions, students who take Citizenship Education subjects in schools can be said to have participated in the state's defense efforts. One of the study materials / materials that must be contained in the basic and secondary education curriculum and higher education is Citizenship Education (Article 37 paragraph (1) and (2) Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System). The problem that we want to explore is why can state defense efforts be carried out through civic education?

In the explanation of Article 37 paragraph (1) of the law, it is explained that citizenship education is intended to form students to become human beings who have a sense of nationality and love for the country. From the description above, it is clear that the formation of a sense of nationality and love for the homeland of students can be fostered through citizenship education.

The concept of nationalism and love of homeland is closely related to the meaning of the country's defense efforts. Note the phrase ".. in the spirit of his love to the united state of Indonesian Republic .." in the definition of state defense efforts that have been disclosed above. The sentence of love for the unitary state of Indonesia is the realization of the concept of nationalism (a sense of nationality) and the love of the country (patriotism). Whereas love for the homeland and national awareness is a feature of awareness in defending the country. Darmawan (2004) asserts that the concept of state defense is a moral conception that is implemented in the attitudes, behavior and actions of citizens based on: love of the homeland, awareness of nation and state, belief in Pancasila as a state ideology, and willingness to sacrifice for the nation and state of Indonesia. Thus, in relation to defending the country, citizenship education is a vehicle to foster awareness of students participating in the defense of the state (Risahdi et al., 2020).

In addition, we can see by tracing the juridical provisions of Article 9 paragraph 2 (letter a) of Law Number 3 of 2002 which states that "in citizenship education there is an understanding of the awareness of defending the country." This means that one way to gain an understanding of awareness of defending the state can be achieved by taking citizenship education.

Darmawan (2004) emphasizes that citizenship education, in addition to teaching citizens' rights and obligations, has included an understanding of the state's defense awareness for national defense. Then he stressed that the obligation to include citizenship education in the basic, secondary and high education curriculum is a manifestation of the participation of citizens in efforts to defend the country in the context of the implementation of National Defense.

Thus, fostering awareness of defending the country through citizenship education is intended to foster and improve national defense efforts. Malik Fajar (2004) asserts that Citizenship Education has the duty to instill national commitment, including developing democratic values and behavior and being responsible as Indonesian citizens.

Radicalism and terrorism in universities such as the results of research conducted by BIN is a big question, how has the implementation of state defense implemented in universities, the following are the results of research related to the implementation of defense in higher education from variable analysis of George Edward's public policy implementation theory III, the location of research in retrieving secondary data and primary data is carried out based on past bases of radicalism and terrorism movements, the locus covers Lampung Province in Bandar Lampung City and its surroundings, in West Java Province in the cities of Purwakarta and Bandung, in East Java in the City of Surabaya, in South Sulawesi in the City of Makassar and in the Jakarta Special Capital Region (DKI) as a Center of Gravity (COG) for terrorism:

4.1 *Communication.* Based on George Edward III, communication greatly determines the success of achieving the objectives of the implementation. Effective implementation occurs when decision makers already know what will be done. Communication is further divided into 3 determinants of successful policy implementation, including:

4.1.1 *Transmission.* Transmission is the main factor in terms of communication of implementing policies. According to Agustino, the distribution of good communication will result in a good implementation (Leo, 2008). There is often a problem in channeling communication that is misunderstanding, so that what is expected is distorted in the middle of the road.

Transmission on the implementation of the State Defense is carried out by the Ministry of Defense in this case represented by the Directorate General of Defense Potential to the regional government as the implementing policy then forwarded to the local government work unit through direct or verbal orders (Redita et al., 2020).

The results of the team's findings in the field found that almost all research locus occurred miscommunication and miscoordination of the implementation of State Defense in the regions. The causes of miscommunication and miscoordination are because the delivery of messages to the regions is done in a hurry then from the center to the regions not through appropriate procedures in the area.

4.1.2 *Clarity.* According to George Edward III, communication received by policy makers (street-level-bureaucrats) must be clear and not confusing or unambiguous. The implementation of the National Defense program in the regions from the results of interviews with several informants said that local governments need clarity related to this program, they need a legal umbrella for implementing the State Defense so that local governments can work optimally. the legal basis referred to here is the existence of derivative regulations from the Defense Law specifically regulating State Defense Kurniawan et al., 2018).

4.1.3 *Consistency.* According to George Edward III, the orders given in the implementation of a communication must be consistent and clear to be determined or executed. If the order given often changes, it can cause confusion for the implementer in the field. Therefore consistency must also get attention in a communication. Consistency in the implementation of the State Defense in the regions has been going very well so far, the regional government is very consistent in supporting the State Defense program (Prihantoro et al., 2021).

4.2 *Resource.* Resources are important factors for the implementation of policies well, so that sufficient human resources (HR) are needed and enhanced capabilities possessed by policy implementers. The resources here are divided into two, namely in the form of human (staff) and non-human resources (infrastructure facilities or advice).

4.2.1 *Staff.* Implementation of policy will not succeed without the support of qualified human resources, quality in this case is from education, experience, competence and professionalism and also besides quality is the quantity of the staff themselves who will implement the policy.

Human resources are very influential on the success of implementation, because without reliable human resources policy implementation will not run smoothly. The human resources (staff) referred to in terms of implementing the State Defense policy in the regions in order to prevent terrorism, especially being a foreign terrorist fighters, are the availability of official Martial Arts instructors or instructors from the Ministry of Defense (Suhirwan et al., 2020).

The findings in the field at the time of the interviews in several regions found that there were a shortage of teaching staff to provide materials for State Defense, teachers who had been using teachers from outside the Ministry of Defense so far, such as Kodam, Korem and Kodim. One example that was considered successful in overcoming the shortcomings of competent teaching staff was in Purwakarta Regency, where the Purwakarta Regent employed a former terrorist named Agus Marshal to teach at the ideology school formed by the Purwakarta Regent.

4.2.2 *Facilities.* Facilities are a very necessary factor in implementing a policy. Facilities here can mean in the form of buildings, educational materials, curriculum and so on. The facilities in implementing the National Defense policy in the regions as a result of the findings and interviews are the unavailability of special Martial Arts training centers for regions, so far the participants deposited in Rindam in the area meanwhile the Ministry of Defense is currently only available in Bogor Rumpin Training Center which was just inaugurated in February 2017. In addition to the building facilities that are needed there is also a need for a basic Bela Negara curriculum that has standardized from the Ministry of Defense. This curriculum contains the types or subjects that should be given to participants especially in relation to this research for students in order to prevent becoming foreign terrorist fighters (Dipua et al., 2020).

4.3 *Disposition.* Disposition or attitude of implementing policies is an important factor in the approach to implementation or public policy. If the implementation of a policy wants to be effective, then the implementers of the policy must not only know what will be done but also must have the ability to implement it, so that in practice there is no bias (Lukman Yudho Prakoso et al., 2020).

The attitude of implementing the policy will be very influential in implementing the policy. From the findings in the field during interviews with informants such as the Head of the East Java Provincial Kesbangpol, Director of Student Affairs, Airlangga Regional Head of East Java supported the Bela Negara program, they saw the Bela Negara program very good and important in order to foster a sense of love for the country and fight terrorism (Lukman Yudho Prakoso & Aprilliyani, 2021).

In addition, the results of interviews with Unair's Student Director and Unila's Vice-Chancellor III also supported that the State Defense be included in the education curriculum in higher education and there was a need to modify the delivery of materials for students to the State. From a number of informants, they said that they supported the State Defense for students not in a militaristic form, but could be in the form of public lectures, field work practices, museum visits, and other positive activities.

4.4 *Bureaucratic Structure.* Bureaucratic structure has a significant influence on policy implementation. This aspect of bureaucratic structure includes two things, namely mechanism and fragmentation (Rifqi & Prakoso, 2020).

4.4.1 *Mechanism.* The mechanism meant in the bureaucratic structure of policy implementation is the existence of a Standard Operational Procedure (SOP) (Sartono, Prakoso, & Sianturi, 2019). In relation to the implementation of the State Defense, what is needed now is a guideline for the implementation of the State Defense program which is endorsed by the Ministry of Defense, besides that the Ministry of Defense must initiate the submission of a presidential decree regarding the implementation of regional defense (Listiyono et al., 2019a).

This presidential decree is deemed necessary in the regions because the regions need a clear legal umbrella related to this State Defense, in addition to that, it is also necessary to regulate the mechanism for the inclusion of special Martial Arts material into the student curriculum. This is in accordance with the statement from Minister of Technology Research and Higher Education Muhammad Nasir that in order to prevent radicalism in the campus, the National Defense program for students will be implemented, this program is in the form of general education in which there are national insight material (Yulida, 2018) to introduce back to students about the country of Indonesia.

4.4.2 *Fragmentation.* Fragmentation according to George Edward III is the division of responsibility for a policy area among organizational units. Responsibility for a policy area is often spread among various organizations, this responsibility can be in the form of socialization, training and services.

In the implementation of the National Defense in the regions, the results of data collection in Mataram, Lampung, Surabaya, Purwakarta, Bandung and Bogor found that coordination in the implementation of State Defense actually had gone well, as evidenced by the results of hearings with the Head of the East

Java Province Kesbangpol which explained Kesbangpol East Java Province with the Representative of the Ministry of Defense (PPTP) in East Java has often coordinated and implemented the Martial Arts program in East Java, but one thing that has not been implemented is the entry of State Defense into universities in East Java, especially in Surabaya (Sartono, Prakoso, & Suseto, 2019).

## 5. Closing

The conclusion of this study was faced with the results of the analysis of the implementation of state defense policies in higher education. It was found that the State Defense in higher education applied to the tertiary education curriculum, which was specifically in urban areas, was not enough to counteract radicalism and terrorism that entered universities. It was found that the stake holders related to defending the country did not have good communication, so that the utilization of resources was not optimal, communication that was not well established also had an impact on the attitude of implementing state defense in higher education. Communication problems between stakeholders also have an impact on the system that is still not well integrated, the bureaucratic structure related to the model of the national defense model through the civic education model currently being implemented at the beginning of the semester is also felt to be lacking so that the national defense model in universities must be reevaluated and together with other stake holders must have strong communication so that the phenomenon of higher education especially in urban areas is exposed to radicalism and terrorism can be overcome.

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