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Determinants of Social Entrepreneurship in Rural West Java: The Role of Agent of Change, Technology and Innovations, and Communication Channel

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Abstract

The aim of the research is study examines the determinants of social entrepreneurship. These variables are characteristics of reform agents, characteristics of technology and innovation, communication channels, community dialogue, and collective action so that they can shape changes in behavior related to the creation of social entrepreneurship in the MHP program. This study used a mixed methods approach. Samples were taken of 200 people, processing and analysis data using SEM-PLS. The results of the SEM analysis show three structural equations, (1) depicting that X1 has a significant direct effect on Y1 (0.248) and X2 (0.518). This factor is dominant in the field because the characteristics of technology and innovation provide opportunities for social innovation. Equation (2) shows that Y1 influences Y2 (0.292), this shows that in community dialogue, the community invited to choose who will manage and maintain the turbine. Equation (3) Y1 has a direct effect on the level of social entrepreneurship (0.671), while Y2 has a negative effect (-0.199). The reason is almost 90 percent of the public when there is a communication dialogue in a large meeting, accepts a decision if there is already someone who is considered far more understanding. Community dialogue influenced by the characteristics of change agents as well as the characteristics of technology and innovation. Collective action are influenced by the support of community dialogue, while social entrepreneurship is influenced by communication dialogue and collective action. Community dialogue and collective action are driving forces for citizens to make changes in social entrepreneurship.

Keywords: Collective Action, Community Dialogue, Social Entrepreneurship, Agent of Change, Communication Model of Social Entrepreneurship

1. Introduction

Social entrepreneurship can be a precursor for community empowerment while reducing poverty (Koehne et al. 2022). This is because the practice of social entrepreneurship is able to create jobs (Kazmi et. al, 2016), eliminate gender inequality (Chatterje et. al, 2021), and increase awareness of individuals and groups to be empowered (Imron and Satrya, 2019).

In addition, social entrepreneurship can also be an instrument for overcoming social problems in society and supporting sustainable development (Bozhikin et al. 2019; Lepoutre et al. 2013; Samineni 2018). This can be seen from the impact of social entrepreneurship which can expand access to basic individual rights such as sanitation and clean water (Goyal et. al, 2021), promote inclusive education and improve health (Khalid et. al, 2022), and adaptive to climate change (Tanner et. al, 2019).

In carrying out its business, social entrepreneurship aims not only to generate profits but also to achieve social goals, and have distinct values that benefit society (Tracey and Phillips 2007; Hulgard 2010). Referring to the results of research conducted by Govender and Wu (2013), Aziz (2021), Sutowo (2020) and Rahab (2009), changes in social entrepreneurship are due to stimuli provided by something, namely the activities of reforming agents, technological characteristics and innovation. seen as able to influence people's assessment of the relative benefits they receive, as well as conformity to the values and needs of the community.

A number of studies examine the antecedents of social entrepreneurship. Urban and Teisse (2015) revealed the factors of achievement, moral judgment, empathy, and self-efficacy as determinants of social entrepreneurship. Zur (2015) makes social issues an antecedent, while Baierl et. al, (2014) makes social appraisal an antecedent. Research that uses change agents, technology and innovation, as well as communication channels as antecedents, has not been widely studied.

The agent of change is an important determinant of the success of social entrepreneurship, because of its role as a dialogue maker. Dialogue is a communication process, initiated by reforming agents who bring technological and innovation characteristics, through communication channels so that they become the driving force for community dialogue in society (Aziz 2021). Community dialogue then has an impact on community awareness to take collective action (Asia et al. 2018). Understanding the link between community dialogue and collective action can refer to a brief description from Figueroa et al. (2002), that the implementation of dialogue can make the exchange of information occur between community members so as to achieve common understanding and consensus. When these things are achieved it will underlie community members to take collective action, which in turn has an impact on changing the behavior of social entrepreneurship in society.

Previous research studies found that social entrepreneurship has full attention to community development in its environment and is able to empower it to produce a social change that leads to shared prosperity, overcomes unmet needs, and can create value (Alawiyah 2015; Dacin et al 2010; Mair and Marti 2006; Santos 2012). In the process of development communication, the process of dialogue as a form of communication related to collective action leads to solving or solving problems, producing social change in a community, and equitable sharing of information (Kincaid and Figueroa 2009). The implementation of dialogue and collective action allows community members, agents of change and related stakeholders to carry out a two-way communication process on an ongoing basis, so that an understanding and understanding is found that forms awareness of the problems and needs they feel (Asia et al. 2018).

The description of the communication model that occurs due to the role of agents of change, technology and innovation, as well as communication channels that influence community dialogue and collective action, thereby shaping behavior change related to social entrepreneurship in the MHP program, is still very minimal. So far, research on the link between the three with community dialogue and collective action regarding social entrepreneurship in the MHP program has been dominated by the fields of mechanical engineering, management, economics and community empowerment studies. Contributions to the field of communication science are still relatively minimal, especially those specifically using communication theory. The study of MHP focuses more on building electricity facilities using micro-hydro and community empowerment (Hoffken, 2016; Solihat 2020). So the purpose of this study is to analyze and formulate a communication model that describes the role of agents of change, technology and innovation as well as communication channels that influence community dialogue and collective action, thereby shaping behavior change related to social entrepreneurship in the MHP program.

2. Method

This study uses a quantitative and qualitative approach. The research population is the community in 4 villages that have a MHP program. Samples were taken as many as 200 people from a total population of 22,536 people, which were selected at simple random. Data was collected through in-depth interviews using a structured interview guide to cooperative members and members of farmer groups beneficiaries of the MHP development. Because the ultimate goal of this research is to formulate a social entrepreneurship communication model, the appropriate data processing and analysis option is SEM-PLS, and qualitative data uses data processing as proposed by Miles et al. (2014).

3. Result

One of the electricity-based social entrepreneurship programs in Indonesia is a program initiated by the People's Business and Economics Institute (IBEKA) as a non-state actor. According to Bozhikin et al. (2019), the advantages of social entrepreneurship carried out by non-state actors are program efficiency and sustainability. IBEKA organizes an electricity-based social entrepreneurship program in Bogor, Subang and Sukabumi regencies, which are also the areas of this research.

Increasing economic empowerment in society, creating the development of social entrepreneurship (Samineni 2018). Social entrepreneurship shows a process of creating new values, with an approach to conveying information to the community, so that people can increase their income (Maulinda 2018, Wibhawa 2019). The results of research conducted by Hermawati and Indra (2019), show that the communication process in groups will not be effective if the quality of leaders, the dynamics of discussions, the content of messages that are built, and the engagement of members with the group do not go well, so that in the end the effectiveness of communication has a significant positive relationship with empowerment. Meanwhile, according to Sugiyono (2009) community empowerment that is integrated with the management of water resources through micro-hydro power plants (MHP), will improve people's welfare. This is in line with Rosaira and Hermawati (2014) who see the impact of electricity on the lives of rural communities, namely the positive impact of increasing people's income and creating many new businesses, while the negative impact is the emergence of a consumptive culture.

The results of data processing with a sample of 200, with a sex ratio of 146 (73%) male and 54 (27%) female, and almost all of them follow the institutional membership formed, both cooperatives and farmer groups. In terms of work, most of them are farmers and farm laborers. The average electricity generated is between 33 – 120 KwH, this is due to the relatively abundant availability of river or spring water around the area because it is close to a large river.

Based on Figure 1 shows that there are three structural models, namely as follows:

$$Y_1 = 0,248 X_1 + 0,518 X_2 \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

$$Y_2 = 0,292 Y_1 \dots\dots\dots (2)$$

$$Y_3 = 0,671 Y_1 + (-0,199)Y_2 \dots\dots\dots (3)$$

Equation (1) illustrates that Community Dialogue is influenced by the support of the Characteristics of the Changing Agent (X1), the Characteristics of Technology and Innovation (X2). Of the three latent variables, namely X1 to X3, only two latent variables have a significant direct influence on community dialogue, namely the variables X1 (characteristics of reform agents) of 0.248 and X2 (characteristics of technology and innovation) of 0.518. This factor is dominant in the field because the characteristics of technology and innovation provide social benefits and can carry out social innovations. The community's need for the presence of electricity as lighting and is seen as providing convenience in opening access to information from outside, as well as the continuation of the benefits of electricity. These technologies and innovations are considered user friendly, so that the community is willing to carry out the development of the MHP in a collaborative manner.

The survey results show that the variable characteristics of reforming agents can influence respondents with their assessment of the presence of reforming agents as facilitators in providing information/knowledge and providing technical guidance on MHP development and management, as well as helping organize meetings, dialogues, expressing opinions and cooperation, as well as the intensity in helping the community to get help from stakeholders, so that they can fulfill the legal requirements for electrification development (MHP) very well. Almost the entire community accepts the MHP development, because it can provide great benefits in terms of finding information related to increasing business activities and other information they need.

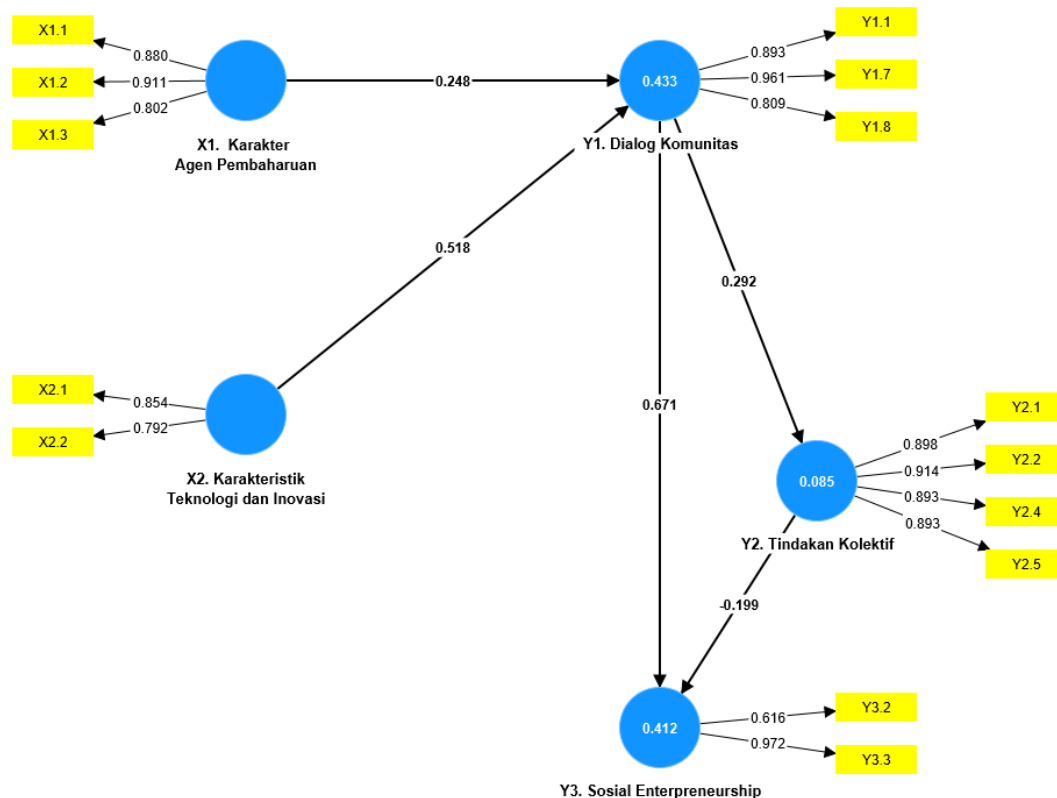


Figure 1: Standardized Fit Model Values

The support of technological characteristics and innovations that are brought, namely MHP, has a significant influence on the added value of electrification utilization, because the people feel they really need information which they have not got so far. Technology and innovation that provide a level of relative advantage and the level of suitability of technology and innovation are assessed by the community on the benefits and benefits received from the MHP development, as well as the level of suitability with values, past experiences and the needs of the community for the MHP development.

In community dialogue, out of 10 indicators, only 3 indicators had a direct influence on community dialogue, namely Y1.1 (acknowledgment of a problem), Y1.7 (setting of goals), and Y1.8 (choice of action). The survey results show that on the acknowledgment indicator that there is a problem, all members of the community state that the lack of lighting (electricity) is a common problem. Then the community held a large meeting to discuss various aspects of managing and building the MHP, which they felt would help them gain insight. In addition, the community also sets goals to be achieved with the MHP development. Another indicator that directly influences community dialogue is determining the actions to be achieved in accordance with the goals set. The goal is for the village community to get electric lighting from the MHP construction, that way they can get and seek information from outside their area, this is felt to be able to help the community from various aspects of their life. At the time of making decisions in the household to get electricity assistance and become members of cooperatives/farmer groups as many as 99 people (49.25 percent) were made by means of discussion or discussion between family members to reach an agreement, while as many as 98 people (48.76 percent) it was

decided by the head of the household, and only 4 people (1.99 percent) stated that it was decided by the management.

Equation (2) shows that community dialogue influences collective action at Y2.1 (assignment of responsibilities), Y2.2 (mobilization of community resources), Y2.4 (utilization of the results achieved), and Y2.5 (participatory evaluation). The survey results show that in community dialogues held in large meetings, the community is invited to choose a person in charge who will manage and maintain the micro hydro turbine. In addition, the community was also invited to form formal and legal institutions, whether in the form of cooperative institutions or farmer groups, and all communities expressed their consent to form a formal institution to manage the maintenance of the MHP. Mobilizing community resources by mutual cooperation in assisting MHP development activities, it is hoped that there will be a sense of togetherness and ownership to jointly maintain from construction to management of the MHP.

From the results of in-depth interviews with the community regarding electricity needs in their area:

"the people really need electricity, so far they have used cempor"

"glad there is electricity, so bright at night"

"can hold religious activities or gather at night"

"kids can study at night"

Then about how to build PLMH:

"everything if done together will definitely feel light"

"We all take part in transporting the paralons, pulling the cables for the construction of the turbines"

"All people participate in the construction of this turbine, by working together, sharing work, ladies and gentlemen, even teenagers also help"

Utilization of the results felt by the community as a whole, evaluation activities from the construction of the MHP, were also carried out jointly by the community.

"It's better if it's still there, because if you rely on PLN, the electricity tends to turn on and off"

"the activities carried out by the cooperative are being improved again"

Equation (3) on the variables Y1 (community dialogue) and Y2 (collective action), Y1 has a direct effect on the level of social entrepreneurship of 0.671, while Y2 has a negative effect (-0.199). This is because, almost 90 percent of the community, when a large meeting is held, they are present but they do not actively express their opinions, suggestions or suggestions. Most of them accept decisions when there is already someone who is considered to understand more than them, and that's only a very small number. Variables Y1 and Y2 influence the use of social entrepreneurship in carrying out social innovation (Y3.2) and economic activities (Y3.3). The survey results show that the presence of MHP has an impact on technology acceptance which ultimately causes the community to carry out various social innovations, such as providing scholarships for school children, so that many children can continue their studies to a higher level, in addition to making health service facilities easier. and there are no fees. Meanwhile, economic activities are described in capital loans provided by cooperatives/farmer groups, which can provide opportunities for the community to own other businesses or increase the scale of existing businesses.

4. Discussion

Figuroa et al. (2002), Asia et al. (2018), states that the implementation of dialogue can make the exchange of information occur between community members so as to achieve common understanding and consensus. In addition to community dialogue, it also has an impact on public awareness to take collective action. The dialogue carried out by the community receiving MHP assistance included determining who would receive electricity assistance, how to build a turbine house to produce electricity, and the selection of turbine guards. While collective action includes carrying out mutual cooperation activities during the construction of the turbine house until it finally produces electricity.

Hulgard (2010), explains that there are four main elements in social entrepreneurship, among others, social values, civil society, innovation, and economic activity. Meanwhile and Cukier et al. (2011), stated that social entrepreneurship involves the creation of innovations and business activities. Cooperative members and members of farmer groups after taking action collectively, they develop social entrepreneurship by making social innovations, namely holding scholarships for school children, and creating health service facilities. Meanwhile, economic activities are carried out by providing capital loans for new businesses or increasing the scale of existing businesses.

5. Conclusion

Community Dialogue is influenced by the support of Characteristics of Changing Agents (X1) and Characteristics of Technology and Innovation (X2). The most dominant factor influencing Community Dialogue is Technology and Innovation Characteristics of 0.518.

Collective Action is influenced by community dialogue support (Y1), with a significance value of 0.292. The communication activity carried out is conveying the results of discussion of various activities, both new plans and those that will be carried out by the cooperative/farmer group to its members. This discussion activity was not attended by all of its members, but only the management of the cooperative/farmer group.

Social entrepreneurship (Y3) is influenced by communication dialogue of 0.671, and collective action (Y2) with a value of -0.199. The presence of MHP has an impact on social entrepreneurship on indicators of carrying out social innovation activities in the community and economic activities in the MHP program.

The social entrepreneurship communication model for the MHP program is built by the characteristics of reform agents and the characteristics of technology and innovation that influence community dialogue and collective action. Meanwhile, communication channels do not affect community dialogue. Community dialogue and collective action act as a driving force for residents to change social entrepreneurial behavior. Community dialogue and collective action influence social entrepreneurship communication on indicators of social innovation and economic activity in the MHP program. This model can be applied by looking at the same type of geography and topography of an area.

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Gender Responsivity of Family Planning Cadres in Family Resilience Counseling during the Covid-19 Pandemic in Ajibarang Subdistrict

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Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic has decreased resilience, particularly the socio-psychological aspects of many families, including the Ajibarang Subdistrict. This can be seen from the many cases of domestic violence and child marriage occurring in this part of the Banyumas Regency. In order not to continue, this condition needs to be prevented immediately through counseling activities that are appropriate in material and right on target, for both women and men. In other words, counseling must be gender-responsive. In this case, Family Planning Cadres in the village and RW levels play a vital role in helping family planning counselors take preventive measures. Therefore, it would be interesting to study the gender responsivities of family planning counselors. This study aimed to gather information about (1) the phenomenon of family resilience in their area and (2) the gender responsivity of family resilience counseling conducted in the subdistrict. By applying a descriptive qualitative approach, this study gathered data through questionnaires and direct discussions. The data were analyzed using interactive methods. The results showed that during the Covid-19 pandemic, there were a large number of divorced and married children. While counseling was provided to address this issue, the target clients were mostly females. Among the many reasons, cadres only partially understood the concept of gender and never attended training for gender-perspective counseling.

Keywords: Family Planning Cadres, Family Planning Counselors, Counseling on Family Resilience, Counseling with a Gender Perspective

1. Background

Counseling of family resilience is part of the family development policies stipulated in Law Number 52 of 2009 concerning Population and Family development, aiming to help establish a quality family. Chapter 1 of the law defines a quality family as a family established based on legal marriage and characterized by prosperity, health,

progressive, independence, the ideal number of children, progressive outlook, harmony, and piety to God Almighty. Inclusive in public services, family resilience counseling should remain relevant and responsive to the current conditions, including the Covid-19 pandemic that has severely robbed most families of their resilience in terms of health/well-being, economy, and socio-psychology. This affects both women (wives and daughters) and men (husbands and sons). Considering the differences in the gender roles of males and females in the community, specific needs, and issues resulting from the Covid-19 pandemic may differ between genders. Accordingly, family resilience counseling must be responsive to changes in family conditions and sensitive to different needs and issues relative to male and female members of the family. Accordingly, family resilience counseling must be responsive to changes in family conditions and sensitive to different needs and issues relative to male and female members of the family. In other words, family resilience counseling must be gender-responsive. Gender-sensitive and gender-responsive approaches to family counseling have been in high demand, corresponding to family dynamic issues, including shifts in gender roles where wives hold economic dominance (Puspita et al., 2014; Puspita, 2014), as well as a high rate of divorce (Puspita et al., 2019; Puspita et al., 2022; Fachrina & Rinaldi Eka, 2014).

Among many key actors in family resilience counseling is Family planning cadres in villages known as the Counseling Assistants of Family Planning Village/Pembantu Pembina Keluarga Berencana Desa (PPKBD). They are social workers/unpaid volunteers who help the village, and Family Planning Counselors (PKB) implement Family Planning programs. PKB refers to the formal counselors of Family Planning (KB/PH) currently employed as the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) in the Department of Family Planning, Women Empowerment, and Child Protection, or equivalent nomenclature at the level or regency.

Ajibarang Subdistrict is a part of Banyumas Regency that demonstrates interesting cases to investigate the gender responsiveness of family resilience counseling. Based on the Family Data Collection in 2021 held by the Department of Population Control, Family Planning, Women's Empowerment, and Child Protection (DPPKBP3A) of Banyumas Regency, Ajibarang Subdistrict recorded the lowest declining family resilience cases, particularly socio-psychological resilience, among other subdistricts in Banyumas. Based on the Family Data Collection in 2021 held by the Department of Population Control, Family Planning, Women's Empowerment, and Child Protection (DPPKBP3A) of Banyumas Regency, Ajibarang Subdistrict recorded the lowest declining family resilience cases, particularly socio-psychological resilience, among other subdistricts in Banyumas. The parameters included domestic violence (DV) during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2021, in which Ajibarang reportedly contributed 86 out of 1,113 cases in Banyumas Regency (7.73%). Likewise, Ajibarang recorded the highest number of cases of multiple domestic problems: one spouse left their marital home due to domestic conflict (206 of 3,308 cases; 6.78%), sleep divorce for seven consecutive days (275 of 3,910 cases; 7.03%), silent treatment between spouses for three consecutive days (295 of 4,287 cases; 6.88%), and divorce (1,298 of 28,528 cases; 4.59%) (DPPKBP3A Banyumas Regency, 2021).

A low level of family socio-psychological resilience across Ajibarang Subdistrict is in critical need of mitigation and prevention because it could lead to the escalation of divorce cases. Massive divorce in one area can negatively affect the family economy (Smock et al., 1999; Burstein, 2007), women and children in particular (Tobin, 1987), and further onto the community (Smock et al., 1999; Fagan & Curchil (2012) and the regional government (Fagan & Rector, 2000). This condition calls for immediate preventive actions, which include, but are not limited to, family resilience counseling carried out by Village Family Planning Cadres. Concerning this, the present study aims to analyze the following issues:

1. How is family resilience in the village according to Village Family Planning Cadres in Ajibarang Subdistrict?
2. To what extent is gender-responsive counseling during and after the Covid-19 pandemic?

2. Literature Review

2.1. Counseling on family resilience

Chapter 1 Paragraph 11 Law Number 52 of 2009 concerning the Population and Family Development stipulates that family resilience and welfare refers to a condition in which a family has the perseverance and determination

as well as physical-material capacity for independent living and individual and familial development in order to live in harmony with others to eventually improve their physical and spiritual bliss and welfare.

Family strength or resilience is a condition in which sufficient and sustainable access to income and resources is in place to fulfill a variety of basic needs, including food, clean water, health services, education opportunities, housing, opportunities for community participation, and social integration (Frankenberger, 1998). Family resilience may also refer to the capacity to survive and adapt to the different conditions that constantly change in dynamics and maintain a positive attitude to facing diverse challenges in the family (Walsh, 1996).

Family resilience is a parameter of a family's ability to solve current problems by harnessing available resources to meet family needs (Sunarti, 2001). In other words, resilient families can fulfill the following criteria: (1) physical resilience on fulfilled needs for food, housing, education, and health; (2) social resilience oriented towards religious values, effective communication, and highly committed family; and (3) psychological resilience, including mitigation of non-physical problems, positive control of emotions, and husband's care towards the wife. The Ministerial Regulations of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (PPPP) Number 6 of 2013 on the Implementation of Family Development stipulated that the concept of family resilience and welfare includes: 1) Legal Foundation and Family Integrity; 2) Physical Resilience; 3) Economic Resistance; 4) Socio-Psychological Resilience; and 5) Socio-cultural Resilience. When one or more of these elements fail to function properly, family disorders may ensue, especially a harmonious relationship between husband and wife. The most severe consequence of this family disorder is the termination of marital bonds, also known as divorce.

Meanwhile, counseling or outreach programs refer to educational activities aimed at modifying the behaviors of targeted people or clients according to the expected outcomes, namely, a more modern society (Asngari, 2001). These people are expected to increase their capabilities, competence, and self-sufficiency to improve their welfare (Padmanagara and Slamet in Slamet et al. (2003). Accordingly, family resilience counseling is an activity to educate families to render behavioral changes into human beings who are aware of, want to, and are capable of improving welfare in terms of physical, economic, socio-psychological, and socio-cultural aspects based on the legal marriage foundation.

Effective counseling will accomplish its objectives if several principles are implemented, such as basing counseling practices on the needs and interests of targeted groups. In other words, counselors must thoroughly analyze the needs and interests of every individual and community as a whole (Dahana, 1980), including responsiveness to gender needs, especially in agriculture (Ragasa, 2014).

2.2. Gender Responsivity Counseling on family resilience

Responsivity, along with responsibility and accountability, is an indicator of the quality of public services (Fitzsimmons in Sedarmayanti (2004). Responsivity, or responsiveness, is an organization's ability to identify the needs of a community, arrange a hierarchy of needs, and actualize these elements into multiple program services. Responsivity measures the response level of an organization to the expectations, desires, and aspirations of users of community services (Dwiyanto, 2006).

The purpose of public services is to fulfill the needs of users for desired and excellent services. Therefore, the service provider must be able to identify such needs and desires. Responsivity, in addition to responsibility and accountability, is a utilizable concept for evaluating the quality of public services (Levine et al. in Dwiyanto, 2006). A low responsiveness demonstrates misaligned government-provided services and community needs. Responsivity is a performance indicator that implies poor performance and the organization's failures to actualize its missions and objectives while anticipating recent aspirations, new developments, new pressures, and new knowledge.

The term gender refers to different characters between males and females based on social and cultural constructs, with respect to nature, status, positions, and roles in the community. Sex is the biological difference between the male and female sexes in terms of procreation and reproduction. While a male has sperm and a penis, a female has

an ovum, uterus, vagina, and breasts. These biological characteristics are inherent, permanent, and non-transferable (Abdullah 2004).

The gender perspective must permeate all development policies and programmes. In addition to being a global commitment, including one of the development objectives of the Millennium Development Goals/MDGs through the Sustainable Development Goals/SDGs. These goals mention practical needs arising from daily needs, such as access to clean water, food, and housing. Practical needs may include education and literacy training, household management, nutrition, health, access to finances and credits, reproductive health services, family planning programs, and sanitation procurement. Meanwhile, strategic gender needs are females' needs related to the changes in women's subordination to men embodied in job division, power, and control over resources, including the abolition of violence towards and discrimination against women (Ministry of Women's Empowerment, 2000).

Considering the differences in problems and needs between the male and female groups, every counseling program should exercise a gender perspective. In the National Population and Family Planning Agency (BKKBN), the gender perspective is known as gender-responsive Communication, Information, and Education (KIE). Gender-responsive KIE is a communication approach aimed at accelerating changes in knowledge, attitude, and behavior by paying attention to both male and female gender interests.

Gender perspective-based counseling is equivalent to gender-responsive counseling. Gender concern/responsiveness is a policy, program practice, or condition implemented by considering the interests of both genders (Center for Gender Training and Quality Women Improvement, BKKBN 2007). Accordingly, gender-responsive family counseling refers to counseling programs whose materials, methods, and delivery times consider the needs and interests of both females (wives and daughters) and males (husbands and sons).

3. Research Method

This descriptive qualitative study was conducted in Ajibarang Subdistrict, Banyumas Regency, from August through October 2022, targeting 15 Village Family Planning Cadres in Ajibarang Subdistrict, Banyumas Regency and the Coordinator of Family Planning Counselors (PKB). Data were collected using an open-ended questionnaire and through in-depth interviews. The collected data were first validated using source validity techniques and then subjected to a series of interactive model analyses (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana (2014), namely data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. Data condensation refers to the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming data.

4. Results

4.1. Informants' Profile

All informants in this study were female, aged between 20 and 49 years, but mostly 40-49 years (43.8%) and 30-39 years (37.5%). Most of them had graduated from Vocational High School (50%), while others held a bachelor's degree (25%) and were Junior High School graduates (25%). These informants have been working as social workers or volunteers in Family Planning for approximately one to nine years. Besides serving as family planning cadres, many were active cadres or committees of Family Welfare Empowerment (PKK), integrated health care centers (Posyandu), and other social activities.

4.2. Family resilience from the perception of the informants

In the Regulation of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Number 06 Chapter 1 of 2013 concerning the Implementation of Family Development, it is stipulated that family development is an effort to embody quality family living in a healthy environment. Family Resilience and Welfare are defined as the condition of a family with tenacity and perseverance and contain physical and material capabilities for self-sustained life and individual and family development to improve physical and spiritual welfare. This concept includes 1) Legal Foundation and Family Integrity, 2) Physical Resilience, 3) Economic Resistance, 4) sociopsychological

resilience, and 5) sociocultural resilience. This study, which considered the Covid-19 pandemic, focused on physical resilience (fulfilled needs for health), economic resilience (fulfilled economic demands), and socio-psychological resilience (family's capacity to mitigate non-physical problems, positive control of emotions, and husband's care to his wife).

Some informants mentioned that the Covid-19 pandemic (mid-2020-2021) had claimed many lives in their villages, and 12 people died in one village alone. These victims were generally adults in their 40s and 70s, so their children became fatherless or motherless. These orphans were then cared for by their relatives. The following is the excerpt from Informant D, whose village had 12 people who died of Covid-19

“Yes, we have, 12 people. Some of them have small children, four of them, now taken care of by one parent or their relatives” (Interview on September 25, 2022).

From an economic resilience perspective, many family heads in some villages lost their jobs due to government-mandated social restrictions that prohibited people from holding gatherings and activities outside of their houses. These family heads were factory laborers around Ajibarang Subdistrict, workers at tourism objects, and food stalls. However, the worst consequences were for families who lost part of their income because their business or place of work had reduced economic activity. These were wage laborers at the Bima cement plant in the sub-district, hawkers (at the market or peddlers), shop owners, and farm workers.

Income depreciation, which often occurred in informants' neighborhoods, resulted in a stunting incidence of eight to 82 families in all villages. The contributing factors were limited or no toilets or septic tanks, short interpregnancy intervals, or mothers with high-risk pregnancies (aged 40+ years).

Reduced or lost income in the family due to work termination has also led to a phenomenal gender role shift, in which wives are now the breadwinners/dominant power in the family. It was prevalent among families whose wives were Civil Servants (including teachers) or business owners, while their husbands were farm workers, bird breeders, or retirees. Despite this shift in gender and women's power over the family economy, these families stated that they were doing fine.

Regarding socio-psychological resilience, all informants mentioned that domestic violence in their villages was nonexistent. They had at least never heard stories or reports from victims of domestic violence, but there were seven villages in which informants found one or two cases of divorce. The main cause of divorce was that the spouses no longer felt compatible with each other. The other cause was economic problems, and one spouse left the other. According to an informant named Mrs. S, there was one divorce case in her village; the wife (28 years old) was the plaintiff, but she remarried. Mrs. Kh describes the situation of a divorced couple as follows:

“Yes, there is one, the wife is 34 years old, the husband is 38. The wife is unemployed but not laid off, they said they lack earnings.” (Interview on October 3, 2022).

Mrs. W is from a village where three divorces occurred. She said as follows:

“Case 1, early marriage, still so young, married before 19 years old... So, both have unstable minds and big egos. Their marriages lasted less than a year. In Case 2, the husband worked out of town and was remarried. Marriage has been ongoing for decades. In Case 3, the wife worked. Maybe she earned more than her husband or was ungrateful. Finally, she found another man.” (Interview on 3 October 2022)

Another case that contributed to the declining socio-psychological resilience was child marriage, which was found in five villages. Most child marriages occurred because the girls were pregnant due to committing free sex or being raised in a broken home family with limited parental care. Meanwhile, child marriages in one village were driven by the motivation to avoid adultery. The following is a statement from Mrs. A from a village where child marriage occurred:

“The wife is 19 years old, no longer in school, and her husband is working. Yes, they did not file for a dispensation because they were already 19, but in BKKBN, it must be 20. Because they are still young, they are directed to KB MKJP IUD” (Interview September 6, 2022).

Findings from the field illustrated above show that the Covid-19 pandemic has reduced family resilience, particularly the physical and economic factors of some families in Ajibarang District. This result confirms published findings in Banyumas Regency (Puspita et al., 2021), other regions in Indonesia (Sina, 2020; Shahreza & Lindiwatie, 2021), and other countries such as Vietnam (Tran, 2020), Brazil (da Silva, 2020), China (Ur Rahman, 2021), and America (Bruce et al., 2022).

One interesting thing about the informants' statements was that they believed no domestic violence ever occurred in their villages. In fact, the family data record in 2021 (PK21) by the Division of Population Control DPPKBP3A Banyumas Regency stated that domestic violence in Ajibarang Subdistrict was the highest across Banyumas Regency. In addition, the background section of this study stated that 86 out of 1,113 domestic cases (7.73%) were filed in this subdistrict.

Different information between informants and the secondary data of PK21 was interesting to probe deeper because PK21 data were sourced from family planning cadres and several neighborhood associations (Rukun Warga/RW). This discrepancy also demonstrated a lack of coordination between Family Planning Cadres at RW level and those at the village level, who were only one person in charge. It simultaneously showed a low understanding of Village Family Planning Cadres about the conditions of families in several RWs constituting one whole village.

On the other hand, the non-existent information about domestic violence during the Covid-19 pandemic reported to the informants could stem from the nature of domestic violence as a “hidden crime” (Soeroso, 2010). A study by Laurika (2016) stated that many victims were ashamed to report their domestic problems to others. Even if these victims reported the case, they retracted their reports and preferred non-legal actions to solve problems. Similarly, Patmiati et al. (2018) mentioned that domestic violence is notoriously taboo and a disgrace for telling others. However, Law No. 23 of 2004 concerning the Abolition of Domestic Violence stipulated that any individual could report such violence to other individuals who knew of such incidents.

Reflecting on several divorce cases reported by the informants, this study concludes that domestic violence occurred verbally, physically, or economically in the village. This may result from divorce as the culmination/accumulation of disharmonious relationships embodied in arguments that may easily translate into verbal abuse. According to the PK21 data, Ajibarang Subdistrict had the most cases of domestic violence; one spouse left their marital home due to conflict, seven consecutive days of sleeping in separate rooms (sleep divorce), and three consecutive days of silent treatment (not talking to each other).

Another prevalent case reported by the informants was child marriage, which has reached such a concerning state that it called for immediate preventive measures because, when left unaddressed, families were exposed to a high risk of stunting. Recently, the Indonesian government has persistently strived to accelerate the prevention of stunting. The increased prevalence of child marriage has also been found in many other countries such as Indonesia (Perempuan, 2021; Pitrianti, 2021; Marwa, 2021), India (Paul & Mondal, 2021), Bangladesh (Hossain et al., 2021), and Nigeria (Musa et al., 2021).

4.3. Gender-responsive counseling during and after the pandemic

Responsivity is the ability of an organization to identify public needs, arrange a hierarchy of needs, and develop these elements into a variety of program services (Dwiyanto, 2006). The definition of counseling, in terms of family planning counseling, according to the Regulation of the Ministry of Apparatus Bureaucratic Reform Number 21 of 2018 concerning the Functional Position of Family Planning Counselor, is the activity of disseminating communication, information, and education (KIE) of KKBPK programs to increase knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors of individuals, family, and/or community (individual or group KIE). KKBPK refers to

population, family planning, and family development programs. In other words, family planning counselors address the number of births, birth spacing, maternalised quality, and resilient families.

In this counseling effort, Village Family Planning Cadres known as the PPKBD (one in every village) play a crucial role in assisting the Family Planning Counselor (PKB). While Village Family Planning Cadres are social workers, PKB is a formal counselor (employed Civil Servant) in the department of KBPPPA or other agency/nomenclature. They usually carry out counseling activities through several activity groups (*poktan*), namely Fostering Family with Toddlers (BKB), Fostering Family with Adolescence (BKR), and Fostering Family with the Elderly (BKL). As implied by its name, each group focuses on a family with its corresponding members.

According to the PKB Coordinator in Ajibarang Subdistrict, during the Covid-19 pandemic, PKB coordination meetings were conducted offline by adhering to 3M health protocols (wearing masks, hand hygiene, and social distancing). Meanwhile, communication with the Village Family Planning Cadres (PPKBD) was not constantly person-to-person, but occasionally through WhatsApp. Similarly, cadres directly communicate and carry out counseling (Communication, Information, and Education/KIE) with the community. Cadres/informants conducted different activities; for example, Mrs. S mentioned both online and offline programs as follows:

Cadres resumed working in the field during the pandemic. The onsite meeting is not allowed, but cadres may visit pregnant mothers, provide counseling about the vaccine, and find birth plan acceptors to partake in the family planning program (interview on October 3, 2022).

Similar activities were conducted by Mrs. Kh, Mrs. F, Mrs. W, and others. They continued their visitation to fertile age couples (PUS) to find acceptor candidates who would voluntarily use long-term contraceptions (IUD or implant) provided freely at the Center of Community Health (Puskesmas). On the other hand, Mrs. D stated that BKB activities in her village were put on hold since the pandemic (2020-2021) up until recently. Cadres at the RW level maintained communication through WhatsApp, either a group chat or a personal line.

During the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, most informants helped in socializing health protocols (especially the mandatory mask) and assisting the marginalized community (distributing daily groceries and vegetables and fundraising). Counseling delivery took multiple means, but most focused on preventing stunting and early marriage.

Although cadres should have targeted families, they focused more on wives, pregnant women, postpartum mothers, mothers with toddlers (under two years), and preschoolers (under five years). Regarding premarital preparation, the main target was male and female adolescents, while for men/husbands, stunting prevention, birth control, and preparedness for childbirth (Suami SIAGA). Interestingly, most informants never conducted counseling with men because they found a limited forum for men (mostly carried out in the evenings) in the village, the cadres did not comprehend the materials to deliver, and there were no family planning groups for men. Mrs. Su mentioned the following reasons:

“Never, a forum for husbands is limited to neighborhood regular meeting which is usually at night.” (Interview on September 27, 2022).

Mrs. I stated her reason for not fully mastering the topic.

“Never, I haven’t had the comprehension on the counseling materials for husbands.” (Interview on 27 September 2022).

From the answers above, it can be concluded that during the Covid-19 pandemic, most informants participated in family counseling and mitigation of the Covid-19 pandemic. During the pandemic, counseling activities for mass gatherings were canceled; however, visits to the community to disseminate the KIE about family planning focused on planning the number of children using the Long-term Contraception Method (MKJP). Meanwhile, counseling to prevent domestic violence, divorce, and child marriage was not intensive. As the counseling targeted more women, it was therefore less gender-responsive.

5. Discussion

Counseling for family resilience needs to exercise gender responsiveness to mitigate problems and needs among women and men. Therefore, it is imperative to adjust the targets, delivery methods, and time according to the conditions of the community. This would specifically help prevent domestic violence, which is crucial to involve men because, according to Ramadani and Yuliani (2017), there is a correlation between childhood and a history of abuse with domestic violence. Even worse, teenagers who violently act toward their romantic partners may have previously experienced abusive behavior in their families (Wilson Tiffany & Maloney, 2019).

Accordingly, information about domestic violence (definition, impact, preventive, and corrective measures) should be disseminated not only to women, but also to men, either married or adolescents. It is expected that, upon acquiring knowledge about domestic violence, both men and women can actively prevent domestic violence in all forms at home, including abuse in a romantic relationship.

Several factors contributing to the lack of gender sensitivity in counseling were generally because the informants only partially comprehended the concept of gender and lacked training from a gender perspective in outreach programs. In addition, there was no 'instruction' from the PKB to address this issue, and the PKB themselves were neither trained for gender issues nor instructed by the DPPKBP3A to implement gender sensitivity in their counseling activities.

The importance of gender responsiveness in development programs, including counseling, is intended to include all related institutions (government and non-government) to implement the principles of Gender Mainstreaming in Development, as stipulated in President Instruction Number 9 of 2000 concerning Gender Mainstreaming in National Development. This commitment was stated in the National Medium-term Development Plan (RPJMN) IV 2020-2024, in which gender is one of the mainstreaming strategies together with the other three mainstreams, namely Sustainable Development Goals, Social and Cultural Capital, and Digital Transformation. At the global scale, the core values of PUG are strengthened by Sustainable Developmental Goals (SDGs), which include gender equality (the fifth goal).

The implementation of PUG must permeate counseling activities. However, the PUG approach has been carried out only partially, including counseling in the fishery (Yanfika, 2021), agriculture, breeding, and forestry (Puspitasari, 2012), environment (Rohmawati & Ismail, 2018), premarital counseling (Bachtiar, 2019), and religious counseling (Gultom, 2021). Gender sensitivity is also crucial in the practice and policy of health services (Celik et al., 2011; Gill & Stewart, 2011).

6. Conclusion

The analysis of robust data gathered in this study concluded that, first, a high prevalence of divorce and child marriage occurred during the Covid-19 pandemic, second, most communities responded to this issue by providing counseling but mostly targeting only women. In other words, the counseling was not gender-sensitive, and among many reasons was that most cadres only partially understood the concept of gender, and they had limited training in gender-perspective counseling.

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Transformation of the Indonesian Government Bureaucracy

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Abstract

The bureaucracy is an organ of government that intersects with society because, as a public servant, it meets the community's needs and interests. The conditions and interests of the organization are very dynamic, in line with the development of various dimensions of people's lives. Therefore, the government bureaucracy must be able to keep up with these changes, especially those related to speed and accuracy in the service process. Functions service through changing the attitude and perspective of the bureaucratic apparatus towards the functions and duties professionally, namely by strengthening the carrot and stick system and decentralizing authority. This study used a type of observational research. The data collection form with documents, observations, and in-depth interviews, the researcher tests credibility and conducts data analysis, including data reduction, data presentation, and drawing research conclusions. The research design used is a qualitative research method. All data were obtained using analysis in various related literature.

Keywords: Transformation, Public Service, Bureaucracy, Carrot, and Stick

1. Introduction

Indonesia's bureaucratic reform has entered the final road map. At the end of the 2020-2024 road map period, it is hoped that the achievement of world-class bureaucracy can be the answer to many problems, questions, or doubts about Indonesia's ability to realize superior human resources, as well as become the foundation of bureaucracy for the golden generation in 2045. Indonesia's golden generation 2045 will be achieved if there is a good and systematic development of human resources, which is characterized by the following characteristics: (1) having a comprehensive intelligence, namely productive and innovative, (2) being peaceful in social interactions and strong character, (3) healthy in natural interactions, and (4) superior (Oktari, 2020). This golden generation is predicted to reach 140 million by 2040. Human resource development is one of the efforts to respond to demographic bonuses and create opportunities and a generation of hard workers who have the ability and master technology so that they can compete globally. However, the golden generation in 2045 will only be realized if it is followed up by investing in human resource development (Kompas, December 27, 2017).

On the other hand, the Revolution of Industry 4.0 has disrupted various strategic environments of human life. These changes have not only a negative impact but also a positive one with the acceleration of the transition of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 to Society 5.0. For example, the acceleration of the use of Artificial Intelligent (AI) and its implementation in people's lives (Özdemir & Hekim, 2018); (Fukuyama, 2018). The presence of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 has also greatly influenced the organizational system of human work on earth, as Klaus Schwab argued. Schwab's argument states that the Industrial Revolution 4.0 has brought speed, breadth, and depth of systematic impact on countries, societies, industries, and enterprises (Schwab, 2016).

Similarly, the systemic impact of inequality as the most significant challenge will also emerge. At least Schwab's view predicts that the influence of this industrial revolution on the economic sphere will affect economic growth and the type and nature of work. It will affect consumer expectations in the business field, with better structuring of product types, collaborative innovation, and new operating models.

The presence of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 also introduces the procedures of an all-digital technology work system that has been proven to be widespread in various parts of the world (Fukuyama, 2018). An all-online work system, sharing economy, data integration, and the use of technological application systems and the like have changed the behavior of governance services in government management. The governance of government management through the existing bureaucracy must certainly reposition itself so that it remains relevant in responding to increasingly demanding public demands (Firdaus et al., 2021). The strategy of transforming the bureaucracy to become more adaptive, agile, and fluid becomes a non-negotiable necessity (Holmqvist & Pessi, 2006).

Inevitably and delayed again, Indonesia must also leapfrog towards a digital-based government. The development of digitalization in several countries in the private and public sectors has been very rapid and connected to the demands of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 (Dumalang, 2021). This gave birth to Governance 4.0, a bureaucratic condition characterized by speed and convergence in all matters, both in government, development, and public services. On the other hand, the current characteristics of the Indonesian bureaucracy are still at the Governance 1.0 level, characterized by a high political orientation, overlapping various inter-agency programs and activities, and various manual and fragmented business processes. The current development of technological convergence provides an excellent opportunity for Indonesia to jump toward Governance 4.0. Can this happen? (Ismail, 2019)

There are some fundamental problems with a digital bureaucracy (Prasojo, 2021). First, the need for standard structure and metadata in the Indonesian bureaucracy. It creates different data structures for the same type of data so that it cannot be the basis of a single data for various decision-making processes, policies, and development programs/activities between government agencies. Integrating various development programs, government, and digital public services requires One Data Indonesia, which is accompanied by the regulation and management of security systems so that the data can be well protected and not easily hacked. The problem with current data is that data in various government application systems often creates redundancy, has different references, needs to be more accurate, and has a variety of standards. It creates confusion for every government agency in making development policies and programs, such as poverty reduction programs and programs to strengthen Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs), which data are true and accurate. The variety of data today makes it challenging to build an integrated digital bureaucratic system between government agencies. In addition, the proliferating outsourcing pattern in creating various applications and their maintenance causes potential threats to data sovereignty and security because they are prone to leakage by third parties and, of course, high dependence on third parties.

The second is the utilization of technology that still needs to be more cohesive. Government agencies make many applications for various purposes of government administration. Of course, this also creates duplication and difficulty in integrating the provision of services. For the staffing system, approximately 27,000 applications and staffing databases are currently spread across 2,700 government-owned server rooms.

The third is the low sustainability of the application because its development needs to follow the standards of technology and good management, resulting in the application becoming digital waste and prone to hacking. The root of the problem is the need for standard management business systems and processes so that each government agency builds its technological system based on its respective understandings and needs. On the other hand, in many local governments, the business processes of internal management (such as staffing, planning, assets, and public services) are still carried out manually based on physical documents and are rigid.

The transformation of the bureaucracy towards dexterity and high power with an increasingly fluid work structure through a result-oriented matrix work organization model is the answer to respond to the demands of an increasingly demanding society. This bureaucratic transformation is essential amid general bureaucratic conditions that are still not conducive to the development of the Industrial Revolution 4.0, where a rigid bureaucracy still confines us due to the application of regulations, procedures, hierarchies, and controls as the basis of the Weberian bureaucracy (Serpa & Ferreira, 2019). The hierarchical and concentrated Weberian bureaucratic model, with decision-making power resting with the top leadership, also often makes the decision-making process sluggish. By experts, such a disease is often referred to as time lag or decision-making delay, which is the time lag between the formulation of a policy and its implementation (Jovanovski & Muric, 2011). Therefore, bureaucratic transformation to be more adaptive, agile, and fluid is becoming increasingly relevant amid the torrent of revolution of the 4.0 industry with its various disruptions. In addition, the momentum of the Covid-19 pandemic should encourage its acceleration, primarily by building a conducive ecosystem that can answer various existing challenges. The transformation of bureaucratic organizations requires collaboration and synergy built horizontally and vertically in each government agency. Another thing that is no less important is to change the way of working, culture, and thinking (mindset) so that later bureaucratic organizations can be more adaptive, agile, and fluid in providing excellent service.

2. Problem

With the increasing public demands on bureaucratic services, bureaucracy is often positioned negatively with inaction, inefficiency, and even manipulation. So what is essential to be the main point of attention is how to carry out bureaucratic transformation so that public servants' main functions and duties are realized.

3. Purpose

This study aims to analyze the transformation of the Indonesian bureaucracy and whether it has carried out its main functions and duties as a public servant.

4. Research Methods

This study used a type of observational research—data collection with documents, observations, and in-depth interviews. The researcher tests credibility and conducts data analysis, including data reduction, data presentation, and drawing research conclusions. The research design used is a qualitative research method, and all data were obtained using analysis in various related literature. According to (Creswell, 2009), qualitative research methods are based on postpositivism, philosophy, which is used to research scientific conditions in which the researcher himself is the instrument, data collection techniques, and qualitative analysis puts more emphasis on meaning.

Qualitative research methodology aims to analyze and describe phenomena or objects of research through social activities, attitudes, and perceptions of people individually or in groups. The theoretical foundation is used as a guide so that the research focuses on the facts in the field. In addition, this theoretical basis is also helpful in providing an overview of the research background and as material for discussing research results. The data analysis technique used in this study is a narrative analysis technique that focuses on how an idea or story is communicated to related parts. This research is expected to get results that can be used to solve a related problem. The type of approach to this research is descriptive. Descriptive research seeks to tell the solution to existing problems based on data.

5. Literature Reviews

In a country, bureaucracy is needed as a means of administration that can improve people's performance. Bureaucratic procurement is expected to help the community meet life's needs and get convenience in government services. According to Sawir (2020), in the book *Public Service Bureaucracy: Concepts, Theories, and Applications*, etymologically, bureaucracy is taken from the word "bureau" in French and "Kratos" in Greek. "Bureau" means writing desk, while "Kratos" means government. The bureaucracy is a group working behind a desk in offices or the government sector.

When viewed in politics or government, bureaucracy is defined as the embodiment of the state government apparatus in carrying out and implementing various policies through predetermined stages.

Some leading experts conveyed the definition of bureaucracy according to him. Here is the explanation: Max Weber. In the journal *Strategic Management of Bureaucracy in the Era of Disruption* by Risnawan (2018), it is written that Max Weber defines bureaucracy as a form of organization whose application is appropriate or related to the common goal to be achieved. It means that bureaucracy is used to organize work regularly.

Fritz Morstein Marx. According to Fritz Morstein Marx, the definition of bureaucracy is a type of organization that the current government commonly uses to carry out tasks of a specialist nature, performed by the government apparatus in an administrative system.

Blau and Page. As quoted from the book *Bureaucracy (Study of Concepts, Theory towards Good Governance)* by Muhammad (2018), Blau and Page explained bureaucracy as a type of organization used to carry out large administrative tasks, coordinating the work of many people systematically or regularly.

Dwijowijoto. The definition of bureaucracy, according to Dwijowijoto, is an institution that is very strong with the ability to increase potential capacity for good and evil, whose existence is as a neutral, rational administrative instrument.

One of the main characteristics of bureaucracy is that it is usually used by large organizations, such as the government, and is formal. In addition to these characteristics, the bureaucracy has several other characteristics: (1) The work is rigorous and regulatory-oriented. (2) The task is a specialization or particular or specific. (3) It is usually rigid and straightforward. (4) The implementation shall be conducted officially or formally. (5) Be central or centralized. (6) It usually follows the agreed terms. (7) The form is structured. It means having precise organizational makeup. (8) Obey and comply with existing rules or regulations. (9) The existence of hierarchical authority vertically. (10) Sometimes, the service procedures could be more precise, making decision-making difficult.

Types of Bureaucracy Bureaucracy is divided into three types: (1) General government bureaucracy Is a series of government organizations that carry out general government tasks. This task is more of a regulative function or regulating nature—for example, the field of order and security. (2) Development bureaucracy Is a series of governmental organizations with specific or specific duties. The purpose of this task is to achieve the goals of community development. Examples include agriculture, health, education, and industry. (3) Service bureaucracy Is a series of governmental organizations related to society. Its primary function is to provide services to the community. For example, public services (making ID cards) and passport processing. Examples of bureaucracy we can meet in everyday life. Local government is a form of bureaucracy in the field of the general government. Another example is hospitals and schools, as a form of bureaucracy in the development field, alternatively like the Department of Population and Civil Registry, which is a form of bureaucracy in the service field.

6. Results and Discussion

6.1. *Bureaucracy As Public Servants*

In modern government, the position of the bureaucracy as a public servant becomes an essential measure of the government's success in the eyes of the public. It is a common opinion that government agencies that serve the community's interests are often identified with inaction, difficulties, or other negative terms because it is complicated to get services that are by the community's needs. The functions carried out by the government are different from the private sector because the function of government services in meeting the interests of the community cannot be carried out by other organizations, especially market-oriented organizations that will eventually create injustice. According to Supriatna, the central and local bureaucracy must have three critical aspects in the process of development and service to the people. The three essential aspects are (Supriatna, 1997, p. 104): First, having a high responsibility as a servant of the state and a servant of the community. Second, it is responsive to problems the community faces, especially those that require community services broadly. Third, commitment and consistency to the value of moral standards in exercising government power.

The opinion above expressly positions the importance of bureaucracy concerning society, and to realize the position proportionally requires awareness from the government bureaucracy. With a strategic position and determining the fulfillment of the needs and interests of the community, the government bureaucracy in carrying out its functions and duties as a public servant has characteristics, according to (Munier et al., 2019) as follows:

1. Services organized are more urgent than those organized by private agencies.
2. Services by the government generally have the nature of monopoly or semi-monopoly or semi-monopoly
3. Formal legal provisions bind the activities of government agencies.
4. Services by the government are not tied to market prices.
5. The government's deeds are carried out under the observation of the people.

The statement illustrates that the bureaucracy is responsible and obligated to provide services to society without discrimination against any member. Public service is an activity aimed at meeting the needs of the community. When viewed from the government side, service is nothing but a process of activities carried out by the government to meet the community's needs related to the rights possessed.

In essence, the provision of services to the community by the government has become the duty and responsibility of the government in realizing the services provided to the community (Ndraha, 2003: 78). The government functions primarily as a provider of non-privatized public services including defense and security services, and civil services, including bureaucratic services. These public and civil services are government monopolies because they concern the people's interests, and the monopoly is inseparable from its urgency from the point of view of public interest. So it can be categorized as the primary function of government, as stated by Ndraha (2003:78):

"Primary functions constantly run and are positively related to the power that is governed. The primary function never decreases with the increase in the empowerment of society—the more powerful the ruled, the more the primary function is ruled. The government primarily functions as a provider of public and civil services, including bureaucratic services, and both functions are abbreviated as service functions".

It is realized that there are community interests that other parties need help to meet. The bureaucracy, as a government organ, produces and distributes means of meeting the needs of the people in the form of public and civil services. To meet the needs, the government must provide services to the community to meet their needs. In essence, the provision of services to the community is not only carried out by the government. However, it can also be done by other private parties, producing services and services to the community. The private sector can meet the needs and interests of the community because the mechanisms in force in the market may need to be able to optimally, or, indeed, the government conditions it as such. The role of the government is to provide services with the primary objective of maintaining a system so that people can realize what they need. In

principle, fulfilling people's needs the government is a form of government responsibility to the community. The government is expected to have the ability to provide the best service to the community.

6.2. Adaptive, Agile, and Fluid

The concept of Agile governance or called agile government is a bureaucratic concept that has long been studied in academia, especially in the department of public service management or public administration. The advantage of this Agile concept or method is to simplify the bureaucracy and focus on speed and convenience as a manifestation of dynamic governance, the dialectic of changing state relations demands bureaucratic changes so as not to be eroded by the times (*obsolete*).

The concept of New Public Management, New Public Service, clean up, design thinking, Scrum method, and others is a form of agile adaptation and bureaucratic fluidity through ecosystem improvement of the government work system. It can answer the challenges of improving the quality of public services through ecosystem improvement. The adaptive, agile, and fluid bureaucratic ecosystem no longer relies on top-down personalization, hierarchy, and strict decolonization. However, it is an ecosystem that can build a learning organization, develop strategic dialogue and public sector marketing, and support all HR (taking ownership) to achieve the shared vision.

Acceleration of bureaucratic reform is needed to lead to better governance characterized by an adaptive, agile, and fluid bureaucratic system, with characteristics such as good governance, focus on services, community involvement in government, innovation, responsiveness, and result-oriented. As a form of acceleration, it is necessary to carry out the organizational transformation, including improving business processes, service quality, performance management, and supervisory system. It will undoubtedly run optimally supported by three pillars: digital capabilities, organizational culture, and innovation so that a world-class adaptive, agile, and fluid bureaucracy can be realized. Significant changes to the bureaucratic work ecosystem must follow changes in the new work model by converting functional positions. This conversion is not limited to label changes but includes changes in how things work, building a new work ecosystem, and creating new KPIs (Key Performance Indicators).

The current Covid-19 pandemic should be used as a momentum for the State Civil Apparatus to prepare The New Normal in supporting the acceleration of adaptive, agile, and fluid bureaucratic reforms so that bureaucratic organizations can play a role as a determinant factor in winning the global competition. We hope that in realizing an adaptive, agile, and fluid bureaucracy, there will be synergy and collaboration from the central and local governments and the commitment of all parties to change for the better. This new paradigm is expected to change the orientation of how to work to network government and collaborative governance. By prioritizing liquid collaboration, bureaucratic agility will be built with high responsiveness in increasing competitiveness so that bureaucratic reforms with an adaptive, agile, and fluid ecosystem can drive investment, create jobs, and ensure sustainable economic growth in delivering Golden Indonesia 2045. Increasingly has strategic value during the condition of the Indonesian nation, which is still struggling with the Covid 19 pandemic. Bureaucratic reform through adaptive, agile, and fluid governance of government bureaucratic organizations is the answer to the acceleration of Bureaucratic reform, which aims to increase the nation's competitiveness with a competitive culture by creating a more adaptive, agile, and fluid work organization ecosystem.

6.3. Indonesian Bureaucratic SuperApps

The leap of change toward Indonesia's Digital Bureaucracy must be forced through the development of SuperApps, an integrated digital platform that offers a wide range of services in one application. We envision integrating data, business processes, and technology for various purposes of internal government services and public services to the community. Can the transformation process from a manual, traditional and partial bureaucracy to a digitally integrated bureaucracy be carried out quickly? Of course, this can be done. First, because of the high commitment of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, and Vice President Ma'ruf Amin, as stated on various occasions. Second, that technology is both a force tool of change and an

enabler in the process of change itself. Furthermore, third, the development of various digital services in the private sector (online shopping) has awakened and provided evidence of the convenience and efficiency obtained through technology. Of course, the way of thinking must be developed digitally and dynamically, not analog, step-by-step, and linear.

With the Indonesian bureaucratic SuperApps, various government business processes and services must be reorganized immediately. The realignment of business processes within agencies and between agencies is carried out with various reregulation and deregulation of regulations by the need to integrate data and systems of the S-based applicationuperApps. It is necessary to immediately build a National Data Center to become a home for One Data Indonesia. Also, build information and communication technology (ICT) sharing, and prepare machine learning and artificial intelligence technology that will be used for big data analytics as a basis for various decision-making needs and development policies. With the Indonesian bureaucratic SuperApps, various public services can be carried out online integrated with one hand, just like people in the general shop online through various applications that can be downloaded and used at any time via cellular phones.

In addition to being more efficient and effective, online services through SuperApps will prevent various potential corruption that has occurred so far through face-to-face meetings and various manual physical data that can be lost or manipulated. Based on microservices and multiplatform technology, various public service applications can be added gradually and continuously within SuperApps. On the other in, the bureaucracy will also be more flexible to be carried out anywhere and anytime with quality assurance based on an integrated and standardized system. It is possible to do this because, at this time, the number of millennials (Y, Z) has reached 31 percent, and in 2024 it has reached 42 percent; that is, a generation that is very familiar with and accustomed to interacting with technology.

The weakness of the bureaucracy in accelerating changes towards a digital bureaucracy is the existence of various regulations and mandates and mental attitudes (mental blocks) in each agency. A fellow South Korean diplomat who has served in Jakarta and provided consulting assistance related to the development of e-government in Indonesia explained the importance of the Digital Government Law to eliminate various regulatory obstacles in transforming the digital bureaucracy. This law becomes a kind of Omnibus Law of Digital Governance to integrate various sectoral regulations related to various business processes and agency mandates. In addition, there is uncertainty as to whom the implementing agency has the authority to carry out the digital transformation of the Indonesian bureaucracy. Several ministries (such as the Ministry of Communication and Informatics and the Ministry of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform) have regulatory authority, but it has no authority of execution.

In some countries, there is a kind of Digital Transformation Implementing Agency (for example, in Australia, there is a Digital Transformation Agency) that is given full authority to implement various policies in the context of digital transformation. A digital transformation implementing agency needs to be established in Indonesia or give authority to certain Non-Ministerial Government Institutions with the personnel and institutional capacity to carry out digital transformation. Finally, of course, we do not need to worry. The children of the Indonesian nation can master IT technology, robotics, AI, and others that can benefit the nation and state. The government only needs to build an ecosystem for the growth and development of this innovation.

6.4. Bureaucratic Transformation

The rapid development of society must be able to be responded to by the bureaucracy by transforming from within. The term transformation comes from the words transform: to change in composition, structure, or character, and transformation: an act, process, or instance of transforming or being transformed (Time, 1978:565). The term transformation indicates the existence of an activity to change something, its composition, structure, and character. With the understanding of transformation, bureaucratic transformation is related to the internal condition of the bureaucracy, namely in implementing functions and duties as a public servant.

Implementing bureaucratic functions and duties reflects two sides that are squeezed and influence each other. The bureaucracy can be seen from the side of the "apparatus," individuals who carry out their duties and functions, and as institutions that show institutions that carry out functions with specific procedures. Until now, there is still a stigma in society toward bureaucracy. As Albrow (Rachbini, 2002: 124) points out in a negative perspective, e.g., the bureaucracy is the authority or power which various government departments and their branches arrogate to themselves over their fellow citizens. Bureaucracy is a power in which government departments and branches are haughty towards the wider community. The stigma inherent in implementing bureaucratic tasks must be addressed by the government with innovative efforts so that the positive role of the bureaucracy is strengthened. The importance of this paradigm shift is inseparable from the existence of rapidly changing external conditions. There are four main reasons stated by Siagian (1994: 104), namely:

First, without any competition in producing certain products or services, the government bureaucracy must work quickly, at least to meet the increasing demands of society. Second, due to the limited ability of the government to provide work facilities and infrastructure for all its officials, the government bureaucracy is required to work with the highest possible level of efficiency, effectiveness, and productivity that will not be realized if the officials work slowly. Third, their primary duties must work quickly and continue on standby in certain aspects of society, nation, and state life, such as ensuring the state's safety, territorial integrity, and government apparatus. Fourth, in the era of globalization, as it is today, a state government in a particular field does compete with other governments and countries.

Strictly speaking, the above statement that it is essential and urgent to change the position and role of the bureaucracy is often identified with negative things into an organ that works by the demands and needs of a massively growing society. It is in line with Lawrence & Lorch (Thoha, 1995: 172) that the organic form of bureaucracy should be changeable and well-suited for complex and erratic environmental situations. Communication advancement and information technology it does require the bureaucracy to have the speed of transforming itself to work according to the standards needed by the public. It is inseparable from the fact that the development and increase in people's needs are speedy. On the other hand, the government bureaucracy tends to change more slowly, whereas, as acknowledged by B. Guy Peters (Rasyid, 1997, p. 44), bureaucratic empire-building is only partially related to the desire of the bureaucracy itself to survive. It also relates to the development of functions seen as essential to benefit the community's quality of life. Thus, it clearly shows the crush of bureaucratic interests to transform themselves with the fulfillment of the needs and interests of society.

6.5. Individual Factors

From the individual side, the effort needed is to change attitudes and self-views in the context of carrying out functions. Many changes have to do with the mental attitude of the bureaucratic apparatus. The most significant change in the bureaucracy is the way of looking at its functions and duties. It must lead to professionalism, that is, seeing duties as responsibilities and obligations as a consequence of the position as servants of society. Professional Working means that a person understands the ins and outs of his duties. Thus, the capable can carry out the task as well as possible (Siagian, 1994: 123). That is, understanding responsibilities and obligations are essential. Bureaucratic officials must realize that consciously they work to serve the public. In carrying out its duties of being responsible to the public, the government bureaucracy is closely related to human behavior as an element of bureaucracy in the organizational structure of government, both the behavior of individuals in formal and informal groups, as well as the internal and external behavior of government organization (Supriatna, 1997, pp. 100-101). Thus, every task carried out is not only formally accountable to superiors or government agencies but must realize that the performance of the task has implications for the public interest. In addition, there must be a change in perspective and attitude in interpreting positions. That the position held by a bureaucratic officer must be viewed in the context of authority means inherent authority. As stated by Surbakti (1992: 90), if an authorized person or acting person claims the right to govern by showing a procedural or substantial basis of authority, then members of the governed community have certain attitudes towards authority. It often happens that the bureaucratic apparatus is incapable and unwilling to separate the situation between affairs related to office and those outside the position. This condition triggers abuse of power. Transforming the bureaucratic apparatus will affect their positional perspective on society. Serving the community no longer has a negative

meaning. On the contrary, it becomes something positive because it serves as a form of responsibility as a servant of the state and a dignified servant of society.

Institutional Factors

Institutionally, several aspects need to be considered by the internal government to improve the quality of work of the bureaucracy so that it will directly or indirectly positively affect the implementation of its functions and duties. An essential aspect of the government is to streamline the implementation of duties and authorities by carrying out a working system that allows every bureaucratic apparatus to realize its responsibilities through the ability to carry out tasks. As for the mechanism that must be used through the carrot and stick approach, Kwik Kian Gie (Tanthowi et al., 2005, p. 167) states:

"Carrot is concerned with the net income of civilian employees and those in the military and police, sufficient to meet his standard of living commensurate with his education, expertise, leadership, level, and position. If necessary, his opinion is made high so that he is not only able to live decently but also enough to live "honorable." Stick regarding punishment, when all its needs can be met, and people are still committing corruption, it should be given harsh punishment because there is no more reason to carry out acts of corruption."

Kwik Kian Gie illustrates the importance of establishing norms that every bureaucratic apparatus must obey in carrying out their duties and functions. With rewards and penalties in assessing bureaucratic performance, it is hoped that it can improve the performance of the government bureaucracy. These efforts have now begun to be carried out by the government with the existence of measures or performance standards in the "reward" system popularly known as performance allowance. On the other hand, if the bureaucratic apparatus does not meet the established work standards, it will get sanctions in the form of delays and even the elimination of performance benefits.

In addition, there must be a change in how bureaucratic institutions interpret public servants quickly and accurately by shortening and facilitating public services through changes in centralized services to decentralization. Undeniably, the need for speed and accuracy in implementing bureaucratic functions and tasks is a reality that must be faced. It is inseparable from the increasing mobility of the community, so speed and accuracy are essential measures in solving problems. Therefore, the government bureaucracy must be able to follow the dynamics that exist in society—improving the performance of the government bureaucracy through shortening and simplifying functions and tasks, especially those that touch the interests of the community. Efforts need to be made to change the authority that has been centralized so that it takes a long time to decentralize authority by the classical theory called the Law of Arms and Fingers (Ndraha, 2003, p. 191). A formula is deduced from the law: the Short Arm Long Finger (SALF) and the Long Arm Short Finger (LASF). SALF theory shows a centralization model that results in the length and duration of the process so that the burden of bureaucracy, especially those on the frontlines, is burdened in carrying out their functions and duties. The SALF model, on the other hand, shows that there is a short process, and it takes a short time so that the bureaucracy can carry out its functions and tasks efficiently and effectively.

The theory wants to show the importance of decentralization of authority so that the bureaucracy is easier and more flexible in carrying out its duties and functions. The objective reason for the importance of decentralization of authority, as stated by Osborne & Gaebler (1999: 283-284) that decentralized institutions have several advantages: "First, decentralized institutions are much more flexible than centralized ones, they can respond quickly to changing environments and customer needs; Second, decentralized institutions are much more effective than centralized ones; Third, decentralized institutions are much more innovative than centralized ones; Fourth, decentralized institutions result in higher morale, more commitment, and greater productivity."

The above arguments show the connection between the bureaucracy's institutional transformation and the speed and accuracy of its tasks and functions. Through decentralization, bureaucratic authority becomes more flexible, not shackled by formal rules and long hierarchical structures, so it can function as a public service as expected by the community.

7. Conclusion

Factually, the government bureaucracy must develop itself to adjust to the increasingly high public expectations for running bureaucratic functions and duties, especially as public servants. Through the explanation above, several things can be concluded:

- 1) The government bureaucracy as an organ of government has the primary and essential function of providing services to the community. With the increasing demands of the community for quality services, especially the speed and accuracy of services, the bureaucracy, both individually and institutionally, must strive to transform itself.
- 2) It is necessary to make efforts to change from within the bureaucratic body itself, both changes from the individual aspect, namely the bureaucratic apparatus, by changing attitudes and perspectives in carrying out duties, especially in terms of seeing work professionally, namely as a responsibility and integrity. In addition, there is accountability for the public.
- 3) Institutionally, bureaucratic transformation is implemented strictly through rewards and punishments. It also changed from centralization of authority to decentralization of authority.

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India's Regional Security and Defense Cooperation: A Study of Sino-Indian Rivalry In Sri Lanka

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Abstract

The Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka's economic turmoil has significant implications for regional security and India's defense cooperation. Following President Xi's announcement of China's grand strategy, the Belt and Road Initiative, in 2013, China has utilized its infrastructure investment as a typical example of its implementation of soft power diplomacy on a global dimension. This has raised concerns about China's geopolitical ambitions in the Indian Ocean and the potential security threat it poses to India. Using qualitative research methods, this paper analyzes the geo-strategic importance of Sri Lanka in China's ambitions and the political strategies behind economic crises in South Asian countries. The paper evaluates the impact of China's debt-trap diplomacy on India's national security and defense cooperation with Sri Lanka. The findings suggest that Sri Lanka's economic instability has provided China with an opportunity to encircle and contain India in the region, and that India needs to take proactive steps to mitigate this threat. Overall, the paper highlights the importance of understanding the Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka's economic turmoil for regional security and India's defense cooperation.

Keywords: India, Security Threats, Defense Cooperation, Sri Lanka Crisis, BRI

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduce the Problem

Sri Lanka is a strategically located island nation in the Indian Ocean region, and both India and China recognize its importance for their geopolitical and economic interests. Therefore, any developments related to the Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka can have significant implications for regional security and stability.

The Sino-Indian rivalry has experienced a marked escalation in recent years, with both nations endeavoring to establish their dominance in the region. In the context of this rivalry, Sri Lanka has emerged as a pivotal battleground, as China and India vie for influence over the country's government and military. Against the backdrop of China's investments in Sri Lanka's ports and infrastructure, India has voiced apprehension over China's

expanding presence in the Indian Ocean. Consequently, India has undertaken measures to counterbalance China's influence, exacerbating tensions between the two countries.

Sri Lanka's government has welcomed Chinese investment in the past, but there has been growing concern about the country's increasing dependence on China and the potential for China to use its economic leverage to influence Sri Lanka's policies. According to Alexander Saeedy (2022), China provided Sri Lanka with project infrastructure loans worth \$11.7 billion in the early 2000s, as part of its strategy to control India in the Indian Ocean through the "string of pearls" plan. China's investment in Sri Lanka has focused on developing port infrastructure and other strategic projects under the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The BRI, a modern-day New Silk Road coined by President Xi Jinping in 2013 (National Bureau of Asian Research, 2018), aims to connect China with Asia, Africa, and Europe through significant infrastructure projects. The BRI serves as a tool to promote China's economic growth, address domestic challenges, and foster collaboration with countries participating in the initiative. Zhou W (2018) emphasizes the importance of the BRI for China's economic development, energy security, maritime, and geopolitical interests. Thus, China's investment in Sri Lanka aims to establish a dominant position in the country, gain access to its ports and sea routes, and obtain strategic and economic benefits. The project serves China's political ambition and its vision of a new international order.

Conversely, India perceives China's expanding influence in Sri Lanka as a possible menace to its security interests in the region. To counter China's mounting influence and safeguard its regional security interests, India has taken steps to reinforce its defense cooperation with Sri Lanka, including providing military training and equipment. The Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka has engendered tensions between the two nations, triggering concerns about the implications of their economic and military undertakings on regional security and stability. Additionally, this rivalry has underscored Sri Lanka's significance in the evolving geopolitical landscape of the Indian Ocean region. Considering the crisis in Sri Lanka from geopolitical interests, this is likely a very crucial strategy in fulfilling China's goals to realize geopolitical ambitions in strategic regional. It is the main reason that India is expanding its military cooperation with countries in Indo – Pacific region to tackle security threats in South Asia in the new context. Additionally, the economic and military activities of China and India in Sri Lanka have raised concerns about their impact on regional security. China's increasing economic investments in Sri Lanka and its development of port infrastructure have led to concerns about its strategic intentions and potential security threats to India. India, in response, has been strengthening its defense cooperation with Sri Lanka and other major powers the region to counter China's growing influence and safeguard its regional security interests.

Based on the above-mentioned fact, the author would like to clarify two main points in this research: First, how could the Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka's economic turmoil impact India's defense cooperation with Sri Lanka, and what steps could India take to mitigate any negative effects? Second, to what extent does the Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka's economic turmoil pose a threat to India's national security, and how is India responding to this threat?

To fully understand the impact of the Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka on regional security and India's defense cooperation, it is necessary to analyze the crisis caused by China's debt-trap diplomacy and its grand strategy to control the global order. Through this analysis, the author will examine the threats that China's Belt and Road Initiative poses to India's interests in South Asia. The economic and political collapse of Sri Lanka serves as a warning to other countries in the region about the dangers of sovereign debt in the context of geopolitical competition between India and China. By exploring these factors, the author aims to shed light on the complex nature of the Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka and its potential implications for regional stability and India's defense cooperation.

1.2 Literature Review

Recent studies have largely examined the competition between India and China in South Asia, with a particular focus on China's BRI and how India has responded to it. One significant study by Chien Peng CHUNG (2017) highlighted the political and economic implications of China's Maritime Silk Road strategy for the countries of South Asia. However, the expansion of China's influence into the Indian Ocean has become a primary concern for

India, whereas countries such as Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, and Bangladesh are worried about the power imbalance between them and India. Consequently, these countries have sought to use China as a counterbalance to India's regional dominance.

Pattanaik (2019) conducted an analysis of the struggle for influence between India and China in Sri Lanka, Maldives, and Nepal. According to the study, the ongoing competition between the two Asian giants is markedly different from previous periods as it has intensified significantly due to China's significant presence in the region, primarily through its massive investment projects under BRI. This has prompted India to step up its aid, investment, and economic commitments with smaller countries in the region in order to maintain its own influence. Tang (2000) examined the historical context of the competition between India and China and China's strategy in South Asia. The study concluded that China's strategic objective in the region is not to contain India but rather to safeguard its own interests by ensuring that India's dominant position in South Asia does not pose a threat to China. According to Attanayake and Atmakuri (2020), China's investments in port development in Sri Lanka have sparked India's own investments in maritime and port development, in close proximity to Chinese projects. This has led to infrastructure investment becoming a point of competition between the two countries. The authors evaluate how Sri Lanka is managing this rivalry and taking advantage of the competition in South Asia. They examine the economic and aid assistance provided by China and India to Sri Lanka and how it is distributed geographically. Chinese projects dominate in the Sinhalese majority south, while India is more prominent in the Tamil majority north and east. The author intends to further support these arguments.

Le Thi Hang Nga's (2021) article endeavors to demonstrate that India's central location in South Asia, vast geographical expanse, substantial population, and economic size afford it significant military power compared to other regional nations. Nonetheless, China's increasing engagement with smaller countries in South Asia has recently challenged India's supremacy as the regional hegemon. Consequently, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi has instituted a range of foreign policy adjustments to counter these developments. The authors contend that China and India's principal impetus in this rivalry is to attain power and security, rather than primarily economic objectives. While China's strategic calculations revolve around its aspiration to enhance its power in the geopolitical order, India's strategic calculations prioritize ensuring its security. China seeks to replicate and eventually surpass India's traditional influence in the region, whereas India's strategy is to maintain and strengthen its preeminent position. Despite China's seemingly dominant influence in the region, India's robust military strength and strategic policies indicate that it remains a formidable power.

Through an overview of foreign studies, it is shown that the above-mentioned studies have not yet mentioned or clearly explained China's debt trap diplomacy to Sri Lanka under the perspective of international relations theories to complete the "String of Pearls" strategy in the Indian Ocean. If it were done, China could control India in South Asia while disrupting India's cooperation with QUAD members to threaten Chinese strategies on a global scale. To achieve this goal, China has applied debt trap diplomacy to not only Sri Lanka but also other countries in South Asia. However, in Sri Lanka's crisis, the country plays an essential role in the commercial and security activities of China to India in the Indian Ocean. So, the author will analyze that Sri Lanka's crisis is caused by both internal elements and China's political goal as a scientific contribution to the study.

2. Methodology and Conceptual Framework

2.1 Methodology

This study employs a case study methodology, which is a type of qualitative research that utilizes secondary sources. The data were obtained and analyzed from various literature sources such as government reports of related countries, international financial institutions, reputable journals, books, and scientific information in mass media. The aim of this research is to analyze and explore the implications of the Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka on India's regional security and defense cooperation. The study aims to examine the factors contributing to the rivalry, the strategies employed by both countries, and the impact of the rivalry on Sri Lanka and the wider region. The study also seeks to identify potential opportunities for India to strengthen its regional security and defense cooperation, including with Sri Lanka and other neighboring countries, in response to China's growing influence.

Although the study examines the Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka, it may not provide a comprehensive understanding of India's broader regional security and defense cooperation, as its narrow geographic focus may overlook important regional dynamics and strategic considerations. Furthermore, the study's reliance on secondary sources and limited access to primary sources may limit the depth and accuracy of its analysis.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

The author has utilized the theoretical frameworks of Mahan's concept of sea power, Joseph Nye's concept of smart power, and the Gramscian concept of hegemony to analyze the Sino-Indian rivalry and its impact on regional security. By using multiple theoretical perspectives, the study aims to provide a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamics of regional security and defense cooperation in South Asia. The author's use of multiple theoretical frameworks enriches the analysis and provides a more comprehensive perspective on the subject matter.

3. Results

3.1 Theoretical perspectives on the Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka

3.1.1. Theory of hegemony and its implications for the Sino-Indian rivalry

The theory of hegemony explains how a dominant country or group of countries can use various means to exert influence over other countries in the international system to shape their political, economic, and military policies in their favor. The competition between China and India for influence in Sri Lanka is an example of this. Both China and India seek to establish their hegemony in the Indian Ocean region, with Sri Lanka being a key player due to its strategic location and economic significance.

China has been increasing its economic investments in Sri Lanka, particularly in the development of port infrastructure and other strategic projects. By doing so, China seeks to establish a dominant position in Sri Lanka and gain access to its ports and sea routes for strategic and economic benefits. This has raised concerns in India that China's growing influence in Sri Lanka could pose a threat to India's security interests in the region.

India, on the other hand, has been strengthening its defense cooperation with Sri Lanka, including providing military training and equipment, to counter China's growing influence. India also seeks to establish its hegemony in the region and maintain its dominant position in the Indian Ocean. Therefore, the theory of hegemony highlights the importance of maintaining a strong presence in Sri Lanka and other countries in the region to counter any attempts by rival powers to establish their dominance. For India, this means continuing to provide economic and military assistance to Sri Lanka to maintain its influence and control over sea routes and regional security.

3.1.2. Mahan's Sea Power Theory

Mahan's Sea Power Theory is a concept developed by Alfred Thayer Mahan (1889), a 19th-century American naval officer and strategist. The theory emphasizes the importance of sea power in a nation's military strategy and its ability to influence global politics and economic affairs. According to Mahan, a country that controls the sea has a significant advantage over its rivals in terms of trade, military power projection, and access to resources. It is proven at the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (2012) emphasized that China must become a maritime power within the next decade.

The strategic significance of Sri Lanka as a key maritime nation in the Indian Ocean region can be explained through Mahan's Sea Power Theory. China's plans for growth as a maritime power involve substantial co-development of ports and marine support centers across various countries, including Malaysia, Indonesia, India, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Djibouti, Greece, and Italy. This vast network of ports will enable China to support its merchant fleet and eventually establish a Blue-water navy (Richard Ghiasy et al., 2018). With its crucial ports and harbors

serving as vital hubs for shipping and trade, Sri Lanka is an asset for any nation aiming to control sea routes and exert influence over maritime trade.

China and India are competing for influence in Sri Lanka due to its strategic importance. China has been investing in Sri Lanka's infrastructure, while India has been strengthening its ties with the Sri Lankan government and providing military assistance. Mahan's Sea Power Theory emphasizes the significance of Sri Lanka's strategic location and the importance of controlling its sea routes for maintaining regional dominance. For India, maintaining a strong presence in Sri Lanka and ensuring the country remains stable and democratic is crucial to safeguard its strategic interests. India needs to maintain control over sea routes and maritime trade while countering China's growing influence.

3.1.3. Smart power theory

According to Joseph Nye (2011), smart power is "neither hard nor soft", rather "the skillful combination of the hard power of coercion and payment with the soft power of persuasion and attraction. It means increasing an integrated strategy, resource base, and tool kit to achieve. Smart power theory refers to the concept of combining hard power (military and economic strength) with soft power (cultural influence and diplomacy) to achieve a country's strategic objectives. It involves leveraging a country's strengths in both areas to influence other countries and shape international relations in a favorable manner.

In the context of the Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka, smart power theory can be applied to India's approach towards Sri Lanka because India has historically maintained strong cultural, economic, and political ties with this country. However, in recent years, China is primarily using economic and cultural soft power to gain influence in Sri Lanka. By investing heavily in Sri Lanka's infrastructure and building ports, China is seeking to increase its economic clout in the region. Additionally, China has been using its cultural influence to promote Chinese language and culture in Sri Lanka, thereby enhancing its soft power in the country.

To counter China's growing influence, India has been using a combination of soft and hard power. India has increased its economic assistance to Sri Lanka and has also been providing military and defense assistance. India has also been engaging in diplomatic efforts to strengthen its relationship with Sri Lanka and limit China's influence.

Additionally, India's smart power approach towards Sri Lanka has important implications for regional security and India's defense cooperation. To create a natural frontier with Chinese maritime strategy, India's defense cooperation with Sri Lanka can help build a strong defense network in the region, which can serve as a deterrent against any potential threats to India's security.

3.2 *Sino-Indian Rivalry in Sri Lanka*

3.2.1. The significance of Sri Lanka's geopolitical position to India and China

According to Shelton U. Kodikara's (1972) analysis, Sri Lanka holds a significant place in India's security architecture in the Indian Ocean, and it is also pivotal for India's global trade expansion. India's interest in the Sri Lankan port can be viewed primarily from a geopolitical perspective rather than a purely economic one. India's aim is to establish control over the Trincomalee Port as a counterweight to China's presence in Hambantota and to maintain dominance in the Indian Ocean. In this regard, India seeks to minimize China's influence in Sri Lanka and has therefore strengthened its defense partnership with the country.

Sri Lanka's strategic importance has been recognized throughout history as a valuable resource for a naval base to control the Indian Ocean and its busy maritime routes. No other South Asian nation can claim the same geographic significance as Sri Lanka. While countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Maldives offer strategic and geographic value, Sri Lanka provides a crucial location for military bases and maritime security, particularly from

a naval strategic perspective. As such, it can be argued that Sri Lanka plays a critical role in the geostrategic, economic, political, and military objectives of India and other major powers. The fact that China and India are increasing their investment in Sri Lanka's vital ports and enhancing their defense capabilities in the Indian Ocean is a manifestation of the application of Mahan's concept of sea power to ensure their global interests.

China places significant importance on Sri Lanka's strategic location as it is situated at a crucial point of marine trade routes that connect West and East Asia, Africa, the Arab world, and the Eastern world. Sri Lanka's role in maintaining India's security on the mainland is also crucial. The strategically located Hambantota Port in the Indian Ocean has become a vital factor in China's BRI and "String of Pearls" policy, contributing significantly to Sri Lanka's growth. According to Roy-Chaudhury's research (2019), China's acquisition of Hambantota port will connect this link to the "Maritime Silk Road," creating a sea corridor through China to Southeast Asia, a system of Chinese-invested ports in Africa, and passing through the Middle East and Europe. It is believed that China's strategies in Sri Lanka encompass several political issues, including encircling India and blocking its approach to the Indian Ocean, highlighting the importance of Sri Lanka to India and what China requires to advance its geopolitical interests.

Moreover, Sri Lanka is rich in natural resources such as coal, iron, hydrocarbons, natural gas, and oil, some of which remain underutilized (Asian Development Bank Institute, 2014). China's investment budgets, financial aid, or loans often request favorable access to Sri Lanka's natural assets, from mineral resources to ports, to support infrastructure projects (Ronak Gopaldas, 2018). As a large potential market for commerce and Chinese goods, Sri Lanka plays a critical role in China's BRI. With established diplomatic relationships, cultural and religious understanding, and commercial strategies employed in Sri Lanka during the past two decades, China aims to contain India in South Asia to achieve its political ambition in the Indo-Pacific region.

3.2.1 Comparison of economic and military activities of China and India in Sri Lanka

It is evident that Sri Lanka has become a point of contention for China and India in multiple spheres, such as commerce, funding, and foreign assistance. After the implementation of the India Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement in 2000, India emerged as Sri Lanka's primary trading partner, and bilateral trade between the two countries has since grown substantially. Similarly, China's business relations with Sri Lanka have also expanded significantly since 2004, making it Sri Lanka's second-largest trading partner after India in 2018. China recognized the potential for untapped investment opportunities in Sri Lanka and has since amplified its investments in the country since 2008 (see Figure 1). In the context of the Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka, both countries have been using a combination of hard and soft power to try and influence Sri Lanka's foreign policy decisions and gain a strategic advantage in the region. India, not wanting to fall behind, has also heightened its investments in Sri Lanka since 2000 and continues to do so.



Figure 1: Evolution of Trade Ties between Sri Lanka and India/China (2000-2018)

Source: Chulanee Attanayake & Archana Atmakuri (2018), pp. 73

Year	Country	Project	Type	Sector	Province
2009	China	Bunkering Facility and Tank Farm Project in Hambantota Port	Loan	Port	South
		Colombo-Katunayake Expressway Project	Loan	Road and Expressways	Western
		Puttalam Coal Power Project – Phase II	Loan	Energy	Northwestern
2010	China	Mattala Hambantota International Airport	Loan	Airport	South
		Power Sector Development Programme (Uthuru Wasanthaya)	Loan	Energy	North
		Rehabilitation of Kandy-Jaffna Road (A009)	Loan	Road and Expressway	North
		Rehabilitation of Jaffna-Point Pedro Road (AB020), Puttur-Meesalai Road (AB032), Jaffna-Kankasanthurai Road (AB016), Jaffna-Palali Road (AB018)	Loan	Road and Expressway	North
		Rehabilitation of Mulaithivu-Kokavil-Pulmodai Road (B297), Oddusudan Nadunkerny Road (B334), Mulaithivu-Puliyankulam Road (B296)	Loan	Road and Expressway	North
		Southern Expressway from Pinnaduwa to Matara	Loan	Road and Expressway	South
		Rehabilitation of Puttalam – Marichikade Mannar Road (B379, B403)	Loan	Road and Expressway	Northwestern /Northern
		Rehabilitation of Navatkuli-Kerativu-Mannar Road (A032)	Loan	Road and Expressway	Northwestern
		India	Limb Refitment Project, Rail Bus service Trincomalee to Baticaloa	Grant	Road
	1,000 Pilot Housing Units Project		Grant	Housing	North
	Rehabilitation of the Harbour at Kankasanthurai		Grant	Port	Northern
	1,000 housing units in Northern Province		Grant	Housing	Northern
	2012	China	Hambantota Port Development Stage II	Loan	Port
India		49,000 Housing Units in Northern, Eastern, Central and Uva Provinces	Grant	Housing	Northern
2013	China	Matara Beliatta Section of Matara Kataragama Railway Extension	Loan	Road and Expressway	South
		Hambantota Port Development Phase I for Ancillary Work and Supply of Equipment	Loan	Port	South
		Construction of Outer Circular Highway Project – Phase III	Loan	Road and Expressway	Western
		Southern Expressway Extension-Section 4 from Mattala to Hambantota	Loan	Road and Expressway	South
		Southern Expressway Extension-Section I from Matara- Beliatta	Loan	Road and Expressway	Western
2014	India	Kawanthissapura Industrial Zone, Hambantota	Grant	Port	South
		4,000 housing units in Uva and Central Provinces	Grant	Housing	Uva and Central
2018	India	Credit Line for Development of Kankasanthurei Harbour.	Loan	Port	Northern
2019	India	Development of East Coast Terminal at Colombo port	Loan	Port	Central

Figure 2: Chinese and Indian investment projects in Sri Lanka (including loans and grants) 2009-2019

Source: Chulanee Attanayake & Archana Atmakuri (2018), pp. 72

India and China have been competing in the development of ports in Sri Lanka in recent years. The construction of the Hambantota deep-water seaport, which was originally proposed to India, was eventually undertaken by China in 2005. Between 2009 and 2019 (see Figure 2), China and India were involved in several investment projects in Sri Lanka, which contributed to the intensification of the Sino-Indian rivalry in the country. China's investment projects were particularly significant, as they were focused on building strategic infrastructure projects such as the Hambantota Port and the Colombo Port City. These projects were viewed as key elements of China's Belt and Road Initiative, which aims to increase China's connectivity with the rest of the world, while also advancing its economic and strategic interests.

India, on the other hand, focused on providing development assistance and technical expertise to Sri Lanka, while also investing in its infrastructure following Chinese investment in Hambantota¹. India's projects are mainly aid

¹ India closely monitored the situation and even established a consulate in Hambantota in 2010, despite the absence of a significant Indian or Sri Lankan Tamil community in the area. This heightened Indian concern has led to increased competition between India and China to invest in Sri Lanka's infrastructure.

grants which aimed at strengthening its economic and strategic ties with Sri Lanka, while also countering China's influence in the country.

One of the important activities for Sri Lanka's existence and development is the defense field. Throughout the 30-year long conflict against the LTTE, Sri Lanka received unwavering support from China (PP de Silva², 2015, pp.62). Despite the absence of support from other nations, China consistently stood by Sri Lanka, offering financial aid, weaponry, military training, and sharing sensitive intelligence (see Figure 3). While there may not be as many defense cooperation activities between China and Sri Lanka compared to other South Asian countries, Sri Lanka is still viewed as a crucial component of China's "string of pearls" strategy, which aims to encircle India by establishing a series of military and commercial base throughout the region.

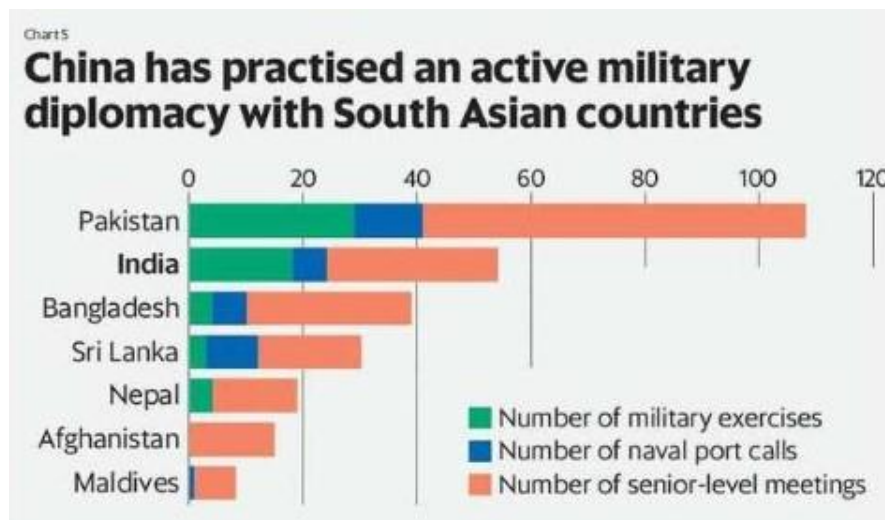


Figure 3: China's military diplomacy in South Asia (Livemint, 2020)

Sri Lanka has invited China to participate in the multinational Cormorant Strike exercise, and China has given Sri Lankan military officers the opportunity to improve their education in China. The two countries previously conducted Exercise Silk Route in 2015, but there have not been any subsequent iterations of the exercise (Abhijit Singh, 2015). Furthermore, China and Sri Lanka have also cooperated in military exercises and drills, such as joint passage exercises and humanitarian assistance. The People's Liberation Army Navy has provided assistance to the multinational counterpiracy mission in the western Indian Ocean and has used Sri Lanka as a midway refueling point. China has also provided military equipment, including small arms, ammunition, landmines, naval vessels, and aircraft to Sri Lanka, with some of these armaments possibly being given as aid. Notably, China ranked Sri Lanka as its eighth-largest arms market between 2005 and 2010 (SIPRI, 2011), although this represents only a modest fraction of China's overall arms trade. Such developments reflect China's expanding involvement in global arms, transfers and its growing presence in South Asia, while also highlighting the potential risks associated with China's provision of military assistance to other nations.

As for India, defense relationship between India and Sri Lanka has been established for several decades, strengthened by their shared historical, cultural, and ethnic ties. India has been providing military aid and training to the Sri Lankan Armed Forces, as well as assistance in the form of patrol boats, communication equipment, and other hardware to enhance their capacity to deal with security challenges such as terrorism and maritime security. India and Sri Lanka have also conducted joint military exercises to enhance their combat readiness and interoperability. India has also been involved in the reconstruction and development of infrastructure in war-torn areas of Sri Lanka to promote stability and security in the country. The Indian military institutions, such as the National Defense College, have played a significant role in producing leaders for the Sri Lankan armed forces. Each year, around 1,500 to 1,700 slots are reserved for Sri Lankan personnel, which requires an expenditure of

² He was a Major General in the Sri Lanka Army, stationed at the Ministry of Defense, Sri Lanka.

approximately ₹500 million to ₹550 million (equivalent to more than \$6 million). Similarly, the Sri Lankan armed forces host Indian military officers for specialized training programs in areas such as counterinsurgency (Hindustan Times, 2022).

Overall, China and India have been engaged in a competition to extend their economic and military influence in Sri Lanka. China has been actively seeking to deepen its political influence in the country through building close ties with the Sri Lankan government and providing development assistance and other forms of support. China has also been a major investor in Sri Lanka's infrastructure, particularly in ports and highways. In contrast, India has traditionally focused on providing development assistance and technical expertise to Sri Lanka but has recently increased its investment in Sri Lanka's infrastructure and has signed trade agreements with the country. While China has been more assertive in its economic and military influence in Sri Lanka, India has been more cautious in its approach. However, India has also been more active in deepening its political ties with Sri Lanka in recent years, particularly in response to security threats from China's strategies in Sri Lanka and other South Asian countries. The impacts of China's investments and military presence in Sri Lanka on India's regional security have been significant, as China's deepening ties with Sri Lanka could potentially encircle India and limit its access to the Indian Ocean.

3.2.2 Threats to India's regional security from China's strategies in Sri Lanka crisis

Sri Lanka's need for Chinese aid is linked to its historical issues, particularly the civil war that lasted for over 25 years and ended in 2009. The war had a significant impact on the country's infrastructure, particularly in the war-torn regions of the north and east. After the war ended, the Sri Lankan government prioritized infrastructure development in these regions to promote economic growth and stability. Sri Lanka's economic crisis has made it an attractive destination for Chinese investment. China's pursuit of strategic objectives in the Indian Ocean region has been focused on enhancing its global influence and securing energy resources in Sri Lanka. This has involved significant investments in Sri Lanka's infrastructure, with particular attention paid to the Hambantota Port, which is strategically located near key shipping routes.

While many international scholars view Sri Lanka's economic crisis as a result of China's debt-trap diplomacy, the author genuinely thinks the intersection of Sri Lanka's economic turmoil and China's strategic ambitions is to control India and assist to China's Grand Strategy. Because China's debt ratio is not the factor that caused Sri Lanka's crisis and insolvency (see figure 4). However, due to Sri Lanka's strategic position and interests with China and India, it has unintentionally become a battleground for the strategic competition between these two countries. The more Sri Lanka tries to balance, the more it falls into crisis due to the economic and military strategic deployments of China and India.

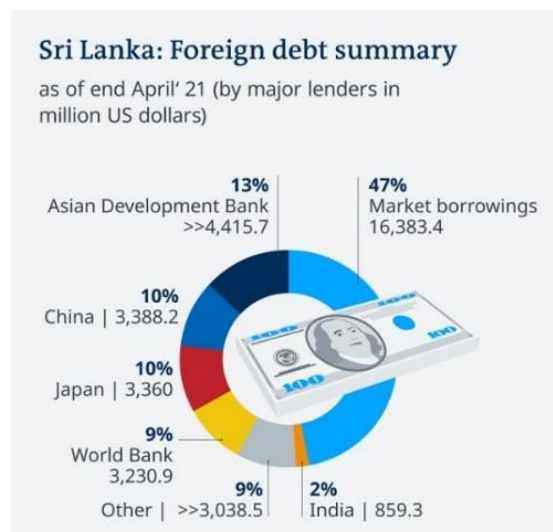


Figure 4: Sri Lanka's foreign debt summary until April 2021

Source: Department of External Resources, Sri Lanka

It is apparent that China's intentions in Sri Lanka extend beyond just trapping the country in debt repayments. The author cites the equity swap of the Hambantota deep-water port as an example to demonstrate that China's interests in Sri Lanka's economic crisis are not solely driven by debt-trap diplomacy. The Rajapaksa Administration transferred the Hambantota port to China on a 99-year lease in exchange for debt forgiveness when Sri Lanka was unable to repay its debt. China has invested heavily in Sri Lanka's infrastructure, including ports, airports, highways, and power plants, with the promise that these projects will boost trade and help Sri Lanka pay off its foreign debts. However, these projects have failed to generate foreign revenue, leaving Sri Lanka unable to repay its debts and raising concerns about its national security and domestic stability.



Figure 5: China's "String of Pearls" Strategy

Source: China Briefing (2019)

Moreover, the Hambantota port is part of China's "String of Pearls" strategy in the Indian Ocean, which aims to extend China's influence in the region through civil and military infrastructure projects from the Chinese Mainland to Port Sudan (*see Figure 5*). This strategy, along with the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, poses a threat to India's national security. China has significant strategic and economic interests in the Indian Ocean region, and its "Belt and Road" initiative will only further expand its presence in the region.

According to the Institute for Security & Development Policy's report (2022), China has added a military component to its strategic trap diplomacy by providing Sri Lanka with military aid, including a warship and training courses funded by China. Most of the Chinese projects in Sri Lanka have a long-term strategic objective that could potentially result in a "hybrid model" of civil and military activities in the region. Such a model poses a security threat not only to Sri Lanka but also to the wider Indo-Pacific region through China's "String of Pearls" strategy. The report indicates that China's debt trap diplomacy in Hambantota, Sri Lanka, along with its investments in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, serves as a primary strategy for encircling India and limiting Indian alliances in South Asia and beyond.

In the same opinion as the above analysis, Thomas Wheeler (2012, p.15) emphasized that "... China has for a long time had relations with Sri Lanka, from the beginning, China did not have strategic interests in Sri Lanka until recently when its geographic position became more important to China's a trade and energy routes. About 62 percent of China's global trade and 90 percent of its imported energy passes through the Indian Ocean Sea lanes surrounding Sri Lanka" – Thus, China approached Sri Lanka because the rise of India and its alliance could influence China's strategies in the region. The traditional influence of India in South Asia will help countries escape the debt trap of China. To protect the "String of Pearls" strategy, China practiced debt-trap diplomacy in Sri Lanka for strategic and political purposes.

3.3 *India's identified risks and status from Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka*

China's increasing investments and military presence in Sri Lanka have raised concerns about India's regional security. China's BRI has led to significant investments in Sri Lanka, including the development of the Hambantota port and the Colombo International Financial City. These investments have not only increased China's economic influence in Sri Lanka but have also raised concerns about its military intentions. China's military presence in Sri Lanka has also grown in recent years, including visits by Chinese submarines to Sri Lanka's ports. In contrast to China's Belt and Road Initiative, India is advocating for a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific" concept. India's vision emphasizes the importance of a rule-based system in the region that upholds the sovereignty of nations and guarantees freedom of navigation. The contest between China and India for dominance in the Indian Ocean region is therefore a crucial element of their rivalry in Sri Lanka.

India sees China's growing influence in Sri Lanka as a threat to its regional security. The Hambantota port has been a source of concern for India. Located near the southern tip of India, the port could be used by China to monitor Indian naval activity in the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, there are concerns that China could use its military presence in Sri Lanka to encircle India and limit its access to the Indian Ocean. Therefore, the Sri Lankan crisis caused by Chinese strategies has had a significant impact on India's regional security, which can be demonstrated by the following reasons:

Firstly, historically, Sri Lanka has been under India's influence, and India has invested in Sri Lanka's economic development and infrastructure to maintain its regional control. However, Sri Lanka's economic crisis, which includes its rising debt, has raised doubts about India's ability to sustain its power in the country. Sri Lanka has been seeking economic assistance from China, which could potentially undermine India's regional influence. Due to Sri Lanka's strategic location in the Indian Ocean, China might establish military bases in the area, which could have implications for India's security in the region. India's concerns are valid since China has opened a combined navy and air force base in Djibouti in August 2017 (Femi Rachma Pertiwi, 2021) and is developing a naval base near Gwadar Port in Pakistan (Gurmeet Kanwal, 2018), as part of its "String of Pearls" strategy in the Indo-Pacific region. The Maldives has also arranged a port lease with China, as part of China's "two-ocean" strategy. China's "String of Pearls" strategy has created a security imbalance in the Indian Ocean region, increasing the risk of political instability and potential government collapse (Aswani RS, 2022). A new government could be vulnerable to China's influence. Therefore, India's security is threatened not only by its disputed borders with Pakistan and China but also by China's expanding influence in the region.

Secondly, Sri Lanka's economic turmoil could also have implications for regional stability. The country's debt crisis and economic challenges could lead to social and political unrest, which could spill over to neighboring countries, including India. This could have significant implications for regional stability and security. Under pressure from China's assistance to Sri Lanka, India must limit China's goal policy of debt-for-equity swap would lead to direct interference in others' internal politics which easily lead to civil, regional, and international urgent financial assistance. This will also have a heavy impact on India's economy, especially since the Covid-19 pandemic has negatively affected the Indian economy.

Thirdly, the Indian Ocean is strategically vital to India's great power ambitions in South Asia (Johnson O, 2020). To achieve these goals, India has enormously competed with China's strategy by boosting long-standing cultural and political relations with countries in South Asia. In recent years, India has developed as a regional military power with economic strength, nuclear capacity, and missile capability. It directly threatens China's expansion and interests in the region. India has been seeking to build strategic partnerships with major powers in the Indo-Pacific region, such as the United States, Japan, and Australia. Enhancing defense cooperation with Sri Lanka and other countries in the region can help to strengthen these partnerships and ensure that India remains a key player in the region to counter China's growing influence in the country. However, Sri Lanka's economic turmoil could affect the effectiveness of this cooperation. Sri Lanka's mounting debt has led to concerns that it may not be able to sustain its defense expenditures, which could weaken its ability to counter security threats in the region. This could, in turn, have implications for India's defense cooperation, which relies on Sri Lanka's ability to counter security threats effectively. At the same time, India has to promote strategic cooperation with the United States,

Japan, and Australia in the QUAD alliance creating a significant security threat to China. In spite of cooperating with other major non-regional countries, such as Russia, Japan, and the European Union, India can keep China's influence in check. However, the overlapping geopolitical interests of these major countries will greatly affect India's role, as well as increase the risk of conflict between China and India.

3.4 Outlook for India's regional security and defense cooperation

The Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka is likely to continue to be a complex and multifaceted issue. It is important to note that not all conflicts result in negative outcomes. China is likely to continue investing in Sri Lanka's infrastructure, particularly in the development of port infrastructure. The Hambantota port project is a key example of this investment, and China is expected to continue expanding its presence in the port. This is likely to continue to be a major point of contention between China and India, as India views Chinese investment in Hambantota as a strategic threat. However, India is likely to limit China's investment in Sri Lanka's infrastructure by strengthening its own investments in the country's infrastructure, particularly in areas such as energy and transportation by cooperating with major powers such as Japan and the United States, to provide alternative sources of funding for Sri Lanka's infrastructure development, thereby reducing Sri Lanka's dependence on Chinese investment.

Increased Indian defense cooperation in Indo-Pacific region is likely to continue strengthening its defense cooperation with Sri Lanka to counter Chinese influence in the country and South Asia in advance. Then, India will upgrade all cooperations with key major powers in Indo-Pacific region through military training, equipment, and joint exercises to counter Chinese influence on India's security (*see Table 1*).

It can be seen that India has a policy of engaging in military activities with various countries, including China, for several reasons. Firstly, India seeks to promote peace and stability in the region, and engaging in military exercises with other countries helps to build trust and confidence between the militaries of different nations. Secondly, India seeks to enhance its own military capabilities by learning from other countries and sharing its own expertise. By engaging in joint military exercises, India can learn about new technologies and tactics, and improve its own operational readiness. Finally, India seeks to build strategic partnerships with other countries, including those that may have competing interests with India. By engaging in military activities with such countries, India can develop a better understanding of their capabilities and intentions, and work to build relationships that are based on mutual respect and cooperation.

Table 1: List of significant India's military exercises

Name of military exercises	Participating countries with India
SIMBEX	Singapore
AUSINDEX	Australia
Mithra Shakti	Sri Lanaka
Nomadic Elephant	Mongolia
Garuda	France
Hand in Hand	China
KONKAN	UK
Surya Kiran	Nepal
INDRA	Russia
MALARBA	QUAD (US, Japan, Australia, India)
J-MEX	Japan
Samudra Shakti	Indonesia
Naseem-Al-Bahr	Oman

Source: Collected by the author from Ministry of External Affairs, India

Additionally, countries in the region, such as Japan and the United States, Australia, South Korea, or some EU's countries may work more closely with India to counter Chinese influence in Sri Lanka and the wider region. These countries also recognize the importance of maintaining regional stability and preventing any one country from

dominating the region. Working together to counter China's influence in Sri Lanka and the wider region are seen to promote regional stability and prevent the emergence of any single dominant power.

4. Conclusion

The Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka's economic turmoil has the potential to significantly impact regional security and India's defense cooperation with Sri Lanka. China's debt-trap diplomacy and infrastructure investments in Sri Lanka have raised concerns about its geopolitical ambitions in the Indian Ocean and the potential security threat it poses to India. This rivalry also highlights the importance of understanding the political strategies behind economic crises in South Asian countries.

After researching, the author believes that: *For the first research question*, The Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka's economic turmoil could impact India's defense cooperation with Sri Lanka by creating tensions and mistrust between the two countries. If Sri Lanka becomes too reliant on China for its infrastructure investments, it may be more likely to align with China's strategic interests in the Indian Ocean, potentially creating a rift between India and Sri Lanka. This could further undermine India's ability to maintain its strategic presence in the region. To mitigate any negative effects, India could increase its own infrastructure investments in Sri Lanka, thereby reducing Sri Lanka's reliance on China. India could also engage in more regular and transparent communication with the Sri Lankan government, to ensure that India's concerns about China's influence in Sri Lanka are addressed. Additionally, India could explore new areas of cooperation with Sri Lanka, such as joint military exercises, to build trust and confidence between the two countries. These steps could help to maintain India's strategic presence in the region and enhance its defense cooperation with Sri Lanka; *For the second research question*, the economic instability in Sri Lanka can lead to political instability and social unrest, which can spill over into India's southern states, particularly Tamil Nadu. India has a large Tamil population, and any ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka can have repercussions for India's internal security. To respond to this threat, India has been trying to increase its economic and strategic engagement with Sri Lanka. India has offered financial assistance and investment in Sri Lanka's infrastructure projects, such as the Colombo Port City project. India has also been providing development assistance to Sri Lanka in various sectors such as health, education, and agriculture. Furthermore, India has been engaging with Sri Lanka at the political and diplomatic levels. India has been advocating for Sri Lanka's reconciliation and ethnic harmony, particularly with the Tamil community. India has also been closely monitoring China's investments in Sri Lanka and has been trying to counterbalance China's influence in the country.

Based on the above-mentioned results, it can be concluded that the Sino-Indian rivalry in Sri Lanka has far-reaching implications for regional security and India's defense cooperation. As this competition continues to evolve, India must remain vigilant and proactive in mitigating any negative impacts and defending its national interests in the region. To limit further threats in the context of the Sino-Indian rivalry in South Asia, India needs to enhance its defense cooperation with major powers in the region. This includes infrastructure development, military cooperation, and political alliances, which have ultimately affected the stability of the region.

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Contextualizing and Infusing Gross National Happiness (GNH) Values Through Teaching Primary Schools Mathematics: Approaches and Relevancy

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Abstract

This paper presents approaches and relevancies of contextualizing and infusing GNH values through teaching primary school Mathematics at Samtse, Bhutan. Teachers and principals of four primary schools were interviewed, classroom teachings were observed, and the relevant documents were studied. Findings confirmed contextualizing and infusion of core GNH values and higher degree GNH values are practised depending on their suitability and feasibility; teachers' most persistent difficulties are how to contextualize GNH values in Mathematics lessons, and infuse the values through teachings; through teaching GNH values students' temptation towards unsocial activities and unreachable materials are reduced, on other hands their positive behaviours, openness, and being responsible are enhanced. This study is important for all because it provides significant insights: teaching GNH values promotes principles of GNH values and holistic education, inculcates primarily required moral values, and maintains peace and harmony in society. Although no demerits of teaching GNH values were reported, the resilience of the practice of contextualizing and infusing GNH values through teaching Mathematics has been found weak.

Keywords: GNH, Contextualization, Infusion, Identify, Approaches, Relevancy

1. Introduction

In today's world if we can balance materialistic development and spiritual development then the coexistence of these developments in our life would provide us with more happiness. Education is one of the most powerful tools that help people understand this "balance". Spirituality has positive effects on health, attitudes and behaviours in adolescents (Rew L and Wong YJ, 2006; Kub J and Solari-Twadell PA, 2013). Drukpa (2016) highlighted the review of Kesebir & Diener (2008) on Aristotle's quotation on happiness: happiness is the meaning and purpose of life, the whole aim and end of human existence. In a nation, it is unachievable to maintain happiness for every citizen, but it may be possible to manage happiness for most of the population (GNH,2005).

The Gross National Product (GNP) is not for measuring people's actual well-being (GNH,2005). The term 'GNH' was first coined by the fourth King of Bhutan Jigme Singye Wangchuk in 1972 (Ura et al., 2012) for the happiness and well-being of the Bhutanese people. Since then, in Bhutan, the concept of GNH has been followed as the main philosophy of socio-economic development. As this philosophy is flourishing in Bhutan, happiness is being realized and promoted amongst Bhutanese people. As Ura et al.(2012a) maintained, 'pursuit of happiness is collective effort', the happiness index of the GNH concept is used to measure the collective happiness and well-being of people in Bhutan. The good moral values of an individual who generates happiness for himself/herself or others are the happiness values. For example, being kind, compassionate, considerate, dependable, forgiving, fair, just, generous, helpful, and cooperative are some good moral values that generate happiness by virtue in the mind of people. Such moral values in the Bhutanese context are termed GNH values.

Various workshops and training were provided to the school teachers, business communities and entrepreneurs, and other civil servants to educate Bhutanese citizens on the incorporation of concept and GNH values in teachings, business, health and social well-being of people (Hayward & Colman, 2010; Bedford,2011). The government of Bhutan implemented teaching GNH values in schools and institutions in 2011 (Bedford, 2011). Zangmo (2014) opined those moral values such as being kind, compassionate and considerate to each other should be inculcated in students' behavioural changes. She also contends that students appreciate and practice the GNH values, which are the desired goals of the GNH-infused curriculum. Her review of GNH perspectives has left a big space for the approach of contextualizing and infusing GNH values in teaching Mathematics in schools of Bhutan. Contextualizing and infusing GNH values in teaching Mathematics takes place in a specific socially structured context: relevant Mathematics topics, and as and when feasible.

The process of incorporation of GNH values takes place through the process of contextualization and is followed by the infusion of morals in teaching various subjects of the school curriculum. Contextualizing GNH values in teaching means placing relevant GNH values in a lesson and embed to prepare a GNH values-laden lesson. Otherway around, the lesson topic is identified that is relevant and appropriate to embed the chosen GNH values within it, and a GNH values-laden lesson is prepared. Infusion of GNH values means inculcating the concept and principles of GNH values in students' minds and their behavioural changes. So that they understand, realize, internalize and value the values by applying them in their real life.

'Education' is one of the associated GNH domains of the GNH Pillar 1 (See Table 1). One of the indicators of this domain is 'value' which includes teaching GNH values in schools and institutes, but this indicator doesn't give a clear picture of how to contextualize and infuse GNH values in teaching Mathematics. The teaching of the GNH concept and GNH values has been implemented in all four different levels of schools in Bhutan: Primary School (PS), Lower Secondary School (LSS), Middle Secondary School (MSS) and Higher Secondary School (HSS).

Usually, a GNH value-laden lesson takes the form of a short story in an explicit description. For example, let us choose 'subtraction' as a lesson topic in which we can contextualize GNH values and infuse them through this lesson. The GNH value 'Removal of hunger' is equivalent to the addition of 'happiness'. When one GNH value is taught other associated GNH values automatically get infused into students' understanding, realizing, internalizing and valuing the values: being compassionate and cooperative are some of the GNH associated GNH values.

To know the GNH values-laden Mathematics lesson on subtraction and addition, it is good to first know a non-example of the lesson and infuse the essence of Mathematics and Logic. For example, there are FIVE birds resting on a branch of a tree. A hunter shoots down one bird with a gunshot, how many birds are left on the branch? The *mathematical answer* is ' $5 - 1 = 4$ birds; the *Logical answer* is $4-4 = 0$,' because the remaining birds would fly away due to the sound of the gunshot. Through this lesson, the GNH values infused in children's learnings are none, since the messages conveyed from the question, are negative like killing, reduction in family members, separation from family, chaos, fear, and anxiety. On another hand, if the same question is rephrased and made more descriptive, and self-explanatory in a story form, then contextualization of the identified GNH values and infusing in students' learning takes place successfully.

The same lesson in GNH perspectives could be designed as follows: There are two parent birds and three young baby birds dwelling on a green tree. Since the weather was pleasant and beautiful, the baby birds were singing and dancing around their parents. After some time, the baby birds started crying due to hunger. The parent birds knew this, and the father bird flew out of the tree in search of food for the kids. The mother bird started calming down the kids. The baby birds knew their father would bring food for them, and stopped crying. How many birds are left there on the tree? In this example, the GNH value placed in the lesson on subtraction is 'removal of hunger' which is relevant and contextualizable in the context of subtraction in the Mathematical operation lesson.

Ura (2012) clearly states that GNH values are infused into different subjects including Mathematics. Thus, this study was conducted to explore approaches and relevancies of the practice of contextualizing and infusing GNH values in teaching Mathematics at PSs of Bhutan. This study was conducted in four primary schools located in Samtse. Samtse is one of the twenty districts located in southern Bhutan. Section 1.1(below) presents a brief report on a preliminary study conducted to find out if the practice of contextualizing and infusing GNH values in teaching Mathematics was happening at PSs of Bhutan, prior to this study.

1.1. Preliminary Studies

Methods applied to the preliminary study were semi-structured interviews and studying the lesson plans. The study revealed the practice of incorporating GNH values in the four levels of schools happened in progression: common GNH values (core GNH values) to higher degree GNH values. Some examples of common GNH values are sharing, helping, taking care of, integrity, reasoning, cooperation, mindfulness, sincerity, empathy, effective communication, leadership, readiness to learn, fair share, and interdependence whereas higher degree GNH values are thinking critically, creatively, and reflectively, self-analyzing, problem-solving, and decision making. The selected sample school (for preliminary study) also taught life skills in shopping, estimating, mental calculations and comparison in which there are hidden GNH values that can be infused indirectly while teaching Mathematics. The study also revealed that identifying and infusing GNH values depends on the nature of the lessons, and the most common approach applied was by converting the negative sense into a positive sense in the lessons, which gives meaning to infusing happiness in students.

However, designing and modelling approaches as reported by the PS teachers did not provide any clear idea of how contextualization and infusion of GNH values in teaching Mathematics can be carried out. On the other hand, teachers also reported contextualizing GNH values in teaching Mathematics is difficult as they also have to incorporate various methods of solving the same problem.

The preliminary study concludes that although the infusion of GNH values was happening one or another way, the teachers lack in skills of contextualizing GNH values in order to design GNH values-laden Mathematics lessons and infuse the values through teachings. As reflected in their lesson plans, teachers were using the same GNH values repeatedly most of the time. Most of the GNH values incorporated in the lessons were irrelevant to the nature of the lessons. The most persistent difficulties as indicated in this study are teachers' lack of competency and skills to identify GNH values relevant to the chosen lesson topics, and then design a GNH values-laden Mathematics lesson.

1.2. Problem Statement, Objectives and Research Questions

The most persistent difficulties of PS teachers as indicated by the preliminary study are teachers' lack of competency to identify relevant GNH values, contextualize the chosen lesson topics, and design a GNH values-laden Mathematics lesson to infuse the values in students' learning through teaching Mathematics. Sherab (2013, p.16) maintains that " 'Educating for GNH' values and principles describes both prescribed formal as well as an informal educational process that teaches, discusses, practices, inquires and model about infusing human values in students through both curricular and extra-curricular programmes." Ahonen, Thinley and Korkeamaki (2013) shared that teachers are trained to infuse the contents of the four GNH pillars and the nine domains into different subjects they teach in different classes.

These pieces of literature advocate the existence of GNH values and principles embedded within some Mathematics lessons. However, they give only some insights into infusing GNH values in teachings, but nowhere the idea of contextualizing GNH values has been discussed. This study was carried out with the objective to explore types of Mathematics topics and the GNH values relevant for contextualization and infusion of GNH values in teaching PS Mathematics, analysing how resilient the process was, and informing the school teachers about the process. Following research, questions guided the researchers to achieve these objectives. The central research question was “How are GNH values incorporated in teaching-learning Mathematics at PSs at Samtse? The following sub-questions were used to support this study:

- What are the perspectives of school principals and teachers on educating GNH at PSs?
- What Mathematics topics and GNH values are relevant for contextualizing and infusing in teaching PS Mathematics?
- What approaches are used? What difficulties are associated with this process?
- What are the impacts of teaching GNH values on the change of attitude, behaviour and academic performance of students?

2. Literature reviews

There are a few studies on the concept and implementations of GNH over the World and on Educating GNH in Bhutan. In an effort to understand the approaches and relevancy of contextualizing and infusing GNH values in teaching mathematics, we presented the following results of the studies.

2.1. Educating for GNH in Bhutan

‘Education’ is one of the nine associated domains and ‘value’ is one of the 33 associated indicators of happiness and well-being of Bhutanese people (Ura,2012). This has opened a broad way for the researchers to think that in the Bhutanese education system, teaching mathematics in schools is one of the most important focused areas of socio-economic development, but it doesn’t give a clear picture of how to contextualize and infuse GNH values in mathematics lessons. Moral values such as being kind, compassionate and considerate to each other should be inculcated in students’ behavioural changes (Zangmo,2014). Zangmo also contends that the students appreciate and practice the GNH values, which are the desired goals of the GNH-infused curriculum. Zangmo’s review of GNH perspectives has left a big room for contextualizing and infusing GNH values in teaching Mathematics in schools of Bhutan.

As educational choices take place in specific socially and economically structured contexts (Reay,1996), this study was based on one of the 4 pillars of GNH: Sustainable and equitable socio-economic development. Following table 1 illustrates the four pillars, nine domains and 33 indicators of the concept of GNH in Bhutan (CBS,2017).

Table 1: Four pillars, nine associated domains and 33 associated indicators of GNH in Bhutan

Sl#	Pillars	Associated domains	Associated indicators
1	Sustainable and equitable socio-economic development	Living Standards	Household per capita income, Assets, Housing
		Health	Self-reported health status, Number of healthy days, Disability, Mental Health
		Education	Literacy, Schooling, Knowledge, Value
2	Environmental conservation	Time Use	Work, Sleep
		Psychological Wellbeing	Life Satisfaction, Positive Emotion, Negative Emotion, Spirituality
		Community Vitality	Donation (time & money), Safety, Community relationship, Family

		Cultural Diversity and Resilience	Zorig chusum skills (Artisan skills), Cultural participation, Speaking the native language, Driglam Namzha (code of etiquette and conduct)
3	Conservation and promotion of culture	Ecological Diversity and Resilience	Wildlife damage, Urban issues, Responsibility towards the environment, Ecological issues.
4	Good Governance	Good Governance	Political participation, Services, Government performance, Fundamental rights

In another study, Riley (2011) reported, “Bhutan's education system will effectively cultivate GNH principles and values, including deep critical and creative thinking, ecological literacy, the practice of the country's profound, ancient wisdom and culture, contemplative learning, a holistic understanding of the world, genuine care for nature and for others, competency to deal effectively with the modern world, preparation for right livelihood, and informed civic engagement. To this end, the government is working to develop a country-wide rich and rigorous curriculum founded on GNH principles, making learning more relevant, thoughtful and aligned with sustainable practices” (p.1).

2.2. Social Wellness

According to Jones (2018), Gross National Well-being/Wellness (GNW) same as Gross National Happiness (GNH) is a **socioeconomic development and measurement framework**. The GNW/GNH consists of seven measurement areas of the happiness index of wellness such as mental, physical, workplace, social, economic, environmental and political. The International Institute of Management (IIM) published the first GNH / GNW socioeconomic development and measurement model measurements in 2005, as a working paper and in 2006 as a policy white paper (p.8). One of the seven areas of this measurement index is the social wellness of people such as education quality and education levels per capita, discrimination, safety, divorce rates, complaints of domestic conflicts and family lawsuits, public lawsuits, and crime rates (p.5).

2.3. Approaches to Infusing GNH

The following excerpt has been taken from the GNH manual-Educating for GNH published by Education Monitoring and Support Division, 2013, p 38-39:

Direct Integration/Bringing out inherent values: *Identify values with each topic to integrate into teachings; Include value objective in the teaching of subject lessons; Plan teaching of values without diluting the main lesson objective; Include activities on values wherever relevant to academic goals”.*

The researchers’ point of argument in this literature is: that this approach is only one-directional. It identifies the GNH values embedded in the topic/subject and integrates them into the lesson but it does not capture the other way round: *identify the topic/subject relevant to the chosen GNH values and integrate them into the lesson*. It also doesn’t give clear information regarding how much time is required to deliver the GNH values-laden lesson without diluting the main lesson objective. For instance, if the time allotted for the main lesson objective is say 15 minutes, then we certainly need another 10-15 minutes to integrate the GNH values into this lesson. Also, this approach does not mention anything about assessing students in education for GNH.

Interdisciplinary Integration: Mathematics: *Example: Aum Zam uses 90 units of electricity last month. To help improve the environment she decides to save electricity in her house. This month she uses 72 units. If the cost per unit is Nu.2, by how much is her electricity bill reduced?*

The GNH values embedded in this lesson are saving energy and resulting ecological value and are relevant to teaching mathematics at the PS level.

2.4. Contextualization, Mathematics and Happiness

Rathburn(2015), slightly touches on mathematics from a contextualization point of view and defines contextualization as a practice of connecting academic skills (usually reading, writing and mathematics) to specific content that is meaningful and useful to the students. Further, she claims that the theory of contextualization focuses on connections to personal and professional growth, not on assessment. She gives an example of contextualized teaching: teaching how nuclear power works by citing an example of the Fukushima nuclear disaster in Japan. Although this lesson's pedagogical intervention is based on the theory of contextualization using real-world examples, there is a lack of justification in this statement that contextualization can be done on both types of educational assessment: formative as well as summative for any value(s) contextualized in teaching a subject. Generally, contextualization was found to be more effective. The more contextualization and assistance provided to students in contextualizing new information, the more motivated, dynamic, and connected students are to the material and the class (Ambrose,2013). Although Ambrose doesn't specify(mathematics) contextualizing in any subject matter, his argument can be supported very well, because well-contextualized information/values will add more clarity to the understanding of the concept.

Smith (2008) reviewed that Mathematics work is a part of the project of the self which is expected to be ongoing, limitless and aimed at happiness. Students who made such claims were also understood to be good at mathematics. It means, that implementing contextual learning in the classroom requires new teaching techniques. For contextual learning to have its maximum effect on students, teachers must be acquainted with the knowledge of contextual learning and its translation into classroom-specific practices. However, substantial evidence is not available in Smith's statement on how students good at mathematics become happy.

As per the insights got from the preliminary study the researchers felt that there was a big gap to be filled. Brulé and Veenhoven (2014) define happiness as "the degree to which someone evaluates the overall quality of his or her present life-as-a-whole positively. In other words, how much one likes the life one lives. (p.236), and happiness can be assessed using questioning" (p.237)

2.5. Qualities of a GNH Graduate

Riley (2011) remarked, "A GNH graduate will be conscious about our nature of interdependence and impermanence."(p.2). Of many other good qualities, GNH graduates from school will have qualities: of positive thinking, mindful, calm, has high self-esteem and civic sense, manage time efficiently (Education Monitoring and Support Division, 2013, p. 13).

The review of this literature provided insight to view the approaches and relevancy of contextualizing and infusing GNH values in teaching Mathematics in schools and institutes. These insights helped us to construct a conceptual framework (below) that guided us to carry out this study.

3. Conceptual Framework

Constructivism is basically a theory based on observation and scientific study about how people learn: people construct their own understanding and knowledge of the world, by experiencing things and reflecting on those experiences. According to Brooks (2011), in a constructivist classroom, the teacher searches for students' understandings of concepts and then structures opportunities for students to refine or revise these understandings by posing contradictions, presenting new information, asking questions, encouraging research, and /or engaging students in inquiries designed to challenge current concepts. It is believed that through teaching Mathematics in a constructivist classroom scenario we can nurture our students to become stronger in other subjects to understand, think, give a reason, create, design, retain and own the ownership of learning since Mathematics is related to the study of all other subjects.

The concepts and principles of GNH exist in different levels of understanding of people and the nature of the subject matter. In line with this we believe that by incorporating GNH values and principles in teaching-learning

Mathematics at schools, we can streamline the thoughts and behaviour of students towards the promotion of GNH in a progression: practice, implement and make it a way of life.

Since GNH is a happiness-driven philosophy, contextualization and infusion of GNH values in teaching may not happen in all lessons. They are applicable as and when it is possible and accessible depending upon the nature of the lesson, time constraint and level of the learners. However, it is not necessary to contextualize GNH values all the time. In many cases, GNH values would not be spelt out yet they have been already infused through the lesson if it was taught in a way of infusion of GNH values. Students achieve happiness by introspecting, internalizing and practising the values. An idea can be constructed on how to contextualize and infuse GNH values in teaching-learning Mathematics through a series of discussions using survey questionnaires, observing the classroom teachings, studying the relevant documents, and interviews with the principals, teachers and students of schools. The following figure depicts a conceptual framework on how the process of contextualization and infusion of GNH values may take place through teaching mathematics.

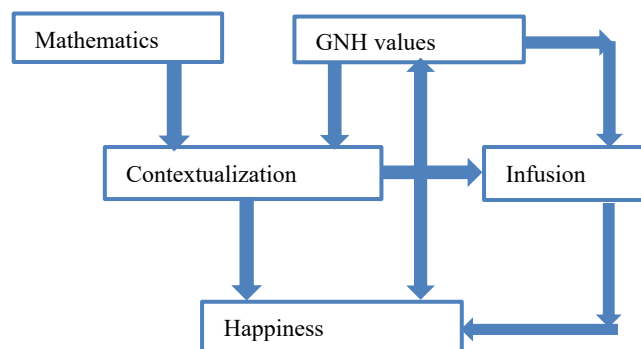


Figure 1: Conceptual framework of the study

4. Methodology

4.1. Sampling procedure, data collection and analysis procedure

The system and approaches of teaching, learning and assessment are practised uniformly in all primary schools across all 20 districts of Bhutan: the curriculum, pedagogy, time and policy are the same. However, it differs in levels of schools (PS, LSS, MSS and HSS). Also, irrespective of the levels of school, type of curriculum and pedagogies, time, system and approaches, the GNH values remain the same across the school education system in all districts of Bhutan. Due to this reason, the nature of this study remains the same throughout the process. It means any district could well represent all districts of Bhutan for this study. Therefore, for the convenience of the researcher Samtse district was selected that well represents all the districts of Bhutan. The inculcation of concepts and principles of GNH values in students is more important and effective at the grassroots level of school education. So right from the beginning of their schooling, Bhutanese children start learning concepts and principles of GNH values. Therefore, the following PSs of Samtse were selected for this study (see Table 2).

Table 2: Schools and Participants

School	No.of trs. interviewed	No.of school heads interviewed	No.of trs. observed	Total people involved
1. Primary School 1	4	1	2	7
2. Primary School 2	2	0	0	2
3. Primary School 3	2	1	2	5
4. Primary School 4	2	1	2	5
	10	3	6	19

We used interviews, lesson observations and relevant documents to collect data on Mathematics contents, relevant GNH values, and appropriate approaches to contextualize and infuse the values in teachings of Mathematics at the selected PSs. The randomly selected ten PS Mathematics teachers and three PS principals were interviewed, and eight PS Mathematics teachers teaching Mathematics lessons were observed. One principal was not available for interviews, and two teachers from UPS were not available for their lesson observations. Since the PS students were not competent enough to face an interview, they were not interviewed. Consistency in the methods of data collection and the gender equity of the participants were maintained well.

Data collected from interviews were analyzed using the process of emerging themes. Data collected from lesson observations and the documents: textbooks, lesson plans and the GNH manual were analyzed using the content analysis approach. Findings revealed from these sources were compared and merged in order to get the most authenticated result.

4.2. Data instrumentation

Formal interviews were conducted in person with the individual participant for 45 minutes each. Interviews were focused on content areas, approaches, relevancy, impact, effectiveness, and students' appreciation of contextualizing and infusing GNH values in teaching Mathematics, support and guidance from the government. Ten teachers and three principals were interviewed. All interviews were audiotaped with permission from the participants to transcribe the verbatim successfully and preserve the information. Classroom teaching of the randomly selected teachers was observed respectively during their allotted teaching periods. The observation was focused on the relevancy of contents, approaches, and effectiveness of contextualizing and infusing GNH values in teaching Mathematics. The three relevant documents collected for this study were the Grade IV-VI Primary School Mathematics textbooks, the GNH manual and the lesson plans of teachers. These textbooks were studied to see which mathematics topics were relevant for contextualizing and infusing GNH values. All the main concepts / sub-concepts of topics provided in these textbooks were recorded for document analysis. The GNH manual was studied thoroughly in order to find out the approaches to contextualizing and infusing GNH values in teaching mathematics at PSs of Bhutan. A few lesson plan books of PS Mathematics teachers also were studied to see how did they contextualize and infuse GNH values in the lessons.

5. Results

For easy reading and clear understanding to the reader, this section presents findings in three parts: Part I- Interviews; Part II- Lesson observations, and Part III- Document analysis. Findings from these three sources were compared and merged using Convergent Parallel Mixed Design (Creswell, 2014) and have been presented in the discussion section.

5.1. Part I: Findings from interviews

5.1.1. Perspectives and experiences

All participating teachers shared their perspectives: despite underlying difficulties, they feel happy to infuse GNH values through teaching Mathematics. Principle 3 shared his presence at the first GNH workshop in 2012 and learned that temptation makes us unhappy. He elaborated, that the infusion of GNH values in lesson plans gradually reduces the temptation of students towards unsocial activities or unreachable properties/materials. This reduction of temptation makes people happy. Principal 5 shared, that dealing with the implementation of GNH concepts has changed his behaviour.

The incorporation of GNH values makes lessons comfortable to handle and easy to teach (Teachers 14 and 40). Teachers 41 and 42 view, "it has a positive impact on both teaching and learning, and it also includes the 21st-century pedagogies which is working well in the classroom teachings". Teacher 13 opined that it also helps students become good-hearted human beings. Teacher 7 added, "Due to the infusion of GNH values students' behaviour has been seen improved. It makes both teacher and student learn". Teacher 8 reported it is due to the

incorporation of the GNH concept in the education system, present students are found to be quite different to the students of the past. He also shared his experiences:

I have been teaching Mathematics for the last 10 years and attended many workshops on GNH. GNH has played an important role in the education system. I am teaching GNH values through teaching Mathematics. This has helped students impart their knowledge of GNH to their parents and the community as a whole.

5.1.2. Practice

The study has revealed the practice of contextualizing and infusing the GNH values in teaching PS Mathematics in terms of Mathematics topics, GNH values, approaches, and difficulties, presented below:

Mathematics Topics: The topics in PS Mathematics for contextualizing and infusing GNH values are estimation, place value, number and operations, measurement, data and Probability, 3D representation, elementary geometry, representing a number, fractions, and patterns and shapes. Most of the teachers reported, that they contextualize and infuse GNH values in these Mathematics topics as and when required.

GNH values: There are two types of GNH values incorporated in teachings at PSs of Bhutan: core GNH values and Higher degree GNH values. Core GNH values are also called morals. They are common, simple and easy to achieve. Since these values are primarily required morals to maintain peace and harmony in society, they are normally taught not only in schools but also at home and in public places. For example, sharing, helping, cooperative learning, unity, love, respect, and taking initiative are core GNH values taught to the lower primary students (Teacher 8). Higher degree GNH values critical thinking, analysis, evaluating and creating. This can happen in some higher levels of lessons. These GNH values are usually seen practised by senior students. Principals 1 and 4 reported that their teachers infused GNH values daily basis. Despite encouraging to infuse GNH values in daily lessons, some teachers did not do it on a daily basis (Principal 3).

Approaches: Teachers reported that the infusion of GNH values gives meaning to the lesson making it interesting for learners, and easy to understand. Through teaching PS Mathematics, GNH values can be infused by applying activity-based teachings. GNH values come automatically, as and when the situation arises. Usually, core GNH values are not spelt out but used in the lesson and infusion is done through rephrasing questions using positive words/phrases. For example,

Teacher 7 recalled:

First, I frame objectives of educating GNH and developing activities using effective GNH values in the lessons. To teach “Mathematical operations”, first I teach the concepts and conduct group activities. During the activities, we can see students cooperating with each other and learning a GNH value called “cooperating learning”. They are seen as happy to be taught in this manner.

Similarly, Teacher 13 shared:

Normally, I allocate less content to the subject matter but more GNH values. Firstly, I introduce the mathematics lesson, provide an overall concept of GNH values relevant to that particular lesson, and conduct activities.

Further, Teacher 14 viewed it as a daily-life experience that GNH values are used knowingly or unknowingly. Principal 1 suggested, that while infusing GNH values in the lesson, teachers should align the lesson to real-life experiences and be mindful of what they are teaching. On the other hand, some teachers do not infuse GNH values due to inadequate knowledge of GNH concepts, curriculum mismatch and some topics being irrelevant for infusion of GNH values (Principal 3).

The practice of activity-based teachings has been found to be an effective approach to contextualising and infusing GNH values in the lessons. This is practised even in homes and communities where relevant GNH values are contextualized in real-life situations and infusion takes place through understanding and realization of the moral values. According to Teacher 7, there are two stages in this practice in teaching Mathematics: contextualizing and

infusing GNH values: **First stage (contextualization)**-choosing the GNH values relevant to the lesson, forming groups of students, and narrating a relevant story with explanations. **The second stage (infusion)**- using the relevant teaching aids matrix and conducting group activities. Explaining is needed to be done wherever required. For example, Teacher 14 recalled:

In order to contextualize GNH value(s), first, choose a lesson topic, identify relevant GNH values to incorporate into the lesson, and then infuse the GNH values by relating them to real-life situation.

Teacher 41 added, “Through student’s activities, identify the relevant GNH values and incorporate them in the activities”. Teacher 42 said that in teaching division (Mathematics) GNH values can be contextualized, but he did not elaborate on how it is contextualized. Another teacher reported that contextualizing GNH values can be done easily by teaching the usage of roads, footpaths, temples and traditional structures.

Difficulties: The most persistent difficulties faced by teachers are identifying the relevant GNH values and contextualising them in the lesson. The majority of the teachers reported that it is easy to incorporate GNH values in teaching PS Mathematics. For example, Teacher 13 recalled, “It is easy to teach GNH values-laden Mathematics lessons but difficult in planning”. Other associated difficulties in contextualizing and infusing GNH values are the incompetency of teachers, time consumption, and assessment.

Many teachers do not have adequate competency to contextualize and infuse GNH values in Mathematics lessons. Teachers 8 and 41 reported that inadequate competencies have hindered them to incorporate GNH values in the lessons. Inadequate training, time constraints and irrelevancy of some topics are barriers to contextualizing and infusing GNH values (Teachers 13, 14 and 40). Four teachers said it is time-consuming to teach GNH values-laden Mathematics lessons in PS. For example, Teachers 7 and 13 reported it is more time-consuming in order to give the right GNH values since it depends on how children understand it: some understand it quickly whereas some understand it slowly, but lesson planning takes more time than usual. Since PSs did not have standard tools to evaluate and monitor education for GNH, assessments were normally done through general observations and asking critical questions about students’ holistic educational development (Principals 3 and 4). All the participating teachers reported that a child who is really good at GNH value is better than other children in terms of behaviour, attitude and academic performance. According to Teacher 5, the child who is good at GNH values is also good in academic performance.

5.1.3. Impact

Due to the implementation of GNH in schools, students have become more responsible, interactive, open, talk of good values, come forward to help others, attentive, calm, participating, less self-centred, interested in learning (Teachers 40,42 and 43), and students’ willingness to cooperate in any sorts of group activities has been enhanced. For example, Teacher 8 reported that students who are good in GNH values are found to be sincere, honest and know all disciplines of games/sports and participate actively. However, the case was not the same in all schools. For instance, Principal 4 reported that they haven’t seen an impact in their students except for the enhancement of their cooperation in group activities.

5.1.4. Students’ appreciations and reactions

It is quite hard to understand the appreciation expressed by Bhutanese students because they do not spell out their appreciation openly in the form of words or actions, but actually, they are found appreciating one or another way. According to Principal 4, Bhutanese students are not open. Students taking an interest in learning feeling free to communicate, and becoming polite and respectful to teachers/others have been concluded by the teachers as an indirect way for the student to show their appreciation. Students were seen feeling happy, and proud, becoming more forward and open up to expression, presenting themselves positively, gesturing realization of values, and demonstrating likeness towards the subject. Principal 1 expressed:

So far, we have not yet looked at the infusion of GNH focusing subject-wise. We are doing it on an overall basis only or holistically. However, I feel that there is a shift from unknown to known due to the infusion of GNH values in the teaching-learning process. Students are found working together in a team.

5.1.5. Support from the Government

The only support provided by the government is GHN manual guidebooks, workshops and training for the principals and core teachers. The trained teachers facilitate other teachers in the school. For example, Teacher 7 reported, “I was facilitated by trained teachers to infuse GNH values in a lesson, but I am not clear about the approaches and relevancy of infusion and contextualizing GNH values in teaching Mathematics.” The study also revealed that some principals are not aware of whether support from the government has been provided for contextualizing and infusion of GNH values in teaching subject matter. For example, Principal 3 said, “I do not remember any support from the government”. Principal 1 expressed, “The present research on contextualizing and infusing GNH values in teaching Mathematics curriculum is doing a great job. Teachers need more training on GNH values and its infusion in teaching.”

5.1.6. Recommendations of the participants

The following recommendations were provided by the participants:

- Teachers should be provided adequate training on GNH concepts, and approaches to contextualize and infuse GNH values, through teachings in Mathematics.
- More examples of GNH values should be provided in textbooks.
- Curriculum needs to be slightly reframed incorporating GNH values.
- GNH values should be incorporated into all the subjects.

5.2. Part II: Findings from Lesson Observations

5.2.1. Lessons topics

Mathematics lessons during the classroom teaching scenarios of 8 PS Mathematics teachers were observed from grades 3 to 6 with 35 to 40 students in each class. Each Mathematics period was of 50 minutes and the lessons were purely based on Mathematics content prescribed in the syllabus. The lessons were measuring the perimeter of a given shape, estimation and measurement of an area, understanding the concepts of construction and bisecting, skill to construct, uses of orthographic drawing in day-to-day lives, creating/measuring turns and angles, and calculating areas of rectangles.

5.2.2. GNH values

It has been recorded that core GNH values and higher degree GNH values were embedded in the lessons as and when they were applicable. The core GNH values practised by both the teachers and students in Mathematics class are sharing ideas/materials and respecting each other's views/opinions. Maintaining these core GNH values as a basis, the mathematics lessons were carried out at a higher cognitive level. This was observed to be an achievement of happiness through their analytical, critical and creative thinking. Also, the ability to analyze, compare, differentiate and reflect was observed to be an important factor in students' achievement of happiness. Following higher degrees GNH values were observed to be infused and practised in Mathematics lessons (*See table 3*).

Table 3: Examples of higher degree GNH values

Higher degree GNH values	Example
Analytical thinking	Why do we need to construct?
Problem-solving	How do you know it is a rectangle? Why not a square?
Compare and differentiate	Using a diagram for full, half and quarter-turn; compare rectangles on the grid and plain paper.
Self-reliance	Learning by doing.
Reflective thinking	Review of the previous lesson.

Creative thinking	Create rectangles on grids
Critical thinking	Apply formula to calculate the area of rectangles

These observations of Mathematics lessons provided the following insights.

5.2.3. Approaches

Teachers introduced the concept of estimation and finding areas by estimating and then slightly relating to real-life situations. Students were informed that engineers use this idea in their daily lives. Similar exercises were given where students were supposed to relate to their day-to-day life. Fast learners were asked to help the slow learners. Teachers were observed being kind, soft and supportive, sharing their personal experiences of success stories, monitoring, probing and providing positive reinforcements while students were trying to solve the exercises.

5.2.4. Students' reactions

Students were seen cooperating with teachers and friends in the group. For example, when the teacher gave an exercise to measure the dimensions of a geometric figure using a ruler and labelling each side of the figure, the following reactions of the students were observed:

They were seen as active, alert, observant, happy, eager to perform activities, interested and wanted to do all questions. They tried to recollect, discuss, and respond to the teacher and helped each other. With much enthusiasm and interest, they were found very engaged in drawing the shape, measuring its dimensions and also labelling each side. Towards the end of the activity, everyone was rushing to show their work to the teacher.

5.3. Part III- Findings from document analysis

5.3.1. Relevant Mathematics topics

The Mathematics topics relevant for contextualizing and infusion GNH values reflected in the textbooks are *Data and Probability* (Collecting, interpreting and representing data, describing and predicting likelihood hood, describing probability, choosing a sample, mean, median, mode, theoretical probability, Estimation); *Geometry* (2D and 3D shapes, transformations, classifying/combining triangles, properties of rectangles, transformations, orthogonal drawings, measuring angles); *Measurement* (Length, area, perimeter, volume, capacity, Mass, angles); *Number* (Number, Fractions, Number patterns, Number relationship, Operations with numbers; Number place value, Number sentence, Large whole number, Decimal and Integer, Number Theory); *3D Shapes Metric Unit* (Metric Units, volume, Capacity); and *3D-Representations* (Representing a number, patterns and shapes)

Similarly, the relevant topics revealed from lesson plans are numbers, representing a number, representing 100 as a combination of 10s, representing 2-digit numbers, operations, fractions, place value, estimating products, data and probability, creating a pattern, length measurement, measuring volumes using cubes, shapes (2D,3D), prism and pyramid, dividing shape to create new shapes. No specific mathematics topics are mentioned in the GNH manual since it has been designed applicable to the general curriculum of all four levels of schools (PS, LSS, MSS and HSS) of Bhutan for educating GNH.

5.3.2. Relevant GNH values

The PS Mathematics textbooks do not reflect any GNH values. The GNH values reflected in lesson plans are being positive and constructive, team spirit, helping others, fair share, equal share, loving, equality, estimating, economizing, critical thinking, creative thinking, effective communications, good decision making, interdependence, problem-solving, balancing, self-awareness, respecting other's views, inter-personal relationship, time use, and wellbeing, all related to the GNH concept and principles. GNH Manual reflects domain 1 (Sustainable and equitable Socio-economic development) of the GNH Principle, and the pillars (Standard of

Living; Health; and Education), of which this study's concern is the implementation of GNH Principles in "Education".

5.3.3. Relevant approaches

The PS Mathematics textbooks and lesson plans do not reflect any approach to contextualizing and infusing GNH values. They neither provide any information regarding the infusion of GNH values in teaching Mathematics at PSs of Bhutan. The lesson plans simply reflect the same traditional methods of teaching mathematics. The GNH manual reflected the following broad approaches to contextualize GNH values in the teaching curriculum (including Mathematics):

- conducting quiz on the concept and principles of GNH,
- educating students on GNH and its domain,
- mapping the GNH activities,
- portrait of a child as a GNH graduate,
- presenting the GNH Graduate,
- quality of a GNH graduate,
- teacher as a role model, and nurturing a Green School.

The approach applied to *infuse* GNH values through teaching school curriculum as mentioned in this manual is termed as *Graffiti Wall of approach*. It has the following steps:

Step 1 (Activity): Pair Activities with different approaches to infusing GNH values and principles into the curriculum.

Step 2 (Presentation): Presentations and discussions to get the right approaches to infuse GNH values and principles

Step 3 (Generalizing): Acknowledgement for the contributions made, finding many ways to infuse GNH values and principles into the curriculum.

Specific approaches embedded within the Graffiti wall of approach to infusing GNH values into the school curriculum are Direct Integration/ Bringing out inherent values; Inter-Disciplinary integration; Songs; Stories; Changing negativity into a positive lesson; Fun and Games; Smiles/Metaphor.

6. Discussions

Based on the theory of constructivism, this study was carried out successfully with the objective to explore approaches and relevancy in the practice of contextualizing and infusing GNH values through teaching Mathematics in the four selected PSs and also to see how resilient this practice was. Methods used were semi-structured interviews, lesson observations and document analysis. Some distinguished findings as indicated from this study are: 70% that PS Mathematics curricula are relevant for this practice; the types of GNH values reflected in the documents are 90% the same as that revealed from interviews; PSs practice two categories of GNH values: Core GNH values and Higher degree GNH values; and there is a huge impact of infusion of GNH values in teaching at PSs if the practice is carried out properly. The impacts revealed are students' enhanced positive behaviours and openness, students being responsible and more interactive.

In classroom teachings, we would not always see the process of contextualizing GNH values explicitly spelt out to make them visible in the lessons. Of the three documents, it is only the GNH manual designed for the general curriculum of all four levels of schools in Bhutan that provides approaches applicable to contextualize and infuse GNH values in teaching Mathematics. Although it does not mention the approaches specifically for the subject wise, they can be applied in teaching Mathematics at PSs as and where possible, but not in all Mathematics topics. The reason why school textbooks do not reflect GNH values could be that these textbooks were first published and printed in 2008 when there was no plan of the Royal Government of Bhutan to implement concepts of GNH values in the school curriculum. The lesson plans were written in the standard format, but nowhere approaches for

contextualizing and infusing GNH values in teaching primary Mathematics were reflected. The flow of lessons looks the same as that happens during the normal way of teaching. There exist some common approaches to infusing GNH values across all three sources of data, but approaches to contextualising lack.

As revealed from the findings, the significant persistent difficulties faced by the teachers are identifying GNH values relevant to the current Mathematics lesson or vice-versa: how to design a GNH values-laden Mathematics lesson, so that it would not affect the coverage of the syllabus and also it would not cause dilution of concepts of the main Mathematics lesson? and how to assess students in aspects of GNH values-laden lessons taught? Although Ahonen et al. and Sherab advocate the existence of GNH values and principles embedded at least within some Mathematics lessons such as algebra, probability, commercial Mathematics and analytic geometry, they give only some insights into infusing GNH values in teaching in schools, but nowhere the idea of contextualizing GNH values is discussed. Few Mathematics teachers knew the two stages of the process of contextualizing and infusing GNH values but were not observed practising them making it explicitly visible in the classroom teachings.

Teachers' perspectives are important factors to understand in educating GNH. Although GNH education reduces students' temptation toward unsocial activities or unreachable materials (Principal 3) and educating for GNH is enhancing students' morale (Teachers 40,41 and 42), the study has revealed it is quite difficult to teach GNH values through teaching Mathematics. Reay's finding (educational choices take place in specific socially and economically structured contexts) has been well confirmed by this study that the practice of contextualizing and infusing GNH values in teaching Mathematics takes place in a specific context, meaning not all GNH values are relevant for all the mathematics topics for contextualization. Rathbun's claim on "contextualization cannot be done on assessment of the student's learning outcomes", has been disconfirmed by this study that contextualizing GNH values in Mathematics topics and infusing them in teaching can be assessed by asking critical questions to the students and observing the change in their behaviour and personality (Principals and Teachers).

Researchers have concluded that the attempt to generate and promote happiness through teaching Mathematics at PSs was quite well-focused, but the difficulties and hindrances faced by the teachers in contextualizing and infusing GNH values stood as the main cause of the weak resilience of this practice.

However, the findings are significant as they emerged from a real field study since researchers involved themselves in person in collecting data and interacting with the concerned teachers. Thus, this study is important for all because it provides the following significant insights:

- Educating for GNH provides primarily required morals and values to maintain peace and harmony in the society by producing good-hearted and humble citizens. It promotes the concept of GNH and its principles in the country in a specific social context (Reay,1996).
- Practicing GNH values inculcate students' behavioural changes (Zangmo,2014), and promotes the importance of a holistic educational approach that ensures learners gain a deep foundation in traditional knowledge, common values and happiness.
- Since contextualization is a more effective (Ambrose, 2013) approach in teaching, the contextualized information/values will add more clarity to the understanding of the concept.
- The impacts of the infusion of GNH values can also be seen through other disciplines of the school curriculum.

This study was confined to only 4 PSs. The interviews were limited to the principals (3) and teachers (10), and 6 teachers' lessons observation since PS students were not competent enough to attend the interviews to perform the cross-sectional study. Since schools do not have standard tools to measure and assess the GNH values-laden lessons, assessing students on teachings of GNH values is limited to observing and interviewing. Teachers need to be cautious that normally GNH values-laden lessons take more time to complete, and also there is a danger of getting the lesson diluted and losing its original concept if more time is spent on GNH values. However, no demerits of infusion of GNH values in Mathematics lessons were reported.

The researchers recommend that teachers test this approach of contextualizing and infusing GNH values before they formally implement it in teachings. Future researchers can replicate this research, use mixed methods, and do an in-depth study involving a larger number of schools and come up with more concrete findings for its implementations.

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Implementation of the New Public Service in the Licensing Process

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Abstract

This study discusses the implementation of the principles of the New Public Service (NPS) in the public service of the Bekasi City Investment and One-Stop Integrated Service, by taking a case study of making a building permit (IMB) for hotels and restaurants, which is motivated by the findings of BPK-RI audit report dated July 5, 2019 Number 01/XVIII.BKS/07/2019 on the service performance and supervision of the Bekasi City DPMPTSP. Therefore, the problem in this research is: the implementation of licensing by the apparatus at the Bekasi City DPMPTSP in making the IMB has not been effective because it does not use the New Public Service principle. This study aims to critically analyze why the implementation of licensing by the state apparatus in the Bekasi City DPMPTSP is not effective, so it is hoped that a new concept will be born as a solution to increase the effectiveness of the implementation of licensing by state officials at the Bekasi City DPMPTSP on the basis of the New Public Service (NPS) paradigm. The research method used is a qualitative method with case study techniques, through collecting data from primary and secondary sources. Primary data was obtained from 10 informants, and secondary data was obtained from various documents, journals, scientific works, and others. The results of the study indicate that the implementation of licensing by the State apparatus in DPMPTSP Bekasi City is not effective

Keywords: New Public Service, Building Permit, One-Stop Integrated Service, Bekasi City, Licensing

1. Introduction

Providing quality public services is an important part of governance and public administration, both at the central and regional levels. Even how the government provides public services is a mirror of clean and good governance. Public service is one of the variables that is a measure of the success of the implementation of regional autonomy. If the public services carried out by the regional government are good quality, then the implementation of regional autonomy can be said to be successful. However, the quality of public services in the New Order era tends to show a tendency to deteriorate. Public services tend to be poor because the central government intervenes too much in local governments in the delivery of public services in the regions. This causes local governments to be unable to take initiative and initiative when providing public services to their citizens (Dwiyanto et al, 2020).

The implementation of public services which is a real picture of the government's performance in providing services to the community has not run optimally so that the quality of apparatus services is still in the spotlight,

especially regarding service procedures and procedures that are felt to be long and convoluted, there is no certainty of service, both time, cost and requirements, lack of information disclosure on matters related to services (Russel & Byuma, 2001; Ian Sanderson (1996); Abdul Rahim, 2018; and Ahmad Juhari, Willy Tri Hardianto, 2017).

Russell & Bvuma's (2001) research entitled Alternative service delivery and public service transformation in South Africa. International Journal of Public Sector Management. Vol. 14 No. 3. Pp. 241-265. <https://doi.org/10.1108/09513550110390819>. This study reviews the development of public services and outlines several promising alternative service delivery pilot projects. The country of South Africa only emerged in 1994. This new government previously inherited national public services and public services from different provinces and homelands that had to be combined to form a national unified public service. Although this task was completed quickly, the resulting public services were substantial, and demonstrated many features of traditional bureaucracy, including hierarchical structures, limited automation and IT applications, low levels of training, poor work culture, language and cultural barriers, and an overall orientation towards inputs and processes rather than service delivery and outcomes. In the first three years of the new order, substantial efforts were devoted to reforming the bureaucracy. New public service laws and regulations were introduced, new and powerful central staffing bodies were formed, English became the language of administration, and substantial authority was delegated to departments and provinces. Despite these reforms, progress in improving outcomes in terms of service delivery, especially for previously disadvantaged communities, remains mixed. Towards the end of the 1990s, increased attention was paid to ways of improving service delivery. Three important initiatives in this regard were conveyed by Batho Pele (1997), that the application of eight national principles for better service delivery; public-private partnership initiative (2000) and promotion of alternative service delivery. While alternative service delivery initiatives are largely at the pilot stage, they offer promising alternatives both to traditional bureaucracies (with poor cost and service delivery focus) and to narrow versions of privatization (which can involve large social costs, job losses, and declining wealth redistribution). This paper reviews these developments and outlines some promising alternative service delivery pilot projects.

Ian Sanderson's (1996) research entitled Evaluation, learning and the effectiveness of public services: Towards a quality of public service model. International Journal of Public Sector Management. ISSN: 0951-3558. Attempts to discover the nature of the legitimacy of quality discourse within the broader context of prevailing ideas about the role of government in promoting social welfare and how public service organizations can deliver quality services. Outlines the prevailing conventional wisdom underlying the "New Right" project to restructure public services. Provides a critique of this conventional wisdom that addresses the limitations of the "consumerist" notion of the quality and role of rational instrumental discourse in legitimizing the New Right project for state restructuring. Develop alternative conceptions of public service quality and finally outline the role of evaluation in promoting social learning as a basis for achieving effectiveness in public services.

Muhammad Abdul Rahim's research (2018) on the Quality of Public Services in the Field of Licensing and Non-Licensing B Services at the Investment and One-Stop Integrated Services Office (DPMPTSP) of Bandung City. This research is motivated by the Bandung City Investment and One-Stop Integrated Services Agency (DPMPTSP) is an institution that holds strategic roles and functions in the field of implementing integrated licensing services in the City of Bandung, which was formed based on Bandung City Regional Regulation Number 08 of 2016 concerning the Establishment and Arrangement of Bandung City Regional Equipment. The provision of DPMPTSP Bandung City services is required to provide fast, accurate licensing services, at costs according to the provisions, transparently to the people of Bandung City. This research uses the theory presented by Tjiptono, namely the tangible dimension (*tangibles*), the dimension of reliability (*reliability*), the dimension of response (*responsiveness*), the dimension of assurance (*assurance*), and the dimension of empathy (*emphaty*). This research was conducted using qualitative research methods and descriptive survey approach. The result of this study is that DPMPTSP Bandung City has done well what must be done in public services. Supporting factors in public services at DPMPTSP Bandung City include registration of permits using an *online* system, very adequate infrastructure and infrastructure, and adequate quality of human resources. Inhibiting factors in public services at DPMPTSP Bandung City, including the lack of direct socialization to the community from DPMPTSP Bandung City and the quality of Human Resources (HR) business actors in Bandung City on average are still not used to using online systems. The difference with Muhammad Abdul Rahim's (2018) research lies in the focus of research

on licensing and non-business licensing services, while the focus of this research is to focus on the implementation of NPS principles in public services of the DPMPTSP apparatus.

Research by Ahmad Juhari, Willy Tri Hardianto (2017) on the Quality of Public Services on Restaurant Business Establishment Permits in Batu City. Licensing to establish a restaurant business is one type of licensing service provided to people in need by the Investment Office of PTSP and NAKER Batu City. The large number of people who have a restaurant business establishment permit in Batu City shows that the services provided are in accordance with the expectations of the community. The research method used is qualitative, data collection through observation, interviews and documentation. The results showed that the quality of services provided by the Investment Office of PTSP and NAKER Batu City seen from the ease of obtaining a business license had been said to be good, speed is also good, punctuality is also good, human resources owned are good, facilities are good, security and responsibility are good, operational vehicles are not good, Because there is only 1 (one) unit of operational vehicles, the availability of manpower in the field of business licensing services is not good, because there are 2 (two) people who have been transferred to the position, and the replacement of the two people does not yet exist. The difference with the research of Ahmad Juhari and Willy Tri Hardianto (2017) lies in the focus of research on restaurant business licensing services, while the focus of this research is to focus on the implementation of NPS principles in public services of DPMPTSP apparatus

Public services are grouped into three types, namely administrative services, goods services, and service services. Administrative licensing services in Indonesia still have problems, ranging from convoluted, unclear processes to difficult access to services obtained and inefficient and effective. This can be seen in the implementation of building permit (IMB) services involving many government agencies and sectoral egos between government agencies (Kurniadi & Suryadi, 2020).

Based on the Ombudsman survey from 2016-2020, there are 8 (eight) regions in West Java Province that are included in the green zone in the implementation of public services, namely Bandung City, Sukabumi City, Garut Regency, Depok City, Bekasi City, and Bogor City (Ombudsman, 2021). For example, the problems found in the Building Permit (IMB) service in Bekasi City, namely:

1. Public services are not charged but in fact there are still levies;
2. Licensing service processes that are delayed too long or not in accordance with the time specified in the mandatory components of public service standards;
3. IMB services are complicated and not simple, so they are inefficient and do not consider fairness in service delivery
4. The costs / rates incurred by the community vary greatly depending on who serves.
5. The process of building permit (IMB) services is not in accordance with the promised deadline. If people want a faster process, we usually get additional fees / tariffs.
6. The attitude of employees who have not fully behaved professionally in carrying out their duties, this can be seen from employees who are less responsive in serving community complaints who experience difficulties during the implementation of building permits (IMB).
7. Inadequate facilities and infrastructure, such as the location of the DPMPTSP office building within the Bekasi City Government Office, so it is not easily accessible to the community, then the condition of the building is also not fully designed to provide one-stop services (<http://www.bekasikota.go.id/category/6/saran-keluhan>)

The existing condition of public services in Bekasi City still uses the *Old Public Administration* (OPA) approach so that public services do not yet reflect the public services required by the perspective of New Public Service (NPS). The involvement of citizens in policy formulation-implementation-evaluation is pseudo-national; The state apparatus is unresponsive to public aspirations; The state apparatus says more than listens; *Networking* is not built because it is founded by the egos of their respective divisions (work units). Conceptually, the involvement of citizens in policy formulation-implementation-evaluation should not be pseudo, this is because citizen involvement in policy formulation is not dominant, the entire process of developing development policies has not been fully accompanied by various forms of public consultation, and in the implementation and evaluation of development policies, the involvement of new citizens is limited to being beneficiaries, not yet fully needed as one of the actors or part of stakeholders in various development processes. Therefore, Denhardt & Denhardt (2003:

190) suggest that a mechanism be built in the government bureaucracy to accommodate the role of the community as citizens so that the community is always involved in every policy making, both at the formulation, implementation, and policy evaluation stages.

In Dwiyanto's view (2006: 29), poor public services are related to the culture and traditions that exist in bureaucratic performance, especially regarding the mentality of officials that affect work patterns in the workplace. Therefore, strategic steps are needed to change the OPA paradigm that has been used in the bureaucracy towards the use of the NPS perspective. Through the *New Public Service* paradigm based on democratic theory, it is hoped that Bekasi City public services will be more effective in providing services to citizens.

Denhardt & Denhardt (2003), propose 7 principles of public service that refer to the perspective of New Public Service, namely:

- 1) Serve citizens, not customers;.
- 2) Seek the public interest;
- 3) Value citizenship and public service above entrepreneurship;
- 4) Think strategically, act democratically;.
- 5) Recognize that accountability isn't simple;.
- 6) Serve, rather than steer;
- 7) Value people, not just productivity

The findings above show that the issue of licensing implementation has a high complexity and level of difficulty in solving the problem. It requires the involvement of many parties in solving licensing problems. For this reason, in this study will be used the perspective of New Public Service (NPS) as a differentiator from other studies because it uses a relatively more renewable perspective of public administration compared to other public administrations. The concept offered by NPS is that stakeholder involvement in the administration of public affairs is very important. The state and government are no longer the only institutions or stakeholders capable of efficiently, economically, and fairly providing various forms of public services, but also see the importance of partnerships and networking between stakeholders in the administration of public affairs (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2003; Robinson, 2015).

1.1. Problem Statement

Based on the background, the formulation of this research problem is: How are the principles of public services used in making Hotel and Restaurant Building Permits in Bekasi City?

1.2. Research Objectives

This study aims to analyze the principles of public services in making Building Permits (IMB) for Hotels and Restaurants in Bekasi City

2. Literature Review

2.1. New Public Service

The implementation of New Public Management (NPM) in the public sector is not in line with the principles of public service. A number of experts have criticized the NPM, including Kamensky (1996) in his article entitled *The Role of Reinventing Government Movement in Federal Management Reform* published in the *Journal of Public Administration Review*; Box (1999) wrote an article titled *Running Government Like a Business: Implication for Public Administration for Theory and Practice* in the journal *The American Review of Public Administration*; Harrow (2002) with an article entitled *New Public Management and Social Justice: Just Efficiency or Equity as Well?*; Denhardt and Denhardt (2003) in their book *The New Public Service, Serving not Steering*; Haque (2007) with his article *Revisiting New Public Management* published in the journal *Public Administration Review*. These criticisms can be summarized in the form of a table as follows:

Table 1: Criticism of The New Public Management

Researchers	Criticism
Kamensky (1996)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Some bureaucrats tend to compete for their own interests rather than the public interest, and collaborate to achieve this, 2) The first trend occurs because the basis of NPM is the theory of Public Choice which is very dominated by self-interest, 3) NPM tends to ignore the concepts of public spirit, public service, and so on.
Box (1999)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The emergence of NPM has threatened the core value of the public sector, namely citizen selfgovernance and the function of administrators as servants of public interest,
Harrow (2002)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) NPM that ignores public spirit, public service, and so on, will not encourage the democratic process, 2) NPM was never aimed at addressing equity and social justice issues;
Denhardt & Denhardt (2003)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The government must be a public servant (citizen), not just as a director. 2) Government should not be run like a business, but should be run in a democratic manner. 3) In the process, public servants relate to the community being served and servants need to realize that they must listen to the community rather than tell. 4) Society and government work together to determine and present problems together for the common good.
Haque (2007)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) If you are not careful, it will increase corruption and create new poor people.

Source: Processing by Researchers (2023)

According to Denhardt & Denhardt (2003: 28-29), incorporating business values into public organizations has damaged the value order of public administration. Therefore they propose the application of new values. What is considered new from this perspective is to return the party served from the "customer" to its actual position of citizen. Returning the role of government in the perspective of new public management only as a guide to a position that acts as a public servant. The mechanism used to achieve the goal is to build coalitions and cooperation of government, private and civil society institutions, to meet mutually agreed needs. The new value of the accountability approach is a multi-faceted approach, public servants must meet legal provisions, community values, political norms, professionals and the interests of citizens. Its organizational structure is collaborative with shared leadership both internally and externally. The basis of public service motivation is service to society, the desire to contribute to society.

Table 2: NPM Principle Shift to NPS

Aspects	Shifting Principles	
	New Public Management	New Public Service
Who is served	Customer	citizen
The Role of Government	Directing: being a catalyst for developing market power	Serve: negotiate and be in the interests of the community, addressing common values.
Mechanisms to achieve goals	Create mechanisms and incentive structures to achieve policy objectives through private institutions and civil society.	Building coalitions and cooperation of government, private and civil society institutions, to meet mutually agreed needs.
Accountability approach	Directed by the market, personal decisions result in production that the customer/society wants	Multi-aspect, public services must meet legal requirements, community values, political norms, professional and citizen interests
Administrative discretion	Broader, to meet entrepreneurial goals	Discretion is required but limited by the principle of accountability
Organizational structure	Decentralised with ultimate control remaining in the hands of public institutions	Collaborative, with shared leadership, both internally and externally

Basic motivational public service	Entrepreneurial spirit, ideological desire to reduce the size of government	Service to the community, the desire to contribute to society.
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Source: Denhardt and Denhardt (2003:28-29)

The roots of the New Public Service (NPS) can be traced to various ideas about democracy that have been put forward by Dimock (1992), Dahl (2001) and Waldo (1953), which include:

1. Theories about civic democracy; The need for citizen involvement in policy making and the importance of deliberation to build solidarity and commitment to avoid conflict.
2. Community and civil society models; Accommodating to the role of civil society by building social trust, social cohesion and social networks in democratic governance.
3. The theory of humanist organization and new state administration; State administrations should focus on organizations that value human beings and respond to human values, justice and other social issues.
4. Postmodern state administration; Prioritizing dialogue (discourse) on theory in solving public problems rather than using a one best way perspective.

The new public service perspective starts from the recognition of citizens and their very important position for democratic governance. Citizen identity is not only seen as a matter of self-interest but also involves values, beliefs and concern for others. Citizens are positioned as owners of government and are able to act together to achieve something better. The public interest is no longer viewed as an aggregation of private interests, but rather as a result of public dialogue and engagement in the search for common values and common interests (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2003: 30-31).

The new public service perspective requires the role of public administrators to involve the public in government and serve the community. In carrying out this task, public administrators recognize the complex layers of responsibility, ethics, and accountability in a democratic system. Responsible administrators must involve the community not only in the planning but also in the implementation of programs to achieve community goals. This must be done not only to create a better government but also in accordance with democratic values. Thus, the job of the public administrator, according to Denhardt, is no longer directing or manipulating incentives, but service to the community.

Denhardt & Denhardt (2003: 30-33) then presented a number of new public service principles. These principles are: First, serve citizens, not customers. Because the public interest is the result of a dialogue about shared values rather than an aggregation of individual self-interest, public servants do not merely respond to customer demands but instead focus on building trust and collaboration with and among citizens. Second, seek the public interest. Public administrators must contribute to building the common public interest. The goal is not to find quick solutions directed by individual choices but to create common interests and shared responsibilities. Third, value citizenship over entrepreneurship. The public interest is better run by public servants and citizens who have a commitment to giving back to society than it is run by entrepreneurial managers who act as if public money is their own. Fourth, think strategically, act democratically. Policies and programs to meet the public interest can be achieved effectively and responsibly through collective efforts and collaborative processes. Fifth, recognize that accountability is not simple. In this perspective, public servants should be more concerned than market mechanisms. In addition, public servants must also comply with laws and regulations, social values, political norms, professional standards, and the interests of citizens. Sixth, serve rather than steer. It is important for public servants to use leadership based on shared values rather than controlling or directing society towards new values. Seventh, value people, not just productivity. Public organizations and their networks are more likely to achieve long-term success if they are run through a process of collaboration and shared leadership based on respect for all.

Table 3: OPA, NPM, and NPS differentiation

Aspects	Old Public Administration	New Public Management	New Public Service
Theoretical basis and Foundations of epistemology	Theory of politicsk	Economic theory	Democratic theory
Rationality and models of Human behavior	administrative man	economic man	Strategic rationality or formal raciality (political, economic and organizational)
Concept Public Interest	The public interest is politically explained and expressed in the rule of law	The public interest represents the aggregation of individual interests	Public interest is the result of dialogue Wide range of values
Responsiveness Public bureaucracy	Clients & constituent	Customer	Citizen's
The role of government	Rowing	Steering	Serving
Goal achievement	Government bodies	Private and nonprofit organizations	Coalition of public, nonprofit and private organizations
Accountability	Administrative hierarchy with a firm level	Work according to the will of the market (customer wishes)	Multifaceted: accountability laws, values, communities, political norms, professional standards
Administrative discretion	Limited discretion	Discretion is widely exercised	Discretion is needed but limited and responsible
Organizational structure	Marked bureaucratic with top-down authority	Decentralization of organizations with ultimate control vested in the agents	Collaborative structure with shared ownership internally and externally
Assumptions against Employee Motivation and administrator	Salary and benefits, Protection	Entrepreneurial spirit	Public service with the desire to serve the community

Source: Denhardt and Denhardt (2003: 28-29)

However, NPS is a relatively new paradigm in the study of public administration. NPS is rooted in civic democracy theory, community and civil society models, humanist organization theory and new state administration and postmodern state administration. NPS has different characteristics with OPA and NPM. NPS seeks to make up for the shortcomings in the OPA and NPM paradigms by offering a number of options. The essence of the NPS paradigm is to reposition the role of the state and government in providing public services to the community.

This new paradigm of public administration causes a pattern of relations between the state and society, which emphasizes more on the interests of society. As a result, the state is required to provide services to society better and more democratically. The same understanding is given by Denhardt that the new paradigm of public services (New Public Services Paradigm) is more directed at "democracy, pride and citizen". It further says that "Public servants do not deliver customer service, they deliver democracy". Therefore, democratic values, citizenship and service to the public interest must be seen as fundamental norms in the administration of public administration.

However, in the same book; The New Public Service Denhardt and Denhardt (2007:62) mention:

“Despite this complexity, there have been a variety of efforts to define public sector service quality. One especially comprehensive list developed for local government includes the following: 1. Convenience measures the degree to which government services are easily accessible and available to citizens. 2. Security measures the degree to which services are provided in a way that makes citizens feel safe and confident when using them. 3. Reliability assesses the degree to which government services are provided correctly and on time. 4. Personal attention measures the degree to which employees provide information to citizens

and work with them to help meet their needs. 5. Problem-solving approach measures the degree to which employees provide information to citizens and work with them to help meet their needs. 6. Fairness measures the degree to which citizens believe that government services are provided in a way that is equitable to all. 7. Fiscal responsibility measures the degree to which citizens believe local government is providing services in a way that uses money responsibly. 8. Citizen influence measures the degree to which citizens feel they can influence the quality of service they receive from the local government.”

However, the eight principles mentioned above are not authentic from Denhardt & Denhardt's opinion, but have been influenced by Carlson's (1995) views. Therefore, researchers use more than 7 NPS principles from Denhardt, this is because in the new public service, public services are based on democratic theory which teaches egalitarian and equal rights among citizens, because basically the people (demos) are the highest power holders (kratein), with logical consequences on the concept that since in its status in nature, Even to their status as citizens, these human beings have rights that because of their basic nature will not be possible to be taken over, denied and/or violated (inalienable, inderogable, inviolable) by anyone in power. In fact, these rulers must be seen as officials who obtain their legitimate power because of the mandate of citizens through a public contract, a noble agreement of the nation whose entire contractual substance will be realized in the form of a constitution (Wignjosoebroto, 2005: 11).

2.2. Building Permit

Theoretically, the government bureaucracy has three main functions, namely; service function, development function, and general government function. The three functions of the government bureaucracy show that public services carried out by local governments are very broad in scope, namely services that produce public good, such as roads, bridges, markets and others, and services that produce laws or policies (regulatory functions), which must be obeyed by the community such as permits, KTP, SIM, IMB, and others (Kurniadi & Suryadi, 2020).

According to Sutedi (2011: 200), the purpose of building permits is so that buildings erected by the community can be well organized and meet the requirements, suitable for use, and do not damage the environment. Efforts to realize city development or development programs and the benefits of urban space in an optimal, balanced and harmonious manner in order to create orderly and orderly regional conditions in accordance with applicable local regulations regarding building permits. IMB is given and issued by the regional head to building owners to build new, change, expand, reduce, and maintain buildings in accordance with applicable administrative and technical requirements. The permit to build a building which includes research activities on the layout and design of the building, supervision of its construction implementation to remain in accordance with the applicable spatial plan and technical plan of the building while taking into account the Basic Building Coefficient (KDB), Building Area Coefficient (KLB), Building Height Coefficient (KKB) includes inspection in order to meet the safety requirements for those who occupy the building.

Building permits are one of the legal products to realize a certain order so as to create order, security, safety, comfort, as well as legal certainty. Building permits will legalize a building that is planned in accordance with a predetermined spatial layout. In addition, the existence of a building permit shows that the construction plan of the building can also be accounted for with the intention of mutual interest. The provisions issued by the government have their respective functions. Similarly, the provisions on licensing have functions, namely: (a) as an orderly function, intended so that permits or any permits or places of business, buildings and other forms of community activities do not conflict with each other, so that order in every aspect of community life can be realized; (b) as a regulatory function, it is intended that existing permits can be carried out in accordance with their designation, so that there is misuse of permits that have been granted, in other words, this regulatory function can also be referred to as a function owned by the government (Amelia, 2021).

2.3. Thinking Framework

The frame of mind in the study is as follows:

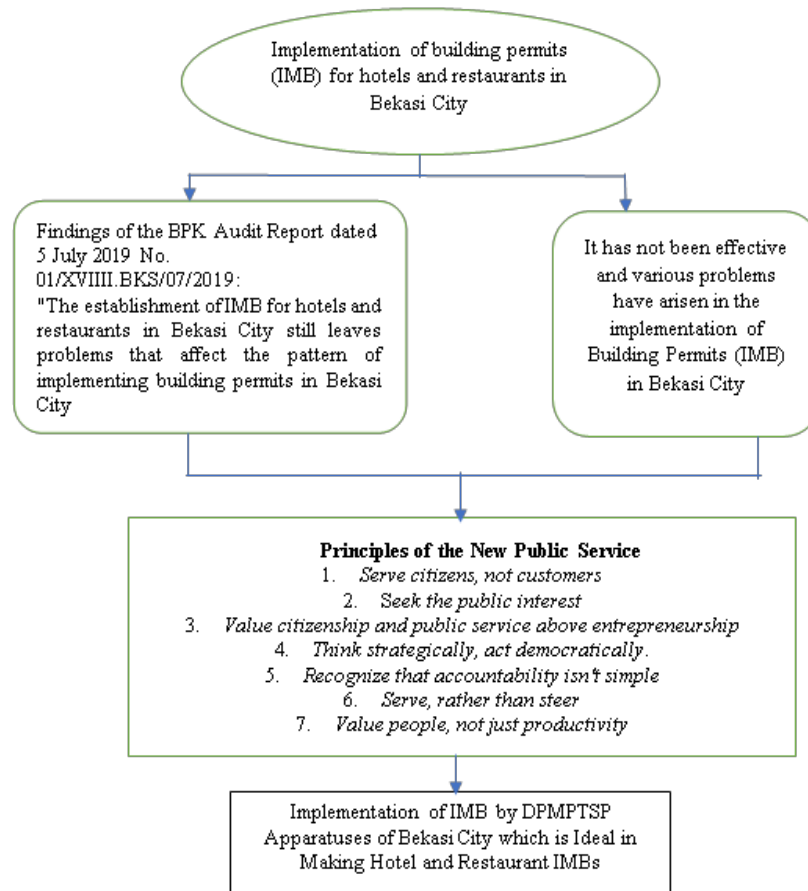


Figure 1: Research Thinking Framework

3. Research Methodology

The research method used is qualitative methods. The qualitative method is seen as more relevant and suitable because it aims to explore and understand what is hidden behind the phenomenon. While the technique used is a case study, that is, a way of collecting data from several informants that is directly related to the focus of this research (Creswell, 2003: 67).

The operational design in this study uses the Denhardt & Denhardt Theory approach (2003: 190):

Table 4: Dimensions and Parameters

NO	DIMENSION	PARAMETERS	PARAMETER INDICATORS
1	serve citizens, not customers	The government serves the people as citizens not as customers	1) Measure the extent to which public services are easily accessible and available to citizens 2) Measure the extent to which public services are provided in a way that makes citizens feel safe and confident when using the services provided 3) Assess the extent to which the reliability of public services provided correctly and on time 4) Measure the extent to which the apparatus provides personal information attention to citizens and works with citizens to help meet their needs 5) Approach problem solving by measuring the extent to which apparatuses provide information to citizens and work with them to help meet their needs

NO	DIMENSION	PARAMETERS	PARAMETER INDICATORS
			<p>6) Measure the extent to which citizens believe that the government delivers public services in a way that is fair to all</p> <p>7) Measure the extent to which citizens trust local governments in providing public services by using funds responsibly</p> <p>8) Measure the extent to which citizens feel they can influence the quality of public services they receive from local governments</p>
2	Seek the public interest	The government must put the public interest first	<p>1) The apparatus helps citizens to articulate the public interest</p> <p>2) The apparatus must work to ensure that citizens are given a voice at every stage of government, not just in electoral politics. The apparatus has a unique and very important responsibility to engage with citizens and create a public dialogue forum</p>
3	Value citizenship and public service above entrepreneurship	The value of citizenship and public service over entrepreneurship	<p>1) The apparatus no longer relies on management control skills, but rather on facilitation, negotiation, and conflict resolution skills</p>
4	Think strategically, act democratically	Think strategically, act democratically	<p>1) All parties implement programs that will move in the desired direction</p> <p>2) Government can encourage citizen pride and civic responsibility</p> <p>3) Creating opportunities for participation and collaboration in achieving common goals</p> <p>4) Open and accessible government at all stages of the public policy process</p>
5	Recognize that accountability isn't simple	The government recognizes that accountability is not simple	<p>1) An inherent accountability in public law relating to democratic safeguards, constitutional government should have an equal place on privatization of policy</p>
6	Serve rather than steer	Serving rather than directing	<p>1) Identify challenges through diagnosing the value at stake and unraveling future problems</p> <p>2) Adapting work using the analogy of a <i>pressure cooker</i>, or staying hot without blowing up the vessel</p> <p>3) Identify actual issues and concentrate on those actual issues</p> <p>4) Develop responsibility for public issues</p>
7	Value people, not just productivity	The value of people is not just productivity	<p>1) The value of people is not just productivity, public organizations and networks in which they participate are more likely to succeed in the long run if they are operated through a process of collaboration and shared leadership based on respect for all people</p> <p>2) In its approach to management and organization, the new public service emphasizes the importance of management through people. Productivity system improvement, process reengineering, and performance measurement are seen as important tools in designing management systems</p> <p>3) The public service shows that rational efforts such as controlling human behavior tend to fail in the long run if at the same time not enough attention is paid to the values and interests of each member of an organization</p>

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. *Serve Citizens, Not Customers*

4.1.1. Government Services Easily Accessible or Not

The Bekasi City Investment and One-Stop Integrated Services Agency (DPMPTSP) has a Silat service, which is an integrated online licensing service. This SILAT application was created to provide convenience and speed of licensing for the community. The SILAT application stands for Integrated Licensing Service System, a smart phone-based program. Through the Silat application, the hotel and restaurant business sector will easily get business licenses anytime and anywhere online. Thus, with the SILAT program, it is hoped that permit applicants will not have to bother queuing for a long time at service counters in the management of permits. With the application of technology in bureaucratic services, it is hoped that it will not only provide convenience and speed for the community, but also to reduce illegal levy practices in the community.

Unfortunately, it turns out that this convenience cannot be enjoyed by all parties, some people consider that the existence of SILAT does not guarantee easy access to services as promised. The SILAT application, which has been considered as an effort by the government as an effort to position the community as citizens with various conveniences through technological assistance related to easy access to services for citizens, is considered to have no significant impact. The SILAT application is not something new that can make it easier for hotel and restaurant managers to take care of licensing. It turns out that what has been launched still leaves a lot of homework to be done, including the SILAT application is often difficult to access and has not given confidence to the public that this system is running well. The difficulty in accessing the SILAT application requires the public to contact the officers at DPMPTSP. This condition certainly opens the gap for the occurrence of "deal-dela" to facilitate the process of making permits and usually things happen that are not in line with NPS principles. Moreover, as the informant said, often coordination with related agencies has not run as expected. Likewise, officers' understanding of online-based work systems and IT systems still needs to be improved. The same thing also happens on the part of the applicant community where one of the obstacles is the limitation of accessing the internet and lack of mastery of technology and limited tools. Therefore, if you use the NPS principle, it is clear that it is still not in line with the first NPS principle, which is to provide ease of service to the community as citizens and not as customers. Thus, the indicator that in providing services to the community as citizens by facilitating access, has not been implemented effectively.

4.1.2. Citizens Feel Safe or Not

From the various information obtained, it turns out that many citizens feel safer if they take care of permits face-to-face with officers, not through the SILAT application. This is because in addition to the application is often difficult to access as previously described there is also no dialogue, unlike if you take care of it directly, face to face, with officers. In fact, people feel less confident when using the SILAT application because those who serve it are not officers but the application system itself. If then viewed from the first principle of NPS, it is clear that treating the community as citizens becomes ineffective if services are carried out through the SILAT application because if there is an error then what will be blamed is that the system is in error or the network is not supporting. If this happens, it is clear that the SILAT application has not been able to provide adequate services.

The community feels safer if taking care of direct licensing face-to-face with perugas becomes more humane, if there is something that is not understood related to licensing can get a direct explanation from the officer, unlike if online, the explanation in the management of information licensing is in accordance with what is stated on the internet / mobile phone screen in the explanation. The data from the interview clearly illustrates that the SILAT application system is actually considered not to provide security for the community who take care of permits, in this case the Building Permit (IMB) and other permit management as revealed by the informant below:

"... The SILAT application does not guarantee a sense of security for people who take care of permits...."

The picture above shows that people actually feel safe doing something if they are served by humans again, not by application systems. This means that there is still distrust from some people towards the use of technology provided because of various things related to technical problems to the problem of changing mindsets. So that people feel less safe if they register a permit application through SIKAT. In line with this, the first principle of NPS, namely that the government serves the community as citizens, not as customers, with the second indicator, namely that the community feels safe with the services provided, is still a problem in DPMPTSP Bekasi City.

4.1.3. Timely Service

Accuracy in terms of completing service time is a problem that is often faced by DPMPTSP Bekasi City in serving the community. DPMPTSP Bekasi City in terms of punctuality in serving the community has been implemented in accordance with procedures, but in its implementation there are still several obstacles. The obstacles faced, for example, the apparatus concerned are on business or out of town, in addition to the usual obstacles regarding information system errors that can hinder the process of completing services to the community. Things that hinder punctuality clearly hinder the process of completing services from the apparatus to the community which results in public disappointment with the apparatus.

Based on information from informants, the efforts made by DPMPTSP Bekasi City always try to do good service to the community. This effort is carried out by correcting the shortcomings contained in DPMPTSP Bekasi City, including adding human resources who have professionalism in work and have expertise in information technology. So that the obstacles faced in terms of service to the community can be overcome and able to provide decisions and time consistency can be overcome. However, the various efforts made have not been able to improve government services to citizens in managing permits in a timely manner. Even though they have used the SILAT application and promised that the management in the licensing process can be completed in one week, it still cannot be kept. In taking care of the IMB permit application process, for example, many residents complained, having to go back and forth to clean up draft drawings of the floor plan of the building or house to be built. Many people feel disappointed with this untimely service, especially many people who know that punctuality in obtaining permits is often determined by closeness to officers. Not a few community members who take care of the final licensing rather than difficult, they leave this matter to unscrupulous officers to be resolved immediately, and this in practice incurs a lot of costs beyond the fees that should be paid officially.

From the picture above, it shows that citizens seen from the perspective of NPS are still not served as citizens, the factor of closeness to officers is one of the important factors in solving licensing problems in a timely manner. If this is seen using the first principle of NPS, it can be said that citizens who take care of licensing have not been positioned as the state but are still considered customers. This is evidenced by the lack of timely implementation of parameters as one of the indicators of the first NPS principle.

4.1.4. Fulfillment of Information Needs by Government Apparatus

From various information, it turns out that information about IMB is obtained only from the internet or from information about his brothers who have taken care of IMB, the results of questions. For the community requesting permits, the information provided by the DPMPTSP apparatus is very lacking, this can be seen from the informant's statement below:

“... DPMPTSP employees do not actively provide the information needed by citizens”.

This shows that DPMPTSP officers or employees do not play an active role in providing information to the public. If this is seen using the first principle of NPS, it can be said that residents who take care of permits have not obtained the information services needed, so it can be said that people who manage permits have not been positioned as citizens but are still considered customers. Thus, it can be conveyed by researchers that employees or state civil servants who work at DPMPTSP Bekasi City do not actively provide information needed by the community, in this case it is the community who is taking care of permits.

The picture above shows the concept of NPS as an analytical knife used in this study, it can be said that how can the community be said to have been positioned as citizens if the data shows that those who become informants do not feel they get adequate information from DPMPTSP employees. In fact, in the NPS concept, providing information services to the community is an important requirement that must be fulfilled by the state civil apparatus, in this case DPMPTSP Bekasi City employees.

4.1.5. The state civil apparatus helps solve problems

Regarding licensing issues, the online system implemented has not worked well, has not been able to cut problems that often occur. The management of IMB Hotels and Restaurants is difficult and long, there are many complaints, even up to 1-2 years of taking care of permits. When it is difficult to penetrate the official, the entrepreneur then tries the help of unscrupulous people. But usually what helps isn't better and can't push the process any faster. There is still weakness in supervision and control of IMB Hotels and Restaurants, as evidenced by the continued development activities at several points that do not have IMB and violate the number of floor and basement permits.

From various informants there is a kind of information business carried out by DPMPTSP employees, what is meant by information business is that if there are obstacles faced by residents who want to take care of permits, the solution offered by the authorities is with a customer approach, namely people who take care of permits are given solutions to spend some money.

So far, there are indeed two pieces of information that are usually obtained from DPMPTSP employees. First, information that is normative as in line with applicable regulations, but there is a second type of information, namely confidential information that can only be known by the party who takes care of the permit with the employee who serves the permit management, usually a matter of cooperation in permit management, where employees or officers take care of the cleaning process to completion, while residents only provide enough money, Only then handover the files that have been sorted out with a number of previously promised uanh. There is a kind of mutualistic symbiosis, in which both parties equally need each other and are interdependent.

Thus, based on information obtained from various informants, all of whom stated the same thing, it can be conveyed by researchers that this fifth indicator, namely assistance in solving problems by the apparatus for residents who are carrying out permit management, has proven to be not implemented properly as the fifth indicator of the first principle of NPS.

Using the NPS concept, it can be said that the fifth indicator has clearly not been implemented by the state civil apparatus working in DPMPTSP, and therefore it clearly contradicts the first principle of NPS. That is, the government has not served the people as citizens not as customers.

4.1.6. Fair Service

Information from informants stated that DPMPTSP Bekasi City in this case tried to provide supporting facilities in providing services to the community. The supporting facility in question is the SILAT application which serves to make it easier for the community to apply for permits. In addition, the SILAT application can be used as a form of justice given by DPMPTSP Bekasi City because it is to prevent convoluted brokering and licensing practices.

Every community who applies for a permit at DPMPTSP Bekasi City gets equitable justice regarding the procedure for applying for a permit, the suitability of requirements with the type of service, the certainty or clarity of officers who provide services, the accuracy of implementation of service schedules and a comfortable service unit environment. This condition shows that DPMPTSP Bekasi City in providing services prioritizes justice to every community who applies for a permit at DPMPTSP Bekasi City.

The information obtained by researchers from informants is precisely the services provided by the DPMPTSP apparatus carried out unfairly. The services provided to the community still discriminate both in terms of position

and social community of permit applicants. Thus, the services provided are still discriminatory. Of course, this condition is not expected by the community. Not only for upper-middle class entrepreneurs, but also for small and medium-sized businesses in licensing. Different treatment can be seen when dealing through third parties and by using official channels. Those who go through third parties make it easier and faster. While dealing with using official channels must be admitted to be slow. Official lines can take two to three weeks, while third-party passages can be completed in just one day. According to the informant, whether or not the service is fair depends on two things as said below:

“... Fair or unfair service that is felt depends on two things, namely by personal closeness with the apparatus or officers, and second, by how much money is prepared for officers in managing permits...”.

4.1.7. Service Improvement Constitution

From the various information obtained, people who are taking care of permits do not have access at all to contribute to providing advice or input in an effort to improve the quality of services provided by the apparatus. In fact, they are not sure that they can contribute to improving the quality of service because the position of the community who is taking care of licensing with the position of the apparatus that takes care of licensing is not the same, one is the party that is taken care of, the other party, namely the government, is the party that takes care of it.

The indicator that the community can influence the quality of services they receive from local governments has not been successfully felt by people who are taking care of permits. Even the community does not know how to do it if the community intends to contribute to improving the quality of service. This can be interpreted that the eighth indicator that cannot be felt by the community who makes or manages the permit indicates that the state civil apparatus working in DPMPTSP, has not succeeded in implementing the first NPS principle related to community contribution in efforts to improve service quality has not been implemented properly.

4.2. *Seek the public interest*

In providing IMB is not easy, it must go through several processes and specified requirements. But on the contrary, there are currently many phenomena related to the granting of Building Permits (IMB) by the Bekasi City Government that do not comply with the rules. Construction of one of the hotels in Bekasi City, where the Bekasi City Government only allows buildings up to 2 floors. But in reality the hotel built up to the 5th and 6th floors. By erecting the building will have an impact on environmental damage which can cause various environmental problems such as flooding.

Using the indicator that civil servants have an important role in helping citizens to articulate the public interest, it turns out that the duty of the state civil apparatus in helping citizens articulate their interests, has not been implemented. This happens because the DPMPTSP Bekasi City apparatus has various interests, therefore they still prioritize the interests of community members who have personal closeness to themselves as revealed by the informant below:

“... DPMPTSP apparatus has not been able to help articulate the public interest because what is clear is that they still prioritize the interests of individuals who have personal closeness to the apparatus....”

As a result, DPMPTSP officials have not had a real role in articulating the public interest. There are those of the bureaucratic apparatuses who ignore the work of serving, which is actually their responsibility. They lack initiative and creativity. There are even some of them who still want retribution. Of course, this condition contradicts the services related to realizing the principles of good and clean governance, and does not place the community as citizens who must be served.

The second principle of NPS is that government serves the public interest. From the data obtained, it can then be stated that the government has not created a dialogue forum, especially to discuss the quality of services provided and in an effort to accommodate input from the public as input for service improvement.

In relation to the government must prioritize the public interest, in this case providing services to the subjects of IMB Hotels and Restaurants, it can be traced through how the DPMPTSP Bekasi City apparatus interprets the importance of the government must prioritize the public interest, as well as how the IMB subjects respond who get and feel the services provided by the DPMPTSP Bekasi City apparatus.

Whereas The public interest is the result of a dialogue about share values rather than the aggregation of individual self-interest (Denhardt, 2003).

4.3. Value citizenship and public service above entrepreneurship

From various information, it is obtained that the DPMPTSP apparatus still prioritizes entrepreneurship, even though the value of citizenship and public service should be above entrepreneurship, as one of the principles of NPS. There are still many apparatuses who think and act profit and loss in giving priority to services, should be value citizenship and public service above entrepreneurship.

The New Public Service views citizen involvement in government processes as more important than government driven by entrepreneurial spirit. The New Public Service argues that the public interest is better when formulated and developed by the apparatus together with citizens who have a commitment to make a meaningful contribution to life together.

The DPMPTSP Bekasi City apparatus has not provided public services using a citizenship approach but still uses an entrepreneurial approach. The citizenship approach places the public as the owner of sovereignty, while the entrepreneurial approach is to place the public as an object of income because entrepreneurs always calculate profits and losses.

4.4. Think strategically, act democratically

4.4.1. Implementing Programs that will Move in the Desired Direction

Implementing the program towards the direction that has been set is the first indicator for the fourth principle of NPS, namely thinking strategically through democratic actions that must be carried out by the government apparatus. Thinking strategically and acting democratically in the system of government is usually expressed in the form of policy.

From the information obtained through informants, it is known that the program to be achieved is actually carried out through practical thinking and pragmatic timing. In other words, the DPMPTSP apparatus still thinks easily, and prioritizes practicality. Therefore, it is not surprising that DPMPTSP does not see any strategic thinking efforts from the apparatus working at DPMPTSP Bekasi City in implementing the program to be achieved, nor does it see the form of democratic actions through dialogue in an effort to implement the program to be achieved. In fact, policies and programs that are initiated strategically are in an effort to answer public needs so that the services provided can be implemented effectively and responsively.

4.4.2. Encouraging Citizen Pride and Civic Responsibility

From information obtained through informants, it is known that the local government, in this case represented by the state civil apparatus working at DPMPTSP Bekasi City, has never made efforts to encourage community pride and public responsibility, in this case civil society with an interest in obtaining IIMB building permits).

The government through the state civil apparatus working in DPMPTSP, has never been seen carrying out efforts through any program to build public pride so that a sense of pride arises as a community that respects its sovereignty, for example through discussion forums, or other efforts, such as giving awards to the public who take care of their IMB.

In fact, the root of the NPS concept is democracy, and hence, building a government must be together with the public. More specifically, good governance must involve 3 key components, namely the public, the private sector, and the government itself. Thus, these three key components must be equally involved in the governance process. That is why it is important to encourage the birth of citizen pride as part of good governance stakeholders so that the public, in this case citizens, in NPS terms are called citizens, feel their responsibility in managing government.

4.4.3. Creating Opportunities for Participation and Collaboration in Achieving Common Goals

The third indicator for the fourth NPS principle is that the government should create opportunities for participation and collaboration (cooperation) in achieving common goals. In reality, as information obtained from informants that opportunities for participation and collaboration to achieve common goals actually already exist as stated by informants below:

“... The opportunity exists, but unfortunately, the opportunity is more ceremonial and formalistic, because in the end, it is still the government that has the authority to regulate all the results of the Musrenbang...”

From what is obtained in the field, researchers can convey that regional development deliberation activities (Musrenbang) as a means to prioritize the public interest, are more carried out as ceremonial-formalistic in nature. Although it must be admitted that through a series of regulations, the government has tried to prioritize the public interest while encouraging the application of a participatory approach in regional development planning, as well as opening space for community involvement in the process of local government management. But in general, the government has not reduced its party dominance and given up some or given opportunities to the people as citizens to play an active role. The government still uses the Government Paradigm where the role of the government is still dominant and has not shifted towards the Governance Paradigm, which is a paradigm in NPS that emphasizes how the government interacts in equal roles with the community as citizens in meeting the needs of its citizens.

4.4.4. Open and Accessible Government at All Stages of the Policy Process

The fourth indicator for the fourth NPS principle is that government should be open and accessible in all levels of the policy process. Normatively, the government in this case represented by the state civil apparatus working at DPMPTSP Bekasi City, indeed always conveys its mission of openness, that the Bekasi City Government is an open government so that the public can access various programs and even access every stage of policy making. However, the facts on the ground show that what is said and what is done by DPMPTSP officers is very different. Normatively and formalistically, policy makers in Bekasi City, in this case state civil servants working at DPMPTSP Bekasi City, often state that they are open and always involve the public. But in practice this is not the case. Thus, so far the state civil apparatus working at DPMPTSP Bekasi City has been ambiguous. First, formally and normatively declare itself as part of local government that is open and opens the widest access for the public to know all programs and all stages of policy making. Second, in practice, because the position of the state civil apparatus, in this case those who work at DPMPTSP Bekasi City, is the party who has the authority, so in reality, what is conveyed normatively and formally, is not in accordance with reality. This means that from the NPS side, it shows that the state civil apparatus in DPMPTSP is still based on a legal-normative approach, not only at the institutional level but also at the apparatus level that directly provides services to permit applicants. In fact, when the DPMPTSP apparatus operationally provides directly to permit applicants, they should also be able to think strategically without having to violate applicable regulations.

4.5. *Recognize that accountability isn't simple*

Accountability of public services must be built in line with the development of a multi-cultural society. The construction of accountability for the implementation of public services is carried out by providing participation space to accommodate community demands. By accommodating the interests and needs of the community, it is hoped that a joint commitment will be built in the implementation of public services. Mutual commitment can be fostered by putting aside the interests and egos of official agencies in the state institutional structure.

Accountability for the implementation of public services involving parties with the aim of building a joint commitment in the space of community participation, namely between service providers and community citizens, will lead parties to a more responsive public service delivery accountability process. However, accountability is not an easy thing and easy to do, accountability cannot be considered completed just by making periodic reports. That is why, one of the principles of NPS states: recognize that accountability isn't simple.

4.6. Serve rather than steer

4.6.1. Identify Challenges Through Diagnosing Value at Stake, and Unraveling Problems That Will Arise

In relation to public services for community members, although various efforts to change the mind-set from being served to serving but even this depends on the will and desire of the Bekasi City DPMPTSP apparatus itself. The concept of serve rather than steer (serving rather than directing) although it has been widely discussed, has also not been able to change the main function of government to serve its citizens and not direct. It seems that in accordance with the principles of NPS, public services must be developed based on service values, so that the respect of the Bekasi City DPMPTSP apparatus for citizens as sovereign owners can be realized in the form of services that are in accordance with the demands of citizens. Thus, researchers can say that the government has not seen anticipating the challenges that will arise and what possible values are at stake when these challenges actually come and we must face them.

While related to the second point, namely the government should be able to parse problems that will arise or anticipate future problems, information is obtained from informants that how can the government describe problems in detail if identifying problems is not done. Therefore, the researcher concludes that these two main things, namely the first point, the government should be able to identify challenges through diagnosis, should be able to identify challenges through the diagnosis of the value at stake, and the second point, the government should be able to parse problems that will arise or anticipate future problems. These two main things have not been implemented by the state civil apparatus working at DPMPTSP Bekasi City, so that public services have not been effective.

4.6.2. Work Adaptations Using the Pressure Cooker Analogy, or Stay Hot Without Blowing Up the Vessel

Based on the information obtained by researchers as mentioned above, researchers can convey that the signals that have been mentioning that state civil servants who work in organizations called bureaucracy, tend to be engrossed in themselves. Not only because they are busy concentrating on carrying out their work routines so that they no longer have the energy of thought and time to adapt work based on the demands of the community, but indeed it is related to public services in the ranks of the state civil apparatus whose loyalty is directed to superiors and not to the community. Therefore, it is not uncommon for the apparatus to still want to run the government in the old way, which is not in line with the principles of NPS.

4.6.3. Identify Actual Issues and Concentrate on Those Actual Issues

The SILAT application may be the result of identification of various actual problems in the licensing process, but whether then the government can concentrate on managing this SILAT application which is felt has not been proven because the existing application often errors when accessed. Coupled with the absence of a change in mind-set both from the DPMPTSP apparatus itself and the community. Another informant highlighted that the actual issue was a matter of public demands that were increasingly expected to improve service quality because the presence of various information technology-based applications was just a tool as conveyed by the informant of the IMB license applicant below:

“... Information technology-based applications are merely tools and therefore not an indicator of the improvement of public services...”

It was even said by subsequent informants that there was no evidence available to the public regarding the government's efforts to identify the actual issue and concentrate on the actual issue. Because so far there has been no public involvement to work together with the government to try to identify and concentrate on actual issues related to the interests of existing stakeholders. Moreover, there is no evidence that the state civil apparatus working at DPMPTSP Bekasi City has identified and at the same time concentrated on issues that develop in the midst of society.

4.6.4. Develop responsibility for public issues

According to the informant of the state civil apparatus working in DPMPTSP, it has never been seen to streamline its public services. Apparatuses working at DPMPTSP always only focus on their respective goals, so that the problem of improving the quality of public services is ignored. It is not surprising, therefore, that the government's responsibility to help solve public problems has not been seen until now.

From these data, it can be seen that the state civil apparatus that works in DPMPTSP has not seen its efforts to develop its responsibility for the problems faced by the public, especially through efforts to streamline public services, within the DPMPTSP Bekasi City.

4.7. *Value people, not just productivity*

4.7.1. Shared Collaboration and Leadership Process

Leadership in the New Public Service is shared leadership where leadership control is not centralized in the hands of superiors but involves many people, many groups. The leadership position here is not as an owner but a public servant or public servant (servan, not owner).

In relation to the process of collaboration and joint leadership, it does not appear to be practiced by the state civil apparatus working at DPMPTSP Bekasi City, as evidenced in all sections, all employees refer to their respective superiors. The process of collaboration and joint leadership, in this case between the community or Bekasi City residents who are taking care of IMB with the state civil apparatus serving in DPMPTSP Bekasi City, has not shown any collaboration built by placing community members who take care of IMB as citizens. The state civil apparatus in charge of DPMPTSP Bekasi City, often still places residents who take care of IMB as customers. This happens, because the concentration of the apparatus prioritizes providing service satisfaction to their superiors, rather than to the public who take care of IMB. As a result, a process of collaboration and shared leadership based on respect for all people according to NPS principles has not yet taken place.

4.7.2. Performance Measurement

Based on data obtained in the field, it is known that performance measurement does not appear to be practiced by state civil servants working at DPMPTSP Bekasi City, it is proven that none of the informants obtained a copy of the report on performance measurement. According to informants, so far, performance reports are only to be reported to superiors, and there is no awareness to be conveyed to the public, this is the culture that exists in the bureaucracy, including in DPMPTSP until now. Furthermore, it is also known that DPMPTSP's performance measurement related to public services has no evidence. This means, until now there is no form of public service measurement report submitted to the public or the public as part of good governance.

From the picture above, it shows that performance measurement may actually have been carried out, as is the obligation of government agencies, but when whether the performance measurement report is also submitted to the public or not, this is not obtained, that is, information on the performance measurement of apparatus at DPMPTSP Bekasi City, information is not obtained by Bekasi City residents who are taking care of IMB.

4.7.3. The Value of Each Member's Importance

From the various information obtained, the interests of each community member who manages IMB, namely getting fast and fair service, only obtained the service. While speed and fairness in the provision of services are not obtained at all, that is, getting a "Yes" but a question of whether the service provided is done quickly and fairly the answer is "No".

From the picture above, it shows that the value of the interests of each member, in this case, community members or Bekasi City residents who are taking care of IMB, are neglected by the state civil apparatus working at DPMPTSP Bekasi City. This happens, meaning that the neglect of these values occurs, because of the concentration of the apparatus on its service, which is important to serve. Meanwhile, related to the speed of service and fairness of service, which are values of the interests of community members who take care of IMB, are not considered.

5. Conclusion

Based on the results of the study, it can be concluded that the public services of the Bekasi City DPMPTSP apparatus in making Hotel and Restaurant Building Permits (IMB) are still ineffective. This is due to the non-application of the principles of *the New Public Service*.

In the aspect of *Serve citizens*, not customers or the government serves the community as citizens not as customers, people are still considered customers are not considered citizens. In fact, the apparatus is still like selling services to consumers as customers.

In the aspect of *Seek the public interest* or the government must prioritize the public interest, still prioritizing individual interests. In fact, the apparatus still prioritizes service to individuals who have a personal approach with the apparatus.

In the aspect of Value citizenship and public service above entrepreneurship or the value of *citizenship and* public service above entrepreneurship, it still prioritizes entrepreneurship. In fact, the apparatus still thinks and acts profit and loss in giving priority to services.

In the aspect of *Think strategically*, act democratically or think strategically, act democratically, the DPMPTSP apparatus still does not think strategically and has not acted democratically. In fact, the apparatus still thinks technically and acts on commands.

In the aspect of *Recognize that accountability isn't simple* or the government recognizes that accountability is not simple in fact accountability is considered simple, enough to exist / make reports. Even though accountability is not as simple as submitting periodic reports.

In the aspect of *Serve*, rather than *steer* or serve, rather than direct, the apparatus still often directs rather than serves. In fact, the apparatus directs more "this must be the case" to people who intend to apply for permits.

In the *aspect of Value* people, not just productivity or value people is not just productivity, the apparatus is still oriented to results or productivity. In fact, the apparatus is still oriented towards achieving targets.

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Zakiah, Siti S, (2005). Study of the Work Culture of Local Government Organizations in Kalimantan. LAN Samarinda.

Chinese New Zealanders' Online Political Discussions and Lived Power Experience

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Abstract

This paper explores the relationship between Chinese New Zealanders' online political discussions and participation. It also uses Mark Haugaard's four dimensions of power theory to explore their power experiences during online political discussions. Based on an interpretive analysis of 38 Chinese New Zealanders' in-depth interviews, I found that interviewees discussed domestic and international politics online. The relationships between their political discussions and participation were complex. Additionally, interviewees experienced diverse power dimensions simultaneously in online discussions, and their interpretations of power varied. This study deepens our understanding of how power operates in everyday life.

Keywords: Chinese New Zealanders, Four Dimensions of Power, Online Political Discussions, Political Participation

1. Introduction

Political discussion is vital for a healthy and vibrant democracy. Scholars have emphasized its significance from various aspects. First, citizens become informed about common affairs through political discussions (Huu, 2022; Siapera & Veikou, 2013). Political discussions can also shape public opinions and influence public policies, making governments transparent and accountable (Habermas, 1989; Mouffe, 2009). Furthermore, political discussions can potentially reform existing political principles and social norms, thereby promoting social progress. For example, prevailing public opinions in the United States used to condemn, demoralize, and disrespect the LGBTQ community decades ago. Through political discussions, popular public opinions nowadays support and respect this community (Coley & Das, 2020).

Noticing the significance of political discussions, scholars have explored how New Zealanders engage in online political discussions to articulate demands, address concerns, and advance interests (Murchusion, 2009; Rudd & Hayward, 2005; Vowles, 2015). Chinese New Zealanders account for nearly 5% of New Zealanders' population (StatsNZ, 2020). They are an unignorable ethnic minority community in New Zealand. However, a few studies have focused on their online political discussions (Zheng, 2022). This paper aims to fill the gap.

People's online political discussions could be analyzed from various aspects. Power is an integral theme of politics. Studies have found that political discussions help people to reverse, maintain, or strengthen existing power relationships (Couldry et al., 2014; Dahlgren, 2009). Therefore, this paper chooses power as its analytical perspective to study Chinese New Zealanders' online political discussions. Scholars have interpreted power differently (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962; Dahl, 1957; Lukes, 2005), leading them to have varied conclusions on people's power experiences during participating in politics. This paper uses Mark Haugaard's (2020) four dimensions of power theory to analyze possible power dynamics underlying people's online political discussions.

I structure this paper as follows. The next section explains the significance of immigrants' online political discussions and the four dimensions of power theory, laying the theoretical foundation for the following analysis. The third section explains research methods. The discussion section presents Chinese New Zealanders' involvement in various political discussions and reveals power dynamics underlying their political discussions. I conclude the paper with its contributions.

1.1 Immigrants' Political Discussions Online

Immigrants are often politically marginalized (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010; Quintelier, 2009). They have limited political opportunities to articulate demands, address concerns, and advance interests in receiving countries (Pilati & Morales, 2016; Sandovici & Listhaug, 2010). However, scholars have found that the internet significantly empowers immigrants to engage in politics (Oiarzabal, 2012; Reips & Buffardi, 2012).

Immigrants' online political discussions facilitate their political participation in receiving countries from three aspects. First, online political discussions help immigrants obtain more political information and get familiar with the political systems of receiving countries. Lack of sufficient political information and unfamiliarity with the receiving countries' political systems are the two primary barriers to immigrants' political participation (Barker & McMillan, 2017; Bevelander, 2015). Studies have found that immigrants often discuss shared concerns and public policies relevant to their interests on various social media platforms (Al-Rawi, 2019; Siapera & Veikou, 2013). Their political information acquisition encourages their online and offline political participation (Huu, 2022; Oiarzabal, 2012). Second, immigrants establish and extend social networks through online political discussions. They develop mutual trust and shared identities in these networks, further promoting their political participation (Kissau & Hunger, 2008; Nagel & Staeheli, 2010). Last, online political discussions help immigrants form collective identities around shared concerns and facilitate their political participation to address these concerns. For example, Oiarzabal (2012) found that Facebook helped diaspora Basques construct a virtual community, enabling them to act for common interests. Other studies also had similar findings (Al-Rawi, 2019; Siapera & Veikou, 2013).

Immigrants' online political discussions also encourage their homeland-oriented and global-oriented political engagement. In her study on migrants' transnational lives, Nedelcu (2012) maintains that the internet enables immigrants to form multiple belongings, construct de-territorialized identities, and develop cosmopolitan values. Studies have found that online communication helps immigrants maintain close ties with their homelands (Liu, 2011; Sun, 2005). On the one hand, online discussions support immigrants to transcend their nostalgia and pain of displacement, helping them reconstruct virtual "homes" in cyberspace (Wong, 2003). On the other hand, immigrants obtain domestic political information through online communications, express their viewpoints about homeland politics, and engage in online political activities that target their homelands (Baubock, 2006; Huu, 2022). Additionally, the internet allows immigrants to express their political dissidence against homeland regimes (Bernal, 2006; Brinkerhoff, 2009; Moss, 2018). Studies have also found that online political discussions encourage people to participate in global politics (Huu, 2022; Siapera & Veikou, 2013).

Noticing the significance of online political discussions in immigrants' political activities, I aim to explore why and how Chinese New Zealanders discuss politics online and the relationships between their online political discussions and participation. The findings will expand our knowledge of the role of politics in Chinese New Zealanders' daily lives.

1.2 The Four Dimensions of Power

Allen (1999) identifies the three most common types of power in societies, power-to, power-over, and power-with. Most scholars of power studies agree on this distinction. However, they interpret differently how these three types of power operate in societies ((Bachrach & Baratz, 1962; Dahl, 1957; Haugaard, 2012; Lukes, 2005). Haugaard's (2012) four dimensions of power theory is one of many frameworks that integrate these three types of power and systematically examine how they function in societies. He develops his theory based on Lukes' (2005) three dimensions of power theory yet makes some adjustments.

The first dimension (1-D) of power examines power from the agency aspect (Haugaard, 2012). It derives from Dahl's (1957, p.202) understanding of power as "the ability of A to make B do something B would not otherwise do". Haugaard (2012) uses it to describe an ability to bring about effects by directing others' actions. Although many scholars interpret this dimension of power as a zero-sum game (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962), it is a common misunderstanding of Dahl's idea. Instead, the 1-D power could be zero-sum or positive-sum (Dahl, 1957; Haugaard, 2012).

The second dimension (2-D) of power derives from Bachrach and Baratz's (1962) discussions of power. They notice that the existing social and political systems often bias specific issues and exclude others. However, they believe what is excluded from the systems also matters significantly. The 2-D power shifts the concentration of power from the agency to the structural aspect. Giddens' (1984) structuration theory helps us better understand this dimension of power. He argues that individuals and social structures mutually shape each other. On the one hand, social structures use social norms and values to regulate individuals' daily behavior. Actions that do not conform to social norms and values are infelicitous and often face critique and condemnation. Meanwhile, social norms and values are artificial products. They constantly undergo the process of production, revision, and reproduction through individuals' interactions with one another. Therefore, Giddens (1984) suggests analyzing social changes at two levels. The first-level analyzes how people modify the existing structures to make them more equal, diverse, and inclusive. The second-level is about reshaping social norms and values to constitute alternative social structures. The 2-D power explores how power operates to launch first-level social changes (Haugaard, 2012).

The third dimension (3-D) of power tackles the second-level social changes, analyzing the formation of social norms and values (Haugaard, 2012). Lukes (2005) interprets it as an ability to influence how people think of and understand the world and associates it with domination. However, Haugaard (2021) argues that the 3-D power has both positive and negative potential. Haugaard (2012) introduces two concepts, discursive and practical knowledge, to illustrate how the 3-D power operates. "A specific theory or model of discipline or social science is discursive knowledge, while the more taken-for-granted order of things that structures a system of thought constitutes practical knowledge" (Haugaard, 2012, p.43). The social norms and values mentioned earlier are part of practical knowledge that regulates whether specific actions are deviant or normal. Although people cannot fully escape the influence of practical knowledge, they can use their discursive knowledge to question whether or not the prevalent practical knowledge is appropriate and reasonable. When they realize the conflicts between their discursive knowledge and the prevalent practical knowledge are irresolvable and attempt to reform the latter based on their discursive knowledge, they initiate second-level social changes (Giddens, 1984). The 3-D power functions in their attempt to reshape practical knowledge to constitute alternative social structures.

Haugaard (2012) develops the fourth dimension (4-D) of power based on Foucault's (1979) conception of disciplinary power, examining how individuals are made into social subjects. "Subjects" here have two meanings. First, individuals are subject to others through control and dependence. As mentioned above, social norms and values (or practical knowledge in Haugaard's terms) regulate people's daily behavior. Individuals' actions are often considered deviant or inappropriate if they differ dramatically from the majority's actions (Giddens, 1984). Meanwhile, individuals' actions need recognition and acceptance from others. Actions neglected or denied by others are often infelicitous (Foucault, 1982). This type of subjectification relates to the 3-D power where individuals are socialized in specific societies. Second, individuals are subject to their identities by constantly practicing their beliefs. Foucault (1982) finds that individuals routinely discipline themselves to abide by the

prevailing social norms and values. Haugaard (2012) describes this process as internalizing practical knowledge and making it part of individuals' identities. The 4-D power examines how power operates in this internalization process through which people adopt certain social norms and values to self-discipline their daily actions (Haugaard, 2012).

Haugaard (2020) argues that power-to, power-over, and power-with can function in all four dimensions of power. Therefore, his theory has the advantage of systematically analyzing power operations in societies. Noticing this advantage, I use his theory to analyze Chinese New Zealanders' online political discussions. The findings will deepen our understanding of how power operates in people's daily lives.

2. Research Methods

I designed this research as an interpretive case study based on semi-structured in-depth interviews of 38 Chinese New Zealanders in Auckland from 2020 to 2021. Although interpretive case studies have limited validity and generalizability (Yin, 2003), they are good at revealing detailed information and nuances of people's involvement in various political discussions and their diverse power experiences. Therefore, I believe it was an appropriate approach for this research.

Chinese New Zealanders are diverse in age, socio-economic status, length of residence in New Zealand, and country of origin. The 2018 Census shows that mainland China,¹ Hong Kong, and Taiwan are the top three sources of Chinese New Zealanders' intake (StatsNZ, 2020). Therefore, I restricted my target groups to Chinese New Zealanders from these three places.

I recruited participants by sending invitation emails to Chinese association members, posting recruitment advertisements on social media, and asking respondents to invite their friends to join the project. All participants read the *Information Sheet* and signed the *Consent Form*. I first asked them to recall their involvement in online political discussions. I also introduced to them the three types of power, power-to, power-over, and power-with, and asked them to reflect on whether their political discussions included any power. If they said they experienced power, I asked them to elaborate on it. Following the data saturation principle (Charmaz, 2008), I stopped interviewing new participants when their descriptions of political discussions showed key themes repeatedly.

In the end, I interviewed 17 females and 21 males. The mean age of interviewees was 46-year-old, ranging from 28 to 86. The average length of residence in New Zealand was 27 years, ranging from 4 to 63 years. The interviewees came from all walks of life: chefs, white collars, university professors, entrepreneurs, homemakers, and other professionals.²

Data collection and analysis were conducted simultaneously. I used thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to process interview transcripts, my notes during the fieldwork, and other secondary data. Many interviewees were unaware of the power involved in their online political discussions. Therefore, I used my professional knowledge to abstract power dynamics underlying political discussions. Data analysis shows that interviewees' political discussions covered diverse topics on the politics of New Zealand, their homelands, and the global. Their political discussions did not necessarily encourage their political participation. Additionally, they experienced diverse dimensions of power while discussing politics online. The following discussion section unpacks these findings in detail.

This research has some limitations. First, all interviewees were recruited in Auckland due to COVID-19-enforced travel restrictions. I initially planned to use phone and internet interviews to overcome this limitation. However, after three online interviews, I found that participants were more willing to share their participatory experiences face-to-face than online. It was because politics was a sensitive topic, and interviewees would have a deeper trust in me when having in-person communications. Non-Aucklanders might engage in other political discussions and

¹ I use the People's Republic of China (PRC) to refer to mainland China in the following discussion section.

² I attach the detailed information about interviewees in Appendix I.

have diverse power experiences not identified in this research. Second, individuals from different places often experience various political socialization processes, further affecting their political participation (Bilodeau, 2014). Therefore, Chinese New Zealanders from other places might engage in political discussions differently from interviewees from mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Future studies could overcome these limitations and have diverse findings by interviewing Chinese New Zealanders beyond these three places.

3. Findings and Discussion

3.1 Participating in Diverse Political Discussions

Empirical studies have found that male, young, and well-educated citizens are the main participants in political discussions ((Baek, Wojcieszak, & Delli Carpini, 2012; Uldam & Askanius, 2013). My observation differs from these findings. All interviewees, regardless of age and gender, reported they discussed politics online. However, their online communications were primarily for entertainment or sustaining interpersonal relationships. Most of the political discussions were casual and spontaneous conversations. They were not pre-scheduled. Instead, these conversations were often triggered by people sharing commentary articles and news reports on WeChat groups.³ People's comments on specific issues also incentivized other group members to join the discussions. Although WeChat groups were where interviewees often had online political discussions, most people did not initially join these groups for political reasons. Only a few WeChat groups were formed for political discussions at first. Interviewees talked about diverse topics on WeChat groups, and overtly political conversations accounted for a small proportion.

Interviewees' political conversations on WeChat groups covered various topics. They talked about the government's COVID-19 policies, racial discrimination, gender-related issues, economic development, house prices, and other hotly debated social problems in New Zealand. They also discussed homeland politics, such as the Chinese government's lockdown policies and its relationship with the United States, and global politics, such as Black Lives Matter, Stop Asian Hate, and MeToo movements. Most interviewees said that discussing politics in WeChat groups increased their political information on the one hand and their trust in governments and politicians on the other hand.

Online discussions were one of many approaches for young and middle-aged interviewees to obtain political information. However, older interviewees claimed they heavily relied on online discussions to obtain political information, especially about political affairs in New Zealand. Interviewee 1 explained, "New Zealand has Chinese media, such as the *Chinese Herald*, which reports political news. However, you cannot get sufficient information as detailed as English-language media, especially during general elections. We can only learn detailed political policies of each political party and their candidates from WeChat groups. Those who understand English will translate information and post it for us." His complaints echo Barker and McMillan's (2017) finding that the media failed to provide the latest comprehensive information on New Zealand politics in non-English languages.

Many interviewees were mobilized to participate in politics after discussing politics with others, which echoes the empirical findings that immigrants' online political discussions facilitate their political participation (Huu, 2022; Moss, 2018; Siapera & Veikou, 2013). Thirty-six interviewees recalled that their political talks mobilized them to engage in New Zealand's politics, such as voting in the 2020 General Election, signing petitions, and attending public hearings. Studies often found that immigrants from authoritarian societies hesitate to engage in protests and demonstrations in receiving countries (Bilodeau, 2008, 2014). However, interviewees' online discussions successfully mobilized Chinese New Zealanders to join various protests. For example, Interviewee 14 mentioned how the Chinese community was united to protest outside Auckland High Court to pressure the Judge to impose a heavy sentence on the murderer who sexually assaulted and brutally killed Ms. Tian, an innocent Chinese old lady.⁴ Four interviewees also recalled how they got mobilized to join street demonstrations to express solidarity

³ WeChat is a popular social media platform among Chinese people.

⁴ News report about this case can be found here <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/jaden-lee-stroobant-the-making-of-a-murderer/QS5F3ALVTVA3BDCUHL3XT6BYA/>.

for global Stop Asian Hate, MeToo, and anti-climate change movements. Interviewee 25 said, “We are not allowed to organize or join street demonstrations asking for women’s equal and fair treatment in workplaces in mainland China. But in New Zealand, we are free to do so. Therefore, when the global trend of the MeToo movement started, I went to WeChat groups and encouraged people, both females and males, to walk on the streets and fight for women. I’m surprised many people responded to my appeal and joined the demonstrations.”

Three interviewees not only actively discussed with others about the mainland Chinese government’s policies but wrote commentary articles about them. However, most interviewees said they were cautious when talking about homeland politics. They were worried that “inappropriate” comments on the mainland Chinese government would cause them unnecessary trouble, even though they were outside the PRC. Their worries echo many studies’ conclusions that the influence of the Chinese government’s censorship policies expands beyond its borders. It impedes Chinese people in and outside its territory from actively discussing online politics (Bamman, O’Connor, & Smith, 2012; Chan, Yi, & Kuznetsov, 2022).

Two interviewees said they lost trust in politicians and governments after political discussions. They knew more about governments’ corruption and politicians’ hypocrisy from online discussions, severely discouraging their political participation. Their reported negative relationship between political discussions and participation has also been found in empirical studies (Gil de Zúñiga, Diehl, & Ardèvol-Abreu, 2017).

Nine interviewees did not think their online political discussions affected their political participation. The disconnection between their political discussions and participation is also understandable. Many studies have found that political discussions do not necessarily mobilize people to participate in politics (Eveland Jr & Hively, 2009; Valenzuela, Kim, & Gil de Zúñiga, 2011). However, nine interviewees all admitted that communicating with others made them more politically informed than before. Their feeling echoes the empirical findings that political discussions helped people obtain political information (Siapera & Veikou, 2013). Additionally, six interviewees claimed they became more interested in politics than before, echoing the findings that political discussions develop people’s interest in politics (Gil de Zúñiga, Ardèvol-Abreu, & Casero-Ripollés, 2021).

To conclude, interviewees engaged in online political discussions for various reasons. The relationships between interviewees’ political discussions and participation were complex. Additionally, censorship policies had a negative transnational influence on interviewees’ online political discussions.

3.2 Power Dynamics Underlying Online Political Discussions

Although only sixteen interviewees explicitly stated they experienced various types of power during online political discussions, I analyzed that all forty-five interviewees exerted power in different aspects when discussing politics online. Interviewees’ weak awareness of power dynamics indicates their narrow understanding of power. This finding resonates with scholars’ observation that power is everywhere in people’s daily lives, yet people often ignore or be unaware of it (Dal Poz, 2020; Sawicki, 1991). Interviewees experienced four dimensions of power during online political discussions.

The 1-D power focuses on its capacity to make people do something they otherwise would not do (Haugaard, 2012). Those who identified power dynamics in their political discussions all mentioned the 1-D power. Interviewee 17, a retired teacher from the PRC, shared how she exerted power-with and power-to through online discussions to address older Chinese immigrants’ objection to pension reform. In the past, immigrants could claim a pension once they had lived in New Zealand for ten years. However, former parliamentarian Mark Patterson proposed changing this residence length from ten to twenty years. She recalled that when older people knew about this reform, they intensively discussed how to stop it in different WeChat groups. A petition was created and circulated in numerous WeChat groups, and many people mobilized others to sign the petition. She signed it and knew many of her friends also signed it. They did not stop the reform. The New Zealand Superannuation and Retirement Income (Fair Residency) Amendment Bill is currently undergoing its second reading in Parliament. However, Interviewee 17 felt they formed a united community at that time, acting collectively to oppose the

reform. People constructed a temporary collective identity based on their objection to pension reform, and they attempted to exert power to affect public decision-making. Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 3 also shared their engagement in discussions about pension reform. They also signed the petition. The three interviewees said they felt empowered through online discussions because they realized their capacities to protect their interests and influence public policies. In this case, they experienced the positive aspect of the 1-D power.

The 2-D power tackles structural bias, exploring how the existing social and political systems prefer certain things and exclude others (Haugaard, 2012). Twelve interviewees' online political discussions involved this type of power. For example, eight interviewees recalled their discussions about the 2020 General Election in WeChat groups. They remembered many participants complained that they could not get the latest and detailed information about political parties and their candidates in Chinese from official websites, which discouraged them from voting. Interviewee 4 said he might not vote without sufficient political information because a blind vote was irresponsible. Six interviewees recalled that some participants shared in WeChat groups about their difficulties contacting local politicians to report their concerns due to language barriers or unfamiliarity with the procedures of contacting politicians. When people complained about lacking sufficient political information or feeling constrained to address concerns via government institutions, other participants in online discussions often gave suggestions, helping them overcome these difficulties.

On the one hand, through online discussions, many Chinese New Zealanders realized the existing political system discriminated against those uncomfortable communicating in English, even though the New Zealand government might not intentionally do so. On the other hand, participants could obtain the relevant information they needed to overcome the systematic difficulties they faced from online discussions. The interactions between those who raised the questions and those who offered suggestions manifest people's experiences of the 2-D power. Participants who complained about the systematic barriers experienced the negative aspect of the 2-D power, as Bachrach and Baratz (1962) and Lukes (2005) interpreted the 2-D power. Participants who benefited from the suggestions in online discussions instead experienced the positive aspect of the 2-D power, resonating with Haugaard's (2012) argument that 2-D power might also be positive-sum.

Interviewees also recalled they discussed how the New Zealand workplaces discriminated against women, especially single mothers. Similarly, other participants provided suggestions on how to use laws to fight against gender-based discrimination. Interviewee 26 and Interviewee 31 remembered that their discussions further encouraged them to participate in online activities to support the global MeToo movement. Interviewees experienced the 2-D power during their discussions about gender issues. Many participants realized how traditional gender stereotypes unfairly differentiated men and women and how New Zealand society implicitly practiced these stereotypes to discriminate against women.

It is noteworthy to emphasize that when participants experienced the 2-D power during online discussions, they simultaneously exerted the 1-D power. For example, Interviewee 26 and Interviewee 31 were mobilized by online discussions to join global feminism movements to request women's fair and respectful treatment in workplaces. Their actions show their beliefs in using power-to and power-with to improve women's well-being globally.

The 3-D power explores how individuals use their discursive knowledge to challenge prevailing practical knowledge and reshape social and political systems in their desired directions (Haugaard, 2012). Interviewees' online political discussions involve this dimension of power, yet most of them were unaware of it when sharing their discussion experiences. Interviewee 12 recalled her discussion about the 2019-2020 Hong Kong protests on a WeChat group. Discussants were in three divisions. Some, including Interviewee 12, firmly opposed violent protests, even though she thought the protests fought for legitimate rights. She explained that violent protests threatened people's physical safety and generated unnecessary confrontations between protesters and the police. Others had the opposite viewpoint, believing violent protest was one of many means to achieve legitimate rights. Some hold an ambiguous attitude toward violent protests. Political theorists disagree on whether riots are legitimate to express political demands (Conge, 1988; Havercroft, 2021; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Nonetheless, participants with different political ideologies intensively discussed the legitimacy of violent protests. Their discussion indicates that participants had varied discursive knowledge to interpret violent protests, some for

it and others against it. People from one side tried to convince those from the other side. By doing so, they wanted their viewpoints on violent protests to become the prevailing public opinion in society. Therefore, their discussion involves a process where people try to make their discursive knowledge become the practical knowledge of society. In other words, they try to reshape popular public discourse in their desired direction, manifesting the 3-D power.

Interviewees' discussions about the role of the government in delivering welfare services and gender roles also involve the 3-D power. Interviewee 27 recalled his engagement in discussing the government's role during COVID-19 on WeChat groups. He observed that some preferred a paternalist governance model while others felt reluctant to expand the government's power. Interviewee 23 recalled her discussions about women being homemakers. Some, including herself, praised the contributions of female homemakers. Others despised this group, saying they were useless to society. In both cases, participants had different discursive knowledge of discussed topics and tried to persuade the other side to accept their beliefs. Their interactions manifest how people constantly use their discursive knowledge to change others' discursive knowledge and to reconstruct society's practical knowledge.

When participants tried to persuade others to accept their beliefs (discursive knowledge) during online discussions, some interviewees reported feeling dominated in this process. Interviewee 22 said, "Liberal values tend to dominate the discussions about the government's responsibility to the people. I am not against restricting the government's power. However, I believe the government can offer more welfare services in some aspects. When I express this desire to expand the government's power, I often face harsh critiques, blaming I am used to the paternalist governance model." He disliked being forced to accept particular political values during online discussions. Another three interviewees also expressed similar feelings. They did not think that discussants needed to agree on discussed issues. Interviewee 32 commented, "Many social affairs do not have absolute right or wrong. Therefore, we do not have to agree with each other. Consensus for me is like ideological hegemony." Interviewees' dislike of reaching a consensus during online discussions suggests that some people felt dominated when others tried to persuade them to accept their discursive knowledge. Their feelings manifest the negative aspect of 3-D power.

Interviewees' online political discussions also involve the 4-D power. For example, Interviewee 23 is a feminist. Whenever she read sexist comments online, she made counterspeech against those comments. She also actively posted comments asking for equal and respectful treatment for professional women when discussing women's working situations. She internalized her feminist belief and disciplined her actions according to feminism. Similarly, Interviewee 7 is an environmentalist. She often posted comments appealing to people to adopt an eco-friendly lifestyle in different WeChat groups. When she disseminated her eco-friendly ideology, she sometimes faced people skeptical about climate change. Some even denied climate change. In these situations, she presented scientific evidence trying to convince them to accept climate change fact. She explained, "Even though I cannot persuade them to believe climate change, I want at least not to make others get misled by these distorted discourses and become skeptical about climate change." Her debate with climate change challengers suggests that she experienced the 1-D (exerting power to change others' beliefs), 3-D (using her discursive knowledge to challenge others' discursive knowledge), and 4-D (self-disciplining her behavior according to her environmentalist belief) power. Many interviewees' online political discussions simultaneously involve diverse dimensions of power.

To conclude, interviewees experienced the four dimensions of power while discussing politics online, yet many were unaware of their involvement in these power dynamics. In many situations, they experienced diverse power dimensions simultaneously. Power operated both positively and negatively in online discussions, depending on the topics discussed and the role of people in these discussions.

4. Conclusions

This paper analyzes Chinese New Zealanders' online political discussions and power experiences. It finds that interviewees' online discussions covered political issues of New Zealand, their homelands, and global politics. The relationships between their online political discussions and participation were complex. Their discussions

sometimes mobilized their political participation and sometimes discouraged their political participation. Furthermore, interviewees experienced power dynamics during online discussions.

This paper has two significant contributions to future studies. First, it broadens our understanding of how power operates in society. Although power exists everywhere in people's daily lives, many are unaware of it. This paper gives an example of how to analyze power dynamics systematically in people's everyday interactions. It shows that people's online communications change others' actions, beliefs, and values. By doing so, active online discussants have the potential to reshape public opinions and social norms in their desired directions.

Second, this paper enriches our knowledge of Chinese New Zealanders' political discussions and participation. Studies have examined how immigrants' political discussions influence their political participation (Al-Rawi, 2019; Huu, 2022), yet we know little about Chinese New Zealanders in this respect. This paper offers interesting findings, revealing complex relationships between Chinese New Zealanders' online political discussions and participation. The findings also provide valuable information for scholars interested in immigrants' political discussions and participation.

Disclosure statement

The authors reported no potential conflict of interest.

Ethics Approval

This research was approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 15 May 2020, ref. Number 024522.

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Appendix I: Information of interviewees

No.	Age	Gender	Place of Origin	Length of Residence	Occupation	Immigrant Identity
1	83	Female	Hong Kong	61	Retired business manager	NZ Citizen
2	72	Male	Taiwan	50	Retired professor	NZ Citizen
3	70	Male	Taiwan	47	Retired civil servant	NZ Citizen
4	76	Male	Hong Kong	51	Retired engineer	NZ Citizen
5	45	Male	Taiwan	30	Self-employed	PR
6	46	Male	PRC	8	Lawyer	PR
7	42	Female	PRC	8	Homemaker	PR
8	45	Male	PRC	11	NGO worker	PR
9	30	Female	PRC	4	Engineer	PR
10	39	Male	PRC	10	Self-employed	PR
11	48	Female	Taiwan	26	Manager	PR
12	36	Female	PRC	18	Homemaker	PR
13	79	Male	PRC	6	Retired worker	PR
14	73	Male	PRC	5	Painter	PR
15	32	Male	Hong Kong	13	Self-employed	PR
16	28	Female	Taiwan	10	White collar	PR
17	67	Female	PRC	5	Retired teacher	PR
18	40	Male	Taiwan	18	Co-founder of a company	PR
19	36	Female	PRC	10	White collar	PR
20	31	Male	PRC	10	Chef	PR
21	34	Male	Taiwan	7	Real estate agent	PR
22	33	Male	PRC	12	Co-founder of a company	PR
23	35	Female	PRC	14	Homemaker	PR
24	39	Female	Hong Kong	8	Manager	PR
25	46	Female	PRC	15	Research fellow	PR
26	37	Female	PRC	7	Homemaker	PR

27	30	Male	PRC	6	Civil servant	PR
28	32	Female	PRC	6	Immigration agent	PR
29	46	Female	Taiwan	19	Homemaker	PR
30	38	Male	Taiwan	8	Businessman	PR
31	38	Female	PRC	6	Homemaker	PR
32	32	Female	PRC	7	Self-employed	PR
33	34	Male	PRC	7	Carpenter	PR
34	58	Male	Hong Kong	27	Artist	PR
35	86	Female	PRC	63	Retired engineer	PR
36	39	Male	Hong Kong	13	NGO worker	PR
37	42	Male	PRC	18	NGO worker	PR
38	37	Male	Hong Kong	10	Manager	PR



Implementation of the Total People's War Strategy to Suppress Papua Separatist Movement

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Abstract

The enduring effectiveness of the "divide and conquer" political strategy employed by foreign powers remains evident in contemporary times, demonstrating ongoing challenges in achieving unity within Indonesia's diverse population under the framework of NKRI. The Papua Separatist Movement (PSM) seeks international support for an alternative referendum to the 1969 Pepera, aiming to achieve independence from Indonesia through political, covert, and armed means, despite the government's closure of referendum options. This qualitative research, based on a comprehensive literature review, aims to explore efforts to address and improve key issues exploited by the PSM's political front, including economic inequality, education disparities, healthcare gaps, infrastructure limitations, and security challenges. Additionally, the study will examine initiatives aimed at curbing the activities of the PSM's armed front, which has been implicated in numerous human rights violations against indigenous Papuans, civilians, foreigners, security personnel, and the military. President Jokowi has emphasized the need for a comprehensive solution to this issue, underscoring the importance of addressing root causes while maintaining the government's soft power approach, which focuses on normative and functional integration. Furthermore, the Indonesian government actively engages in diplomatic interactions with other nations, organizations, and international communities, with the ultimate objective of resolving the conflict through the harmonious integration of Papua into Indonesia's vision of a secure and prosperous nation.

Keywords: Counterinsurgency, PSM, Integration, Prosperity, Security

1. Introduction

The Armed Criminal Separatist Group of Papua Separatist Movement appears to be increasingly intensifying its acts of physical violence and diplomacy in the international community, even after 54 years since the implementation of The Act of Free Choice (*Pepera*) on March 24, 1969. Amid the Indonesian government's efforts

to develop Papua as a whole and withdrew its military operation forces from Papua. The government has granted autonomy through Law No. 2 of 2021, the second amendment to Law No. 21 of 2001 on special autonomy for the province of Papua, which grants special authority in managing the interests of the local people according to the initiative and aspirations of the indigenous people of Papua in protecting and upholding dignity, basic rights, providing affirmation, and space in the economic, political, and socio-cultural fields for indigenous people of Papua, except in foreign politics, defense and security, monetary, fiscal, religion, and judiciary fields which remain within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Then in 2022, the government continued with the expansion of the region through the formation of three new special autonomous provinces on November 11, 2022, in accordance with Law No. 14 of 2022 on the Establishment of South Papua Province, Law No. 15 of 2022 on the Establishment of Central Papua Province, and Law No. 16 of 2022 on the Establishment of Papua Mountains Province for the acceleration of services and regional development through the establishment of more effective and efficient governance by utilizing local culture as social capital to reduce national development gaps and promote welfare of the Papua's people. However, all of these efforts seem to have yielded little result and appear to not address the root problems. Here are some events before and after the expansion of the region:

1. In September 2022, Papua Separatist Movement released a video showing the slaughter of four workers on the West Papua Trans road who were considered state intelligence agents.
2. In October 2022, the police arrested three ministers from the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) who were holding an annual meeting to discuss Papua's independence.
3. In November 2022, Papua Separatist Movement shot four immigrant workers who were working as construction workers. Two victims suffered gunshot wounds, one escaped, and one died.
4. In November 2022, there was a firefight between personnel from the task force of Ops. Damai Cartenz Pos Kiwirok and Papua Separatist Movement. There were no casualties in the incident.
5. In December 2022, Papua Separatist Movement shot at a police patrol group, resulting in the death of one civilian.
6. In January 2023, Papua Separatist Movement launched an attack in the Bintang Mountains by shooting at the Ikairos airline plane attempting to land and burning down the SMK Negeri 1 Oksibil building. They asked all immigrant residents to leave Papua's land, which they referred to as a "war zone". The areas included Ndugama, Intan Jaya, Puncak Jaya, Puncak Papua, Pegunungan Bintang, and Sorong-Maybrat. There were no casualties in the incident.
7. In February 2023, Susi Air pilot Philips Marks Mertens was taken hostage by Papua Separatist Movement as a guarantee in political negotiations.
8. In March 2023, Papua Separatist Movement shot at the Trigana Air plane carrying 66 passengers at Dekai airport, in the mountainous region of Papua. There were no casualties in the incident.

Jacques Bertrand argues that democratization and special autonomy in Papua are not enough to create integration, as evidenced by the existence of several groups opposing it. These groups insist on gaining full independence because they do not believe and fear that special autonomy will lead to the same outcome as the Act of Free Choice. They also open the possibility for a broader rebellion to emerge to secede, similar to East Timor, where some of its citizens have the same perception of the integration process into Indonesia. Additionally, Pieter Drooglever considers that the Papuan people are not ready to exercise their right to self-determination and condemns the integration process in Indonesia in 1969 as unfair. He claims that no functional or mental integration was achieved after the Act of Free Choice, as Papuan tribes remained in opposition to the Indonesian military. Consequently, although Papua has abundant natural resources, most Papuans continue to live in inadequate conditions, with very little access to healthcare and education facilities.

Furthermore, as the Indonesian central government has underestimated the ability of the armed and political rebel group of the Papua Separatist Movement, the Indonesian government began to lose international support in 1972. Consequently, although the Indonesian central government implemented a special autonomy system in Papua and withdrew troops from Papua in 2005, the Papua Separatist Movement rebels continued their struggle. They persist through various means to gain more support from Papuan people and the international community, making it difficult for the Indonesian government to face the Papua Separatist Movement. The Papua Separatist Movement's political wing has employed a vertical organizational method to develop international elements and mobilize support, through the use of weapons, information technology, and diplomacy, the Papua Separatist Movement has

systematically increased their global reach. They seek to spread fear and lower Papuan society's trust in the Indonesian government while simultaneously gaining sympathy and support from the international community. The efforts of the Indonesian government to maintain Papua as part of the Republic of Indonesia are legal and based on historical facts. Indonesia has been recognized by the world as an independent country since the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945, with sovereignty over the entire territory from Sabang to Merauke. Indonesia's claim to the territory is based on strong international legal foundations such as the Linggarjati Agreement, the Round Table Conference, the New York Agreement, the Atlantic Charter, the principle of self-determination, and the principle of *uti possidetis juris*, which apply as fundamental law to independence and the right to self-government as an independent state, as well as legal aspects in determining territorial sovereignty. Indonesia's diplomacy to obtain international recognition regarding the status of Papua as part of the Republic of Indonesia took a long time, namely 20 years from 1949 to 1969, so the existence of some parties that still try to support Papua's independence can be considered as an act that does not respect the democratic system and international law.

The Papua nationalist movement actually existed since the Japanese occupation of Papua during the period of 1942-1946 under the name of Korero led by Angganitha Menafaur, who claimed to be a female prophet and a descendant of Manseren Manggoendi, and gave herself the title of 'Golden Queen of Judea'. This movement was initially a religious movement that later turned into a politically ethnical-nationalist movement due to the militancy of Menafaur's colleague, Stephanus Simopyaref, in uniting all Melanesian tribes and clans into a Papua nationalism. Around 600 followers of this movement were suppressed by Japanese forces and Menafaur was detained and exiled to Manokwari. In an effort to save Menafaur, Simopyaref raised the flag of Korero, which was the Dutch flag hung upside down and adorned with a white starfish (*sampari*) ornament on a blue background, as a revelation from Manseren Manggoendi, to revive the spirit of Papua nationalism and independence. However, Simopyaref was also captured by Japanese troops in mid-1942, after a series of dialogues and armed contacts between the two factions. He was then taken to Manokwari, where he and Menafaur were both threatened with the death penalty by the Japanese army.

In the BPUPKI meeting on July 10-11, 1945, the status of Papua was still a hotly debated topic among the leaders of the independence struggle. There were three figures: M. Yamin, Kahar Muzakkar, and Bung Karno, a geopolitical strategist who argued that Papua should be integrated into the Republic of Indonesia, even though the Papuan people were ethnically different from the Indonesian people as a whole. According to Bung Karno, the Majapahit manuscript written by Mpu Prapanca, the *Negarakertagama* book, states that Papua is part of the Majapahit kingdom. However, even after Indonesia's independence, the international community continued to intervene in the issue of Papua's status. This was evident when the Netherlands rejected Indonesia's delegation's desire to make Dutch New Guinea one of the issues to be discussed at the Round Table Conference (RTC) in The Hague from August 23 to November 2, 1949. However, Indonesia's delegation successfully pushed for the recognition of Indonesia's independence, and it was agreed that the resolution of Dutch New Guinea's status would be postponed for a year. This agreement reflects Indonesia's firm stance on the sovereignty of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, which includes all former Dutch colonial territories, in accordance with the Linggarjati Agreement (1946) between Indonesia and the Netherlands, which recognized Dutch New Guinea as part of Indonesian territory, and the Roem-Loijen Agreement (1949), which reaffirmed that Dutch New Guinea is part of Indonesian territory.

The trend of decolonization in Southeast Asia and support from the international community effectively pressured the Netherlands to agree to Indonesia's proposal. However, in meetings held in The Hague in December 1950 and December 1951, the Netherlands still tried to postpone the resolution of the Dutch New Guinea issue. Even after five years of the RTC, no agreement was reached. The Indonesian government then officially brought the Papua dispute to the 9th UN General Assembly on December 10, 1954, and succeeded in gaining support from the Soviet Union, Cuba, and several Asian and African countries, but Indonesia failed to obtain a majority vote because most Western countries, including the United States, sided with the Netherlands. The US's foreign policy, demonstrated by its abstention in resolving this dispute, made President Soekarno very disappointed.

President Soekarno then immediately tried to unite the internal opposition, gather popular support, and also obtained support from the Soviet Union in the campaign against Dutch colonialism in Dutch New Guinea. With the victory of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in the 1955 election, President Soekarno then strengthened Indonesia's relationship with the Soviet Union by inviting Soviet President Voroshilov and his Prime Minister Khrushchev to Indonesia. During the Cold War in 1955, the political atmosphere in Southeast Asia, particularly Indonesia, tended to be influenced by the Indonesian Communist Party and the Soviet Union. As noted by Aspinall and Berger, President Soekarno increased his pressure on America and reaffirmed his stance against the Netherlands in Papua by requesting military and economic support from the Soviet Union. In 1957, the Soviet Union provided military aid worth a loan of US \$450 million and diplomatic support related to the integration of Dutch New Guinea into the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. This cooperation made Indonesia one of the strongest armed forces in South Asia in 1961. This increase in defense capabilities caused most Western countries, particularly the United States, to change their foreign policies. Therefore, after John F. Kennedy was elected as American president in November 1960, he redirected America's attention to Jakarta in an effort to counter the growing Soviet influence in Indonesia and initiated a peace agreement related to Dutch New Guinea by proposing America as a third party in the negotiations between the Indonesian government and the Netherlands. This made the Kingdom of the Netherlands realize that sooner or later they would lose Papua; therefore, the Netherlands initiated a process of self-determination for a small group of Dutch New Guinea people towards independence, which ultimately gave birth to Papua nationalism.

During the revolution, the Netherlands launched many actions to take over the territory and natural resources, and required the people of Dutch New Guinea to hand over their land to the Netherlands. Although not obeyed, the Netherlands continued to insist on freeing them so that they could be made into their colony under the control of the Kingdom of the Netherlands because the Netherlands felt they had invested a lot in finance and science in the area since the early 19th century, which made the Netherlands feel more entitled than Indonesia. Meanwhile, in the international community and in front of the people of Dutch New Guinea, the Netherlands declared that its motive for freeing the people of Dutch New Guinea was so that they could determine the future of their nation themselves because the native people of Dutch New Guinea have ethnic and racial differences with the Indonesian society in general. In the UN General Assembly in September 1961, Dutch Foreign Minister Joseph Marie A.H.L. proposed that Dutch New Guinea be under the control of the UN, but the proposal was rejected by the UN General Assembly. Amidst the increasing international support for Indonesia, the Netherlands deployed an aircraft carrier to the waters of Dutch New Guinea, formed the Nugini Council, and adopted Dutch New Guinea as its territory on December 1, 1961. In addition, the Netherlands also ordered the people to hoist a new flag (*Bintang Kejora*), create a national anthem, and other nationalist attributes.

President Soekarno and the nationalist group rejected the Dutch claim and declared the *Tri Komando Rakyat* (Trikorra), a military operation to fight against Dutch occupation in Dutch New Guinea in the form of the Mandala operation on January 2, 1962, by appointing Major General TNI Soeharto as the commander of the military operation. The deadlock in negotiations between the two countries soon triggered an armed conflict in the waters and on the land of Dutch New Guinea. Although initially opposed by America, National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy lobbied President John F. Kennedy to negotiate the transfer of West Papua's government to Indonesia because he believed that with Soviet Union support, this military campaign would likely succeed and encourage Australia to join in support of Indonesia. On February 21, 1962, President Kennedy met with President Soekarno, who then appointed his brother, Robert F. Kennedy, to design the contents of "The New York Agreement" and the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ellsworth Bunker, to approach diplomatically in resolving the dispute over Dutch New Guinea. After a long struggle, the Netherlands finally agreed to negotiate with Indonesia again, at the 17th United Nations General Assembly on August 15, 1962, a breakthrough was finally found with the issuance of Resolution No. 1752, which adopted "The New York Agreement" on September 21, 1962, stating that the Netherlands would hand over its power over Dutch New Guinea to the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) as a temporary UN executive body under the authority of the UN Secretary-General in May 1963, affirming the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia over the territory, and the Indonesian government would carry out the "*Pepera*" in Dutch New Guinea under UN supervision in 1969 (within six years since the transfer of sovereignty, from July 14 to August 2, 1969), where

through this "*Pepera*", the people of Dutch New Guinea would decide their own fate, whether they are willing to become part of Indonesia or not.

The UN appointed Jose Rolz Bennet from Guatemala as the head administrator of UNTEA and took over the responsibility for the transfer of sovereignty on October 1, 1962. According to the New York Agreement, UNTEA staff would act as mediators and supervisors of the administrative transfer. They were also tasked with explaining the plan and process of *Pepera* to the people of Dutch New Guinea at that time. In principle, UNTEA had full authority to advise and assist in the process of sovereignty transfer. After one year, on May 1, 1963, UNTEA officially transferred the administration and all responsibilities of Dutch New Guinea to Indonesia, which then changed the name to Irian Barat and then in March 1973, the name was changed to Irian Jaya by President Soekarno, and in December 1999, the name was changed again to Papua by President Gus Dur. After the transfer of responsibility, the Indonesian government then appointed a local resident, E.J. Bonay, a pro-integration Papua, as the first governor of Papua. However, a small number of anti-integration Papuans who had the support of the Dutch government, were members of the Nugini Council established by the Dutch, and insisted on separating from Indonesia, such as John Ariks, Melkianus Awom, and Karel Gobay. According to them, Papuans should not be subject to control by powers they do not recognize, such as Western nations or the Indonesian government, and they believed that Papuans had been put into a fate they did not choose. They did not agree with UN Security Council Resolution No. 1752 of August 15, 1962, which declared that Papua was a legal part of the Republic of Indonesia.

Initially, the Papua Separatist Movement founded in December 1963 was a cargoist spiritual movement, a spiritual group that combined traditional beliefs and Christian religion. The Papua Separatist Movement was founded by Demta district head Aser Demotekay, who cooperated with the Indonesian government and banned violence, but his follower, Jacob Prai, continued the movement with violence. The second group originated from Manokwari in 1964, led by Terianus Aronggear, who founded the Organization of Struggle for the Freedom of the West Papua Nation. This organization also operated clandestinely. Later, Terianus' organization became known as the Papua Separatist Movement. The group sent documents to the UN requesting a review of the New York Agreement, which also contained a draft of the West Papuan cabinet lineup, including Markus Kaisiepo as President, Nicolaas Jouwe as Vice President, Terianus Aronggear as Foreign Minister, and Permenas Ferry Awom as Commander-in-Chief. In the further development, the Papua Separatist Movement formed the Armed Separatist Group of Papua (PASG) and the Political Separatist Group of Papua (PPSG), which aimed to gain independence from Indonesia. This group began attacking Indonesian military posts on July 26, 1964, as a declaration of its armed rebellion, which was later responded to by the Indonesian government with a military campaign to suppress the rebellion.

According to the New York Agreement, Indonesian officials agreed to hold a referendum before the end of 1969. On August 12, 1968, the United Nations sent a monitoring team led by Fernando Ortiz, a diplomat from Bolivia, to West Irian. The team consisted of UN experts who were tasked with assisting, advising, and participating in the *Pepera* process that would be held a year later. They arrived early in West Irian to assist the Indonesian government in the preparation process, including the formulation of *Pepera*. They had the authority and power, as representatives of the UN, to enforce rules and ensure that the implementation of *Pepera* was in line with the UN's wishes.

After several meetings, the Indonesian government proposed the implementation of *Pepera*, which would regulate the voting system under UN supervision, on February 18, 1969. The Indonesian Observer newspaper published this proposal on February 24, 1969, followed by the Djakarta Post newspaper on February 26, 1969. This proposal advocated for a representative voting system, not a one-person, one-vote system, due to extreme geographic challenges. Additionally, the Indonesian government would face many difficulties in communication due to language diversity, transportation constraints, illiteracy challenges, and underdeveloped communities. The monitoring team accepted the proposal that *Pepera* would be carried out through a representative system. As claimed by Andri Hadi, UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (1960) did not mention a one-person, one-vote system as the only method of the referendum process, and many new African countries and Malaysia in the early 1960s did not apply that system either. Therefore, the Indonesian government held *Pepera* with a representative election system starting on July 14, 1969.

The first *Pepera* was held in Merauke on July 14, 1969, followed by Jaya Wijaya on July 16, Paniai on July 19, Fak-Fak on July 23, Sorong on July 26, Manokwari on July 29, Teluk Cendrawasih on July 31, and Jayapura on August 2. The UN monitoring team, Indonesian politicians and military officials, foreign ambassadors, and domestic and international journalists monitored the voting, in which the majority of 1,025 representatives agreed to integrate into Indonesia, so it can be concluded that the *Pepera* was successfully implemented in 1969, resulting in the decision that Papua would join Indonesia. The results of *Pepera* were then brought to the UN General Assembly on December 19, 1969, and the assembly declared accepting and approving the results of *Pepera*. Since no violations or complaints were found, and they were closely monitored by the UN monitors, international representatives and journalists who were morally responsible for reporting any improper voting process, the UN legalized it in UN Resolution 2504 at the 24th UN General Assembly on November 19, 1969, which confirmed the transfer of power in the Irian Jaya region from the Netherlands to Indonesia, with 84 countries agreeing, no countries disagreeing, 30 countries abstaining/blank, and 12 countries absent, which were later ratified by the Indonesian government in 1971.

However, this decision was considered controversial and unfair because *Pepera* was conducted in the midst of conflict and military pressure from Indonesia. Therefore, the Papua Separatist Movement's armed wing continues the struggle for Papua's independence through various tactics, including guerrilla warfare and attacks on Indonesian security forces. The movement has undergone various transformations over the years, with different factions and leaders emerging at different times. While the movement has gained international attention, with some countries and organizations expressing support for Papua's independence, Indonesia remains steadfast in accordance with United Nations Resolution 2504 of 1969, which states that Papua is an integral part of the Indonesian territory, and consistently rejects their calls for independence. In recent years, the Papua Separatist Movement's armed wing has continued to advocate for independence through peaceful protests and diplomatic efforts, while some factions continue to engage in armed conflict with Indonesian security forces. The United Nations General Assembly reaffirmed Resolution No. 2504 on September 24, 2019, which explicitly recognizes Indonesia's sovereignty over Papua, and any attempt at self-separation from Indonesia is a violation of international law.

In the current era of globalization, technological democratization has led to the democratization of things that were once under state control, now open to the public and freely accessible. This poses critical challenges, as Joseph Nye has pointed out, where technological democratization gives terrorists the freedom to access weapons of mass destruction and other advanced technologies that can balance state power. This provides opportunities for terrorists, separatists, mercenaries, and private military companies (PMC) as new non-state actors in shaping a new world order through political, clandestine, and armed fronts. This causes social media to be used as a laboratory and a new battlefield in spreading propaganda and political influence to create trends, opinions, and mass mobilization quickly and widely. Almost all ages and social strata use social media to obtain and convey information to the public, causing changes in social behavior and many crimes with new modus operandi such as the spread of disinformation (hoaxes) with ethnic, religious, and racial motives and hate speech that can easily ignite vertical and horizontal conflicts and create national disintegration. The high potential threat and low digital literacy create significant vulnerability.

On November 21, 2020, the Commander of the Indonesian National Armed Forces, Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto, stated in a webinar that the Papua Separatist Movements armed wing also uses social media to spread propaganda and social issues in both Indonesian and English to gain support from local and international communities that can later become bargaining power with the Indonesian government to achieve their desired independence. The Commander revealed that there are at least three elements that utilize social media as a laboratory and propaganda tool: the political, clandestine, and armed fronts. Technological and communication advancements have created "social weapons" that can make people follow the propaganda disseminators' wishes. The proliferation of internet networks and the increasing ease of internet access have provided a means for separatists to enhance their diplomacy in international forums. Papua separatist groups and organizations create online websites and blogs such as www.converge.org.nz/wpapua/ to disseminate information about the Papua Separatist Movement's history,

various problems in Papua, and efforts for Papua's independence from Indonesia, and www.melanesia.org/pdp/ which serves as the official site of the Papua Presidium Council (PDP) to spread information about their struggle.

Indonesia's strategic location, situated at the crossroads of two continents and two oceans, and its abundant and diverse natural resources, along with its large demographic and workforce potential, make it a target for many countries around the world. However, the intensity and complexity of foreign and non-state actor interests make Indonesia vulnerable to long-term political, economic, and military tensions that could threaten the country's territorial integrity and security. In particular, Papua's strategic location and rich natural resources have made it a target for neighboring countries seeking independence, as the current demographic conditions in Papua make it susceptible to political, economic, and socio-cultural exploitation by foreign nations with strong economic, military, and international networks. Professor Harry Truman Simanjuntak, a senior archaeologist at the National Archaeological Research Center, has stated that nearly 80% of the Melanesian race worldwide is found in Indonesia, particularly in Maluku, Nusa Tenggara Timur, and Papua. The historical evidence, culture, and archaeological remains prove that the Melanesian race is one family that has interacted for thousands of years, as evidenced by the historical remains of Papua New Guinea that have spread to Maluku, North Maluku, and surrounding areas. Vanuatu is interested in the Papua region as a land of hope because most of its islands will be submerged due to global warming. So if Vanuatu advocates for Melanesian or South Pacific unity, why does Vanuatu involve 80% of the Melanesian population in Indonesia who are more prosperous and have a much better future than they do? Why aren't they interested in making other lands their hope rather than wanting Papua to be a part of them? Could it be that they understand the fate of the indigenous people in other lands who are no longer the masters of their own land? Although their stomachs are full, their food, clothing, and shelter needs are met, but their knowledge is not, they are left ignorant, using their money only for drunkenness, causing them to be marginalized from their social lives, but this does not happen to the Papua people in Indonesia.

Therefore, if the people of Papua want accelerated improvement in welfare, health and education facilities, and rapid security, then the development of this region must be inclusive, integrated, and well-planned within the framework of the Republic of Indonesia, while building the capacity of the Papua people's human resources fully and completely. The Indonesian government is well aware that this disparity cannot exist because the Melanesian race in Indonesia is brothers and sisters in struggle, nation, and homeland. As many as 69,000 young generations of Indigenous Papuans (OAP) receive education scholarships both domestically and abroad. They are everywhere, in government, in the military, in the police force, they are free to determine their own identity in accordance with the ideals they have within the framework of the Republic of Indonesia. The Indonesian people from Sabang to Merauke, consisting of 700 ethnic groups, are quite accustomed to differences, with the motto "different but still one" within the framework of the Republic of Indonesia, Pancasila, and the 1945 Constitution. The Indonesian nation has learned from the colonial era that division will weaken and make the Indonesian nation unable to survive in the rapidly developing global dynamics today.

However, the main clandestine front of the West Papua Liberation Army (WPNLA), which is responsible for conducting guerrilla warfare, has carried out many rebellious actions targeting the Indonesian military and security forces. In addition, the Papua Separatist Movement also has a political front called the West Papua National Authority (WPNA) and the West Papua National Coalition for Liberation (WPNCL), which advocate for the Papuan people's right to self-determination and independence from Indonesia. They continue to promote the Papua independence struggle on the international stage and call on the United Nations to intervene in the conflict in Papua through the issue of human rights violations committed by Indonesian security forces. Papua Separatist Movement, through the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP), seeks to become a permanent member of the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) to push the "West Papua" issue to the UN through international diplomacy to gain sympathy and support from state and non-state actors such as the MSG, the Pacific Island Forum (PIF), and other organizations sympathetic to the Papua Separatist Movement. This international diplomacy uses classic issues related to the suppression of democracy, human rights violations/genocide in Papua, the rectification of the 1969 Act, and the fulfillment of the rights of Papua's indigenous people in demanding a referendum.

Issues of racial equality and religious solidarity are continuously exploited to gain sympathy from the member countries of the MSG and PIF to support them through their governments' foreign policies. The MSG and its sympathizers abroad focus on the issue of self-determination for Papua's indigenous people after the 1969 Act of Free Choice through official legal channels to win the "Public Opinion Court." This condition underlies the proliferation of Papua Separatist Movement actions that distort facts and provoke the indigenous people of Papua through press conferences, discussions, closed meetings, book launches, leaflet distribution, SMS, print and electronic media, and religious activities. The narrative they build is highly exaggerated, even blaming the Indonesian government for the kidnapping of a New Zealand citizen pilot by the Papua Separatist Movement. Ambushes, attacks, and shootings against TNI, Polri, community members, civilian and military aircraft can disrupt the security and order of Papua's society if allowed to continue.

According to the 2022 Global Terrorism Index released by the Institute for Economics & Peace, Indonesia's ranking has increased compared to the index in 2019 and 2020, where it ranked 35th and 27th out of 162 countries. In 2022, Indonesia ranked 24th out of 162 countries. When compared to neighboring countries, Malaysia ranks 63rd, while Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, Timor Leste, and Papua New Guinea rank 93rd. According to the report, Indonesia's rise in ranking is due to the increase in attacks by separatist groups such as the Papua Separatist Movement in 2021. Attacks became more deadly in 2021, and Indonesia experienced the second-largest security decline in the Asia-Pacific region. Although the number of attacks decreased by 24%, the number of deaths increased by 85%. In 2021, each attack resulted in an average of 1.5 deaths, which is higher than the 0.6 deaths per attack in 2020.

RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE
1	Algeria	9.000	+1	26	United Kingdom	5.935	+	56	Sweden	3.915	+5
2	Iran	8.500	+1	28	France	5.345	+2	62	Algeria	3.820	+9
3	Nigeria	8.300	+	30	Saudi Arabia	5.235	+1	68	India	3.285	+20
4	China	8.200	+	31	Bangladesh	5.190	+2	69	China	3.260	+9
5	Indonesia	4.790	+1	32	Pakistan	5.177	+1	80	Turkey	3.270	+1
6	Malaysia	4.785	+	33	Burundi	5.162	+1	81	Belgium	3.220	+9
7	India	3.270	+1	34	Norway	5.092	+1	82	Paraguay	3.210	+3
8	Kenya	3.200	+	35	Indonesia	5.077	+2	83	Italy	3.100	+6
9	Philippines	3.027	+1	36	France	5.028	+2	84	Iran	3.020	+4
10	Democratic Republic of the Congo	3.000	+1	37	Russia	4.977	+3	85	Nicaragua	2.952	+20
11	United States	2.796	+2	38	Chad	4.762	+	86	Sierra Leone	2.940	+10
12	Iran	2.766	+1	39	Iran	4.717	+5	87	Peru	2.841	+1
13	Yemen	2.623	+9	40	Israel	4.723	+1	88	Colombia	2.840	+1
14	Central African Republic	2.602	+1	41	South Africa	4.531	+5	89	Iceland	2.652	+4
15	Cameroon	2.602	+1	42	China	4.465	+6	90	Republic of the Congo	2.607	+9
16	Turkey	2.520	+4	43	Lebanon	4.292	+8	91	Australia	2.645	+3
17	South Sudan	2.520	+3	44	Germany	4.254	+5	92	Colombia	2.590	+9
18	Thailand	2.520	+1	45	China	4.123	+12	93	Brazil	2.531	+17
19	Colombia	2.502	+8	46	Venezuela	4.101	+6	94	Japan	2.492	+4
20	Sudan	2.487	+2	47	Mexico	4.081	+5	95	Norway	2.487	+7
21	Kenya	2.376	+2	48	Uganda	3.982	+1	96	Sierra Leone	2.452	+2
22	United States of America	2.361	+2	49	Tajikistan	3.947	+24	97	Netherlands	2.347	+1
23	Niger	2.356	+	50	Turkey	3.926	+4	98	Japan	2.299	+11
24	Kenya	2.347	+3	51	Angola	3.761	+5	99	Kenya	2.223	+8
25	Mozambique	2.342	+10	52	Belgium	3.626	+5	100	Malta	2.218	+1
26	Yemen	2.327	+7	53	Canada	3.581	+5	101	Finland	2.202	+8
27	Burkina Faso	2.299	+3	54	Sri Lanka	3.580	+8	102	Madagascar	1.927	+10

Figure 1: Country rank based on Global Terrorism Index 2019. Source: Global Terrorism Index, 2019.

RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE
1	Algeria	9.000	+	26	United States of America	4.991	+2	56	Sweden	3.760	+2
2	Iran	8.500	+	28	France	4.849	+10	62	Algeria	2.857	+9
3	Nigeria	8.300	+	30	Israel	4.776	+4	68	India	2.824	+13
4	China	8.200	+	31	United Kingdom	4.732	+1	69	China	2.804	+12
5	Indonesia	4.790	-11	32	Pakistan	4.735	+1	80	Turkey	2.428	+4
6	Malaysia	4.785	+1	33	Germany	4.719	+1	81	Belgium	2.374	+1
7	India	4.785	+1	34	Norway	4.693	+1	82	Paraguay	2.354	+1
8	Kenya	4.785	+1	35	France	4.660	+6	83	Malaysia	2.247	+12
9	Philippines	4.785	+1	36	Turkey	4.530	+	84	Paraguay	2.184	+1
10	Democratic Republic of the Congo	4.785	+1	37	Norway	4.447	+9	85	Belgium	2.165	+7
11	United States	4.785	+1	38	Russia	4.447	+1	86	Netherlands	2.077	+7
12	Iran	4.785	+1	39	Turkey	4.447	+1	87	China	1.962	+10
13	Yemen	4.785	+1	40	Belgium	4.447	+1	88	Belgium	1.915	+17
14	Colombia	4.785	+1	41	Algeria	4.447	+1	89	Sweden	1.900	+12
15	Egypt	4.785	+1	42	New Zealand	4.395	+6	90	Japan	1.893	+11
16	Philippines	4.785	+1	43	South Africa	4.392	+2	91	Switzerland	1.893	+11
17	Democratic Republic of the Congo	4.785	+1	44	Burundi	4.271	+13	92	Japan	1.893	+11
18	China	4.785	+1	45	Russia	4.239	+8	93	Uganda	1.843	+13
19	Kenya	4.785	+1	46	Liberia	4.198	+15	94	South Africa	1.843	+13
20	Kenya	4.785	+1	47	Venezuela	4.055	+11	95	Yemen	1.843	+13
21	Kenya	4.785	+1	48	Tajikistan	3.988	+1	96	Yemen	1.843	+13
22	Thailand	4.785	+1	49	Caribbean	3.987	+	97	Yemen	1.843	+13
23	Turkey	4.785	+1	50	Iran	3.761	+1	98	Yemen	1.843	+13
24	Indonesia	4.790	-11	51	Lebanon	3.586	+8	99	Yemen	1.843	+13
25	Sri Lanka	4.045	+1	52	Algeria	3.261	+1	100	Yemen	1.843	+13
26	Yemen	4.045	+1	53	Spain	3.164	+9	101	Yemen	1.843	+13
27	Iran	4.045	+1	54	Saudi Arabia	3.152	+9	102	Yemen	1.843	+13
				55	Spain	2.861	+3				

Figure 2: Country rank based on Global Terrorism Index 2022. Source: Global Terrorism Index, 2022.

The rise in Indonesia's ranking indicates that the reconciliation efforts using political, economic, and military approaches have not been effective enough, thus requiring consideration of social-cultural patterns and theories such as: geopolitics theory, national resilience theory, social contract theory, Abraham Maslow's theory, hybrid warfare theory, David Galula's COIN theory, VUCA theory, universal people's war strategy theory, intelligence theory, psychological warfare theory, and propaganda theory.

1.1. Geopolitical Theory

Bert Chapman (2011) stated that geopolitics is dynamic, reflecting international realities and the global power constellations that arise from the interaction of geography on one hand, and technological, political, and economic

developments on the other. Therefore, geopolitics can also be defined as the contention or rivalry between great powers (incumbents) and aspiring great powers (challengers) for control over a territory, resources, and influence, (Michael Klare, 2003.)

1.2. National Resilience Theory

Lemhannas RI (2021) stated that national resilience is a dynamic condition of the Indonesian nation that contains resilience in all aspects of national life that are integrated in facing threats, disruptions, obstacles, and challenges to ensure the identity, integrity, survival of the nation and state, as well as the struggle to achieve national goals. National resilience is one of the national doctrines that must be continuously nurtured and developed to increase national strength through national development. In its implementation, the implementation of the national resilience concept in national development must be based on national values sourced from the four basic national consensus consisting of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), and *Sesanti Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. Therefore, the results and national development as a life process must be measurable according to the formulated parameters so that the achieved condition can be used as a basis for planning future national development. To achieve this, continuous efforts need to be made from the personal, family, community, and environmental levels. The National Resilience Approach uses the concept of prosperity and security approach, which includes 8 national strength domains that influence or interact with each other and need to be continuously nurtured, namely: Geography, Natural Resource, Demography, Ideology, Politics, Economy, Socio-Culture, and Defense and Security. Instability in political and social conditions of society (political and social unrest) will damage the other domains of national strength because these 8 domains will continue to interact, in relationships that reinforce or weaken each other, and all domains are seen as a comprehensive whole. The resilience of each domain is dynamic and constantly changing according to the level of development against the changing forces in the strategic environment.

1.3. Hybrid Warfare Theory

Hoffman (2007) stated that this war combines political, conventional, and non-conventional warfare (irregular warfare). Traditional military concepts will have difficulty in handling this hybrid war because the beginning and source of the conflict are not clearly known. This has caused NATO to have difficulty defining the concept of hybrid warfare in its rigid taxonomy of war because the war strategy uses a combination of conventional and unconventional warfare, hence it is also called grayzone warfare, psychological warfare, information warfare, cyber warfare, and biological warfare. This hybrid war shows a change in strategy in exploiting the enemy's vulnerabilities. NATO uses three ways to deal with hybrid warfare: detection, defense, and response. NATO continues to collect, share, and evaluate information to detect and attribute any ongoing hybrid activities.

1.4. Counterinsurgency Theory (COIN)

David Galula (1964) stated that the center of gravity in COIN strategy is "winning the hearts and minds of the people," assuming that insurgent movements will die or fail if they do not have the support of the population. Galula argues that an ideal COIN theory would use 80% political aspects and 20% military aspects. In his book, *Counterinsurgency Warfare*, Galula stated that an insurgency is a protracted struggle carried out methodically, step by step, to achieve a particular goal of overthrowing a legitimate government. Insurgencies are more difficult to predict than revolutions because their beginnings are very obscure, making it difficult to predict when an insurgency will start. Insurgencies become a form of civil war, but there are differences in each case. Civil wars can suddenly divide a country into two groups, and after a brief period of confusion, they can control some territory and existing armed forces. Civil wars are wars between groups similar to international wars, but the opponent is a fellow citizen, as in the American Civil War and the Spanish Civil War. The key to fighting insurgencies is to cut off their strength and other critical resources to weaken the insurgency ("Starve the enemy, cut them from the power source and other critical resources").

1.5. Intelligence Theory

The Law No. 17 of 2011 states about the conduct of intelligence, security, and gathering activities in dealing with threats and projections of future threats to the state. According to Lemhannas (2021), the function and purpose of intelligence are to detect and prevent strategic surprises from various problem dynamics that potentially threaten the national security of a country and protect its integrity and continuity. By conducting early detection, the state can take further strategic steps such as early warning, early prevention, and early enforcement. Awareness of current geopolitical dynamics is an essential aspect for intelligence practitioners.

1.6. Social Contract Theory

J. J. Rousseau stated that an individual is willing to exchange their individual freedom for a certain freedom such as political, economic, social, cultural, security, peace, and so on because humans are inherently good but society turns them into evil. Therefore, law enforcement is the key to maintaining security and order in society, although law enforcement in Indonesia is often seen as a last resort or ultimum remedium when prevention efforts fail. Emile Durkheim, in his book *The Rules of the Sociological Methods* (1962), states that no society in the world is free from the problem of crime or criminality. The form of crime will always change and its actions will continue to change due to the presence of people who try to exploit loopholes in criminal law, which tends to be static. Society is required to be able to determine forms of punishment, both normative forms such as imprisonment, fines, and execution, as well as social punishments such as isolation, or shame as a representation of moral boundaries possessed by a society. Security in the Durkheimian perspective refers to the ability of society to respond to crime, which is represented by various forms of community efforts to deal with crime that is an inseparable part of the development of society itself (social facts).

1.7. Abraham Maslow Theory

An American psychologist, an expert in personality theory and the hierarchy of human needs, in his paper "A Theory of Human Motivation" (1943), believed that self-actualization is a means for humans to achieve their wholeness. Each person has a fundamental potential that can be developed into a strength from which humans will be able to move towards self-actualization by developing their basic potential into a force within the hierarchy of human needs that need to be fulfilled gradually and integrated, starting from physical, security, social, and esteem needs. The self-actualization phase is the phase we hope will occur in society, with the highest and most difficult hierarchy because it requires the fulfillment of needs in the previous phases. Individuals who have achieved self-actualization are individuals who have reached maturity, who can regulate themselves well, can handle life pressures well so that they can work with enthusiasm, happiness, and even appreciate differences, dare to take measured risks, and can solve problems well. This is the kind of society we hope for in building a strong and sovereign nation.

1.8. VUCA Theory

Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus (1987) stated that VUCA is an acronym for Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, Ambiguity. VUCA is a challenge that every organizational leader must face, involving disruption, gravitational shifts, behavioral changes, and increasingly fierce competition. Traditional leadership is outdated, too slow, and ineffective in a turbulent and constantly changing environment. Therefore, organizational leaders need a new style and model of leadership that is agile in facing the multi-dimensional threats of VUCA. The nature of the VUCA phenomenon is:

1. Volatility: The world is changing rapidly, unstable, and unpredictable.
2. Uncertainty: The future is full of uncertainty. Past data is no longer relevant for predicting probabilities and what will happen.
3. Complexity: The modern world is more complex than ever before. Problems and their consequences involve multiple dimensions that influence each other, making it difficult for leaders to draw conclusions.
4. Ambiguity: The geopolitical environment of the world is becoming more ambiguous, confusing, unclear, and difficult to understand. Every situation will create multiple interpretations.

1.9. Total People's War Strategy Theory

The doctrine of total people's war was developed through Mao Zedong's experiences, which stated that every citizen must participate in defending the country using guerrilla warfare strategies. Mao said that the basics of guerrilla warfare must be developed in line with the "actual conditions of future warfare." Mao also hinted at abandoning outdated teachings and replacing them with new ones in response to changing objective conditions. Mao changed the strategy, especially in the concept of deterrence, where the country must have the ability to deter the enemy from entering its territory, thereby no longer needing to carry out total people's war in the form of guerrilla warfare. Prabowo, the Defense Minister of Indonesia (2019), stated that the defense concept in Indonesia is based on the concept of "total people's security defense," which means that if the country is forced to engage in war, the war strategy used is "total people's war," which was born from the nation's history that every citizen has the right and obligation to defend the country. In facing current and future threat projections, deterrence efforts are needed in the concept of total people's defense, one of which is using the *pentahelix* concept introduced by Freeman (1984), which is the synergy between government, media, business actors, academics, and society. This interactive relationship will drive thinking power, which ultimately will produce new ideas, which run through a continuous process resulting in the development of knowledge and insights that are of increasingly higher quality.

1.10. Psychology Warfare Theory

According to the United States military, psychological warfare tactics are a vital element in various ideological, political, economic, and military actions. If used properly, psychological operations can reduce the morale and combat efficiency of enemy forces and create dissatisfaction within their ranks. Psychological operations can create civil resistance against opposing regimes or can be used to enhance the image of a legitimate government. Baev (2011), a professor at the International Peace Research Institute Oslo, wrote that "psychological operations can become a dominant operational and strategic weapon in the form of media/information intervention. The main targets are enemy population support and the general public's support for the government and the war. News in the mass media can become a stronger operational weapon than armored divisions."

1.11. Propaganda Theory

Harold Lasswell (Lasswell, 1927) explained that propaganda has five elements: "who says what in which channel to whom with what effect." "Who" (source/communicator) refers to the main actor/party who needs to communicate or initiates communication, which can be an individual, group, organization, or country as the communicator. "Saying what" (message) refers to the content of the information that will be conveyed/communicated to the recipient (communicant) from "who" (source/communicator). "In which channel" (channel/media) refers to the vehicle/tool for delivering the message from "who" (source/communicator) to the communicant (recipient), either directly (face-to-face) or indirectly (through electronic and print media). "To whom" (target) refers to the person, group, organization, and country that receives the message from "who" (source/communicator). "With what effect" refers to the impact/effect on the communicant (recipient) after receiving the message from "who" (source/communicator), resulting in attitude, behavior, opinion, and knowledge changes. Ștefan Vladutescu (Kunandar, 2017) identified one communication principle in propaganda, namely the principle of target groups. The principle of target groups is to know and choose a suitable target audience, whether individuals or groups. This relates to the effectiveness of propaganda work, which tends not to choose a mass audience because it is considered ineffective. Propagandists choose a certain audience (a certain social group or "opinion leader"). Researchers will use this theory to find out the effectiveness of racism propaganda issues in triggering riots in Papua and West Papua.

Studying the ongoing situation in Papua which is still volatile due to the acts of terror and provocation by the Papua Separatist Movement seeking international support for a referendum and independence from Indonesia, therefore in this research, the problem formulation chosen is: How to implement the strategy of people's war to overcome the Papua Separatist Movement's movement?

2. Research Methods

This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach, which is a problem formulation that guides the research to explore or portray the social situation being studied thoroughly, broadly, and deeply. According to Bogdan and Taylor (2010) cited from Lexy J. Moleong (1989), qualitative approach is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or oral words from people and observed behaviors. Qualitative research focuses on social phenomena, giving voice to the feelings and perceptions of participants under study. The descriptive research design will be used to answer questions about who, what, when, where, and how it relates to the specific research. In addition, the descriptive research design is used to obtain information about the variable phenomenon status or situational conditions. As found in the work of Wakefield et al, descriptive studies are presented in sequence such as conceptual construction, theory used, purpose, methodology, and findings, which are used to explain phenomena (Wakefield, Talbert, & Pense, 2006).

The descriptive research design and history in this research are in the area of qualitative research, where researchers have a very wide opportunity to deepen the information obtained (Black & Ubbes, 2009). Because this research is related to the history and diplomatic problems carried out by the Indonesian government at present, including the theory of the strategy of people's war in the defense system of the people's security, it is also a part of this research method. The phenomenon related to the legitimacy of Papua's entry into the Republic of Indonesia will be explained from various perspectives such as historical, means, ways, and ends of Papua Separatist Movement, normative integration, functional integration, international relations, as well as international legal basis as a fundamental instrument of Indonesia's diplomacy in the international world. The application of international law in the process of the entry of the West Irian region as a legacy of Dutch colonialism is important to be understood by all parties who have interests in the Papua issue, which by a small group of domestic, regional, and global communities always try to create space for conflict, with the aim of seceding Papua from the Republic of Indonesia. Overall, the methodology used in this research applies a systematic literature review (SLR). SLR is a research method that summarizes primary research to show more comprehensive and balanced evidence (Siswanto, 2010). The data collection technique used through various literature studies such as books, scientific journals, *Lemhannas* Research paper, and media articles.

3. Analysis

War has been an inevitable threat since the beginning of human civilization, and the history of past wars will be the background for future wars. Therefore, the government needs to build early awareness and preparedness to maintain civil order and prevent escalation into civil emergencies, military emergencies, or even war. In a healthy society with nationalistic character and patriotic mentality, there will be a strong and prosperous country. In this theory of hybrid warfare, the methods and patterns used are different, not rigid like in conventional warfare that tends to rely on sophisticated mass destruction machines and requires huge costs. This war utilizes non-conventional or soft power that can disrupt ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, and defense security stability. Soft power strategy or psychological warfare, disinformation, and propaganda are more dangerous and have a massive impact because they are not visible to the naked eye and do not violate the United Nations Charter Article 2 Paragraph (4), which states that "all member states in their international relations refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations", so this war is not easy to resolve like in physical or hard power war. The use of hard power will provoke the intervention of the UN and humanitarian forces which generally also cause severe and massive human rights violations.

The Papua Separatist Movement both inside and outside the country needs to be taken seriously to prevent the rolling of the Papua issue in international forums and to maintain the integrity of the Indonesian territory. Therefore, efforts are needed to optimize foreign diplomacy in facing Papua separatist actions by maximizing a diplomacy approach (Soft Power) to South Pacific countries including other friendly countries in the fields of culture, technical assistance, economic capacity building, and good governance in the political field. As for the Papua people, it can be done through socio-cultural approaches, increasing OAP's understanding of the validity of international laws such as UN Resolution 2504, law enforcement, respect for human rights, accelerating the development of community welfare, and creating opinions through social media.

In accordance with the instruction of the President of Indonesia to comprehensively address separatism in Papua and address its root causes, such as through a welfare approach, the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) is taking on a role to assist the Indonesian National Police (Polri) and local governments in maintaining security and improving the welfare of the community by resolving conflicts and promoting social and cultural integration. A historical example of this approach is seen during the reign of King Hayam Wuruk of the Majapahit Kingdom, where a Maharesi named Mpu Wiranatha, also known as Mpu Tantular VI, lived. In Sanskrit, the word "Tantular" means "unwavering" or "firm in principles", and Mpu Tantular was famous for his work, the *Kakawin Sutasoma*, which includes the famous phrase "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Tanhana Dharma Mangrva" in stanza 139, line 5. This phrase means "although different, we are one, there is no duality in truth, that is devotion to our country and nation" (in the context of the Majapahit Kingdom). Mpu Tantular wrote the *Sutasoma* to criticize Patih Gajah Mada, who laid a fragile foundation for unifying the Nusantara region through military, economic, and religious strategies alone. As an alternative, Mpu Tantular used a social and cultural approach to address the multidimensional crisis facing the Majapahit Kingdom at that time. In the *Sutasoma*, he stated that unity was the fundamental factor in overcoming the decline of the Majapahit Kingdom, and thus he proposed the idea of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. In the 14th century, Mpu Tantular was already aware of the threat posed by the diversity of the Nusantara society of that time, and this realization came from his deep contemplation of the social and cultural reality of the community at that time in order to unite them and overcome the crisis. In the context of that time, stanza 139 line 5 was emphasized on the issue of harmony between the followers of the Siwa (Hindu) and Jina (Buddha) religions, which were widely practiced by the people of the Majapahit Kingdom at that time. Harmony was necessary to enable the collective performance of dharma, as harmony alone without the performance of dharma would be useless. The dharma was aimed at the greatness of the Majapahit Kingdom as a whole, and not for any other interests, i.e., duality (*Tanhana Dharma Mangrva*). Therefore, the spirit of harmony was based on a noble purpose that was implemented in community life, and it became the main pillar of unity among the followers of different religions, which led the Majapahit Kingdom to achieve its peak in less than 75 years, and become a great power.

According to the annual report from Amnesty International (2021), which tends to discredit the government regarding the human rights situation in Indonesia, it worsened throughout 2020, especially with the situation of impunity from security forces that continues in Papua, as well as restrictions on freedom of expression and opinion that do not meet international human rights standards. "This report highlights again that the Indonesian government does not have a strong commitment to the enforcement and protection of human rights," and there have been continuous unlawful killings in Papua and West Papua without regard for justice and clear accountability as a reflection of this weak commitment. "Throughout 2020, there were at least 19 cases of alleged unlawful killings with a total of 30 victims carried out by security forces in Papua and West Papua," quoting Usman Hamid, Executive Director of Amnesty International Indonesia, a Master of Philosophy alumni from The Australian National University in 2016, he also was a Chevening fellow at the University of Nottingham in 2009 and a visiting scholar at Columbia University in 2003. The report noted at least 132 cases of violations of freedom of expression with a total of 157 victims that do not comply with the ITE Law, including 15 activists and four journalists, making it the highest number of violations in the past six years. In March 2022, the organization also condemned the human rights violations committed by the Papua Separatist Movement, which were shootings that killed eight telecommunications network workers in Beoga district. However, according to data on the ground, human rights violations have been mostly committed by the Papua Separatist Movement in recent years.

Actually, the realization of the New Autonomous Region (NAR) in Papua could be the best effort to bring about accelerated development and equality as a right that must be received by Papua citizens who are part of the Republic of Indonesia. With the NAR, of course, this will provide a new opportunity for native sons to further develop their potential. This expansion contains the goal of dividing the tasks of regional government, which are increasingly specific and more focused on detailed regions and communities. Many aspirations have emerged in society for the formation of NARs in Papua. The spirit of Papua expansion emerged considering the vastness of the region and the need for accelerated development in Papua, as well as efforts to strengthen Indonesia's territorial integrity. Security disturbances in Papua are the main root of the problem, in addition to economic and poverty issues. Thus, the establishment of NARs is one of the government's good intentions to accelerate development and simplify bureaucracy. After NARs are built, it is hoped that people who want to handle administrative affairs can get faster services due to the reduced distance. The establishment of NARs will certainly be accompanied by the

construction of new police/military headquarters, so it is expected that security in Papua will become stronger, and security disturbances in the easternmost region of Indonesia can be suppressed.

However, the National Command of the West Papua National Liberation Army (WPNLA) under the leadership of Chief of General Staff Terryanus Satto and spokesperson Sebby Sebby Sambom, declared that: WPNLA Rejects All Development Programs in Papua by the Colonial Government of the Republic of Indonesia and Issues a Strong Warning; Remember that Papua will surely be independent, because the national awakening has arisen through the young generation of Papua and their persistent struggle in this era of globalization, Indonesia will not be able to extinguish it; Remember that the experience of Timor-Leste is a valuable lesson, because after Papua gains independence, we will seek native Papuans to create new provinces that truly benefit Papuans, not just for the benefit of Colonial Indonesia; You can work with the Colonial Government of the Republic of Indonesia to meet your livelihood needs, but remember not to sacrifice the right to life of native Papuans; Please follow the struggle of young Papuans, and fight hard to achieve the independence of the Papuan nation.

The Papua Separatist Movement demands independence for Papua from the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The diversity of ethnic groups in Indonesia has become a threat to national security when infiltrated by personal ambitions from actors within and outside the country. Racial differences and social inequalities are used by the Papua Separatist Movement to seek international support under the pretext of human rights violations committed by the Indonesian government. Furthermore, the Papua Separatist Movement is able to kill soldiers and Papua residents themselves in order to declare their existence and attract international media attention. This is one of the evidence of the weakness of the values of unity in the third principle of Pancasila held by some Indonesian society. This is also evidence of how easily Indonesian society can be trapped in divisive politics and thus hurt and destroy each other. This opens up great opportunities for state and non-state actors who want to create division in Indonesia, by turning the potential of diversity in Indonesia into a threat to the defense of the Indonesian state.

Therefore, the nationalistic strengthening program (normative integration) in Papua can be a solution to solve the disintegration crisis in Papua. There are three major issues that need attention regarding the problems in Papua: the politics of NKRI vs abolition politics, empowerment of community components, and defense and security of the border. These three themes reflect phenomena related to the socio-cultural aspects of Papua society and defense and security issues with the concept of defending the country that then gives birth to a new theory, "Defense Anthropology" as a concept of defending the country in Papua in implementing the strategy of a people's war. Human resources are an important component in achieving these goals. In addition to facing human resources conditions that are still inadequate, the lack of implementation of the value of Indonesian unity makes this strategy more difficult to implement. Therefore, efforts are needed to improve human resources, especially OAP, to become one of the sources of strength for the strategy applied by the state in improving defense, such as a people's war strategy. The required people's war strategy is a comprehensive and inclusive strategy, meaning that cooperation with various parties is maximized so that the improvements that occur can be comprehensive. In this regard, the participation of the government and existing organizations is highly expected to maintain integrity with the Papuan community. The government's actual programs such as Stunting, Kampung Pancasila, and others are already appropriate, but they need to be more equitable and more comprehensive so that the benefits can be truly felt.

Concrete steps taken by the government to carry out normative and functional integration in Papua.

I. Foreign Policy: Regional Diplomacy.

The following are concrete efforts of the Indonesian government in conducting foreign diplomacy that can create shared prosperity and security in the region: On December 7-8, 2002, the Indonesia Pacific Forum for Development (IPFD) was held as a manifestation of Indonesia's consistent commitment to enhancing cooperation with Pacific countries within the vision of Pacific Elevation. This was evidenced by the Indonesia South Pacific Forum in 2019; and Pacific Exposition in 2019 and 2021; Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) in 2022; and 10 projects in the context of the G20 that can be utilized by Pacific countries, two of which are initiatives from the Indonesian government. The IPFD meeting discussed the theme of "Grow and Prosper Together," which addressed two main

issues: economic development and human resource development. The meeting not only took place at the intergovernmental level but also at the inter-company level, along with three workshops related to several major challenges faced by Pacific countries in economic recovery, namely disaster mitigation, the development of SMEs, and women's empowerment, in addition to several common issues in the future:

1. Realizing a peaceful, stable, and prosperous Pacific region through strategic trust; spirit of collaboration, respect for international law including sovereignty and territorial integrity by jointly building a strong and inclusive regional architecture; and encouraging wider participation between ASEAN and the Pacific through the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific.
2. Building concrete cooperation and not just limited to political commitments in order to benefit the people in all Pacific countries such as food security, climate change, disaster mitigation, and blue economy issues. In addition, there should be deeper connectivity and kinship among Pacific countries through education, sports, and cultural exchanges.
3. Creating a foundation for comprehensive and inclusive development that links one initiative to another so that when these initiatives are connected, they will produce greater impacts for Pacific countries.

Until now, Indonesia has carried out a lot of development cooperation with Pacific countries. During the period of 1999-2021, the Indonesian government has provided 211 technical and development assistance to 1,900 participants with materials adjusted to the needs of each Pacific country. In the field of food security, Indonesia provides training in fisheries in cooperation with the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG); and the Regional Agriculture Training Center in Fiji to strengthen food security in the Pacific region. Other programs include hospital development plans in the Solomon Islands; trade and investment cooperation for MSMEs; and scholarships for Pacific students. IPFD can also be beneficial in the development of trilateral cooperation for the Pacific, namely Australia, Japan, and Korea, to strengthen inclusive cooperation with Pacific countries.

II. Domestic policy. Regional development, welfare, and human resources in Papua.

The realization of the New Autonomy Region (NAR) in Papua can be the best effort in bringing about acceleration of development and economic, education, health, infrastructure, and security equity as rights that must and should be received by Papuan citizens as part of the Republic of Indonesia. The existence of NAR certainly will provide many new opportunities for local sons to develop their potential. This expansion aims to divide the increasingly specific regional government tasks, reach remote areas and communities better, and be in line with the aspirations that have developed within the community. The spirit of Papua's expansion arose from the needs of OAP and the good intentions of the government in accelerating development and simplifying bureaucracy in Papua, which has a very large area. Thus, with the existence of NAR, the people of Papua can receive better and faster services, which will also be accompanied by the development of new police/military headquarters to make security defense in Papua more stable and strong.

3.1. *Pentahelix* Concept

The VUCA phenomenon has generated competition in collectively adapting quickly and providing flexible multidimensional responses according to the dynamics that arise in a short time, requiring effective horizontal collaboration among all stakeholders, in addition to vertical command chain efficiency within the internal organizational structure to thwart the efforts of state enemies in exploiting security vulnerabilities and maintaining social order. The government can adopt the *pentahelix* concept to optimize its collaboration with a body that functions as the leading sector, along with all state institutions, government ministries and agencies, academia, mass media, businesses, and communities, where all stakeholders and components of the nation have clear motivations according to their respective functions in seeking solutions and knowledge. It is also necessary to avoid having institutions with excessive authority and power since absolute power tends to corrupt.

Institutional synergy is essentially intended as support for the state in combating strategic threats that can endanger national security defense. Although cooperation in realizing the synergy of defense and security management has been carried out by various institutions, there are still some challenges or obstacles.

Firstly, the suboptimal cooperation between responsible institutions is a problem that arises in inter-institutional cooperation, with sectoral ego, differences in orientation, vision, and mission, which impacts competition among sectors to outdo one another, ultimately disregarding the greater interests of the nation and Indonesia. In the Theory of Synergy, understanding and agreement are key to forming good institutional synergy. Good communication and coordination, both formal and informal, are essential instruments in forming a shared perspective in managing defense and security. Another factor that supports the optimization of cooperation between institutions is the application of the Whole of Government (WoG) concept as an interagency approach involving relevant institutions.

The collaboration between WoG and an integrated digital system is expected to force each institution to work by a system with aligned goals, targets, and treatments to eliminate sectoral egos and provide clarity of capacities that become the authority of each stakeholder. Furthermore, from a regulatory aspect, Presidential Regulation No. 18 of 2020 on the National Medium-Term Development Plan 2020-2024 in the Development Agenda to Strengthen Political, Legal, Security and Defense Stability and Public Service Transformation outlines plans to improve the justice system, regulate and govern cybersecurity. The National Medium-Term Development Plan 2020-2024 is a starting point in achieving Indonesia's 2045 Vision of an advanced Indonesia with several indicators, including infrastructure, human resource quality, public services, and better welfare for the people. Therefore, to curb sectoral egoism, encourage cooperation and interconnectedness in the management of defense and security, all forms of communication and coordination should be directed towards implementing the National Medium-Term Development Plan. In addition, the national social media development colored by radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism propaganda often appears in cyberspace in the form of narratives, films, and social media groups, so by utilizing the number of internet users in Indonesia, the government can invite overseas digital service providers to comply with the regulations made by Indonesian authorities. The involvement of defense and security actors is an important government program in prevention efforts and strengthening partnerships.

Secondly, the ineffective communication and coordination between the executive, judiciary, legislative, and society regarding various defense and security regulation studies is still a problem. Similar to the issue of sectoral egos, each party has their own interests in defense and security matters, while the government wants to ensure optimal management of defense and security for all Indonesian people, the DPR wants to ensure good legislation that aligns with their political or constituent interests, and the people want to ensure strong protection of the rights of every Indonesian citizen. For example, the legislative process of the Cyber Security and Resilience Bill was protested by civil society group SAFEnet because it was deemed to contain provisions that restrict freedom of speech; the formulation of the Personal Data Protection Bill did not progress well due to differences in opinions regarding supervisory authority between the DPR and Kominfo; and the revision of the ITE Law has not yet been included in the prolegnas because it still needs to "listen to the aspirations of the people". Therefore, effective means of communication and coordination need to be created to raise awareness among all parties that defense and security issues should not be turned into sectoral egos, but rather seen as conditions that threaten national security and need to be addressed jointly by all parties. Thus, the government must take the lead in initiating efforts to strengthen coordination with various relevant stakeholders.

Coordination and communication with the DPR and local governments need to be continuously improved, to establish understanding and agreement in producing regulations (both rules and budgeting) that can support defense and security management. The synergy of all stakeholders is very important, realized through understanding and agreement on clear capacity and authority distribution among stakeholders; good partnerships between government agencies, businesses, academia, media, society, and the media within the framework of the *pentahelix*; establishment of partnerships with international organizations, bilateral or multilateral cooperation with other countries, and effective communication between the components of the Trias Politica that can act as Coordinator, Regulator and Controller with society in formulating regulations. To ensure the realization of legal certainty, legal justice, and legal benefit in defense and security management, the certainty of law enforcement is needed, implemented through the application of appropriate law enforcement methods, not only for the purpose of punishment and repression, but also for curative and rehabilitative functions. Approaches using local customs, culture, and wisdom that can support the creation of order, tranquility, orderliness, and security are worth supporting to create a conducive, harmonious, and sustainable situation/momentum. All of this is to create a

strategic surprise so that terrorist and separatist groups cannot develop their competitive advantage, especially with counter propaganda that actually enhances national development. Prevention aspects become the top priority in defense and security management, thus regulation on prevention aspects itself is needed in comprehensive defense and security regulations; the existence of a digitally and legally aware society; and the establishment of early detection, prevention, and counteraction mechanisms.

Regarding the challenges related to synergy, the issue that arises is related to the organization and the sectoral ego of the ministries responsible for defense and security, and the absence of regulations that govern who becomes the leading sector, how tasks and authorities are divided among ministries and agencies, and how the system works. The State Intelligence Agency (BIN) is expected to become an institution that can play a role as the leading sector in establishing coordination and cooperation between stakeholders including the Indonesian National Police, the Indonesian Armed Forces/Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other ministries and agencies. Of course, all of these efforts need to be supported by competent human resources, information and communication technology, adequate facilities, infrastructure, and operational budgets:

1. The government as a regulator with authority capital; Learning from Sri Lanka's success in thwarting the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) insurgency revealed a successful strategy in counterinsurgency activities, unlike failed counterinsurgency operations such as in East Timor. Stephen L. Battle explains how Sri Lanka targeted the legitimacy of the rebels as the key to destroying the LTTE's positive relationship with Tamil people. The LTTE was forced to take actions that left them with no other choice but to fight against the Sri Lankan people and armed forces forever. An evaluation of the COIN strategy in Papua found that the Indonesian government was considered to have failed to meet the needs of the local Papuan people and was not able to gain international support in addressing the Papua Separatist Movement rebellion. This failure occurred because the Indonesian government attacked the armed and political front of the Papua Separatist Movement directly before winning the hearts and minds of the local people. In addition, the Indonesian government has not maximized its efforts in building good diplomatic relations and political lobbying with other countries, international communities and the United Nations in order to gain full support in crushing the Papua Separatist Movement rebellion. This situation provides an opportunity for the Papua Separatist Movement to win the competition for legitimacy and control over the Papuan people as the center of gravity and to gain support from foreign countries and communities.

As the owner of the authority capital, the government needs to continuously improve its diplomacy and cooperation with foreign countries and organizations that support the Papua Separatist Movement. Additionally, the government can distribute tasks and roles in synergy with all elements of the *pentahelix* to narrow the space for the Papua Separatist Movement fronts, namely political, clandestine, and armed fronts. This can be done through counter-propaganda efforts to win the hearts and minds of the people, socialization of government programs, increasing community immunity to disinformation and Papua Separatist Movement propaganda, and using a heterarchy organizational model for synergy:

1. To support government programs in a Structured, Systematic, and Massive (TSM) manner through synergy with other *pentahelix* components to build *Astagatra* strength with specific themes such as realizing Papua as the center of culture, economy, and civilization of the Melanesian race in the world, given that almost 80% of Melanesians in the world are in Indonesia.
2. Early detection, prevention, early interception, and counter-propaganda against all ITS (Issue Theme Scheme) of the Papua Separatist Movement.
 1. Synergy between Polri and other *pentahelix* components in early detection as intelligence data is crucial for these activities. Polri should collaborate with the State Intelligence Agency (BIN), the National Cyber and Crypto Agency (BSSN), the Intelligence Agency of the Indonesian Armed Forces (BAIS), and the Indonesian National Army (TNI) in early detection activities of disinformation, terrorism propaganda, and separatism. According to BIN's main duty and function as specifically regulated through Presidential Regulation No. 90 of 2012 concerning the State Intelligence Agency, as last amended by Presidential Regulation No. 79 of 2020, to enhance early detection and warning in securing the administration of government and national security stability, organizational strengthening of BIN as the first line of defense in the national security system is required. This means that BIN is the leading sector in early detection activities of disinformation, terrorism propaganda, and separatism in coordinating and formulating

intelligence policies together with BAIS and Polri. The role of BAIS, in accordance with Law No. 34 of 2004 in combating propaganda, is the Military Operation Other Than War (MOOTW), which assists government tasks in the region and supports Polri in maintaining public security and order. Experiences in Indonesia show that border areas have the potential to become hiding places and transit areas for terrorist group members, such as in Papua, the northern part of Sulawesi Island adjacent to southern Philippines, and border areas in Kalimantan. Besides the difficult-to-reach location and condition of the regions, the land and sea border areas in Indonesia are vast, and it is impossible to monitor them strictly. Therefore, the active role of BAIS TNI in overseeing and screening community groups around the border areas will undoubtedly be useful in preventing the development of terrorism actions in Indonesia. Polri can prepare an open complaint service application for all non-governmental *pentahelix* elements related to suspicious activities that lead to the creation and dissemination of disinformation, terrorism propaganda, separatism, and actions that violate the law. Another central issue most commonly used in propaganda is the uneven distribution of development in Papua, which not only compares development between Papua and Java Island but also between small regions in West Papua such as in Maybrat. In this area, the issue of inequality among the three major tribes can become a provocation in the community, especially if officials cannot accommodate the interests of each tribe evenly. Thus, marginalized tribes will create provocative issues to oppose the local government and authorities.

2. Police synergy with BSSN and Kominfo in early prevention activities. Polri collaborates with the State Intelligence Agency (BIN), Armed Forces Intelligence Agency (BAIS TNI), Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the National Cyber and Crypto Agency (BSSN), and Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (Kominfo) to fulfill their security functions by blocking and deleting websites, blogs, contents, and social media accounts that spread disinformation, terrorist propaganda, and separatism. According to BSSN's main duties and functions regulated in Presidential Regulation No. 53 of 2017 on the State Cyber and Code Agency, Article 2 states that "BSSN is tasked with carrying out cyber security effectively and efficiently by utilizing, developing, and consolidating all elements related to cyber security." Therefore, BSSN as the leading sector in cyber security has the right to coordinate the blocking of disinformation, terrorist propaganda, and separatism together with Kominfo, TNI, and Polri. The government, in this case Kominfo, through Law No. 19 of 2016 on Information and Electronic Transactions, has the authority to control all information and electronic transactions that contain negative content and violate national laws and regulations; and monitor and block access to electronic system providers. This mandate is further detailed in Government Regulation No. 71 of 2019 on Electronic Systems and Transactions and Ministerial Regulation of Kominfo No. 5 of 2020 on Private PSE Scope. Some websites and social media outside of Indonesia that need to be addressed include the West Papua Action Network, an organization that conducts pro-Papua Separatist Movement propaganda and exposes human rights violations committed by Indonesian security forces on its website wpaction.org and social media such as Facebook since 2009 to gain international support. International Lawyers for West Papua have been advocating for Papua's independence internationally and organizing campaigns to draw attention to the situation in Papua since 2014. Since the organization's website, ilwp.org, is no longer accessible, the propaganda has shifted to social media, specifically Twitter and Facebook. To eliminate the impression of militarism in resolving the Papua issue, the military district command can: increase social communication to create emotional closeness with all elements of society in Papua; provide regional resistance guidance through training and teaching on the archipelago's insight, national insight, unity in diversity, and scouting for school children; and foster the Indonesian Army's devotion through joint military service activities with the people to develop Papua.
3. Synergy between Polri and BNPT, TNI, and other elements of the *pentahelix* in early counter activities. In this activities, Polri mobilizes its forces and disseminates white propaganda (national propaganda) in collaboration with BNPT, TNI, and other elements of the *pentahelix* in a structured, systematic, and massive manner in accordance with the theory of hybrid warfare that uses political fronts' propaganda (80%) as the main tool in winning the hearts and minds of the people, which become the center of gravity (CoG) of the attack. The mobilization refers to all efforts, work, and activities carried out in a planned, directed, and coordinated manner with all stakeholders to create a favorable condition for national interests. Michael Mann (founder of a security services company in America) sees that throughout human civilization, the military, in any form, is the best provider of security and peace in society.

Based on Presidential Regulation Number 46 of 2010 concerning the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), the main tasks and functions of the BNPT are:

1. Formulating, coordinating, and implementing national policies, strategies, and programs for counter-terrorism in the areas of national readiness, counter-radicalization, and de-radicalization;
2. Coordinating between law enforcement agencies in counter-terrorism efforts;
3. Formulating, coordinating, and implementing national policies, strategies, and programs for counter-terrorism in the area of international cooperation;
4. Developing and establishing national policies, strategies, and programs in the field of counter-terrorism;
5. Conducting coordination of national policies, strategies, and programs in the field of counter-terrorism.

Strengthened by Law No. 5 of 2018 Articles 43E-43H, BNPT as the leading sector in early prevention of disinformation; and propaganda of radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism, declares to apply the *pentahelix* scheme in preventing and countering radicalism and terrorism in 2022. According to BNPT's website (2022), as the leading sector in the implementation of Presidential Regulation No. 7 of 2021 concerning the National Action Plan for Prevention and Countering of Violence-Based Extremism Leading to Terrorism, together with 48 related ministries/institutions, BNPT has carried out 97 actions, consisting of 69 actions on the prevention pillar, 19 actions on the law enforcement, protection of witnesses and victims, and strengthening of the national legislative framework, and 9 actions on the partnership and international cooperation pillar. According to BNPT Chairman Boy Rafli (2022), the total war against terrorism ideology cannot be overcome by a certain group or agency, but the entire society is involved. Therefore, BNPT continues to embrace various parties, both within the synergy team of ministries/institutions and the wider community, by applying the *pentahelix* cooperation concept to prevent ideologies that contradict the Indonesian nation's conception. BNPT declares its commitment to continuing to eliminate all forms of terrorism in the homeland, both politically and ideologically motivated, but even if not related to a particular religion, terrorist networks often abuse religious narratives to gain sympathy from the Indonesian society. BNPT maximizes the prevention aspect and supports the prosecution of terrorism cases with political motives, such as the Papua Separatist Movement in Papua, by maximizing the coordination role, especially with law enforcement agencies, to use terrorism criminal provisions firmly and measuredly. Then, in Law No. 34 of 2004 regarding the obligation of the Indonesian National Defense Forces (TNI) to combat radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism through Military Operation Other than War, which was later strengthened by Law No. 5 of 2018 Article 43I. There are at least two forms of military use for counter-terrorism:

Military forces can be used to assist the police and other security and public order apparatus in dealing with terrorism scenarios that have resulted in the loss of law and order in certain areas within the country.

TNI intelligence contributes to the gathering operation. The gathering operation is carried out to change the emotions, attitudes, behavior, opinions, and motivations of targets to create desired and favorable conditions through positive propaganda, political warfare, sabotage, resistance actions, and cultural warfare.

In addition, Polri as the guardian of public security and order, is obliged to carry out counter-propaganda by directly engaging with the community through seminars, education, online campaigns, or by organizing events that can foster national pride and patriotism. This is to prevent the community from being easily influenced by disinformation, radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism propaganda.

The mass media, as an expander with network capital and as one of the *pentahelix* elements that has a wide reach, can be an effective and efficient channel in socializing government programs and national education in the face of the rampant spread of invalid, disinformation, or even contradictory information to the four basic consensus within Indonesia's diverse society. The government can establish an MoU with the mass media to support strategic government programs and issues in a structured, systematic, and massive manner, such as disseminating government development programs and cooperation opportunities in Papua, counter-propaganda against the political front of the Papua Separatist Movement at the international and local levels, actively exposing human rights violations, legal violations, casualties, damage, and fear caused by the armed front of the Papua Separatist Movement, as well as reporting suspicious movements of the clandestine front of the Papua Separatist Movement.

The mass media plays a crucial role in preventing the spread of disinformation, terrorism, and separatism propaganda, so that the public can have immunity against these threats and limit the maneuvering space of radical terrorist groups against social media, which has been proven to spread unrest, fear, and polarization in society. Finally, the Indonesian National Police is expected to strictly enforce the law against those proven to have spread disinformation, terrorism, and separatist propaganda.

Business actors, as enablers who have working capital, can support work programs such as the Indonesia-Pacific Forum for Development (IPFD) initiated by Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi as a manifestation of Indonesia's consistent commitment to enhance cooperation with Pacific countries in the vision of Pacific Elevation that raises the theme of "Grow and Prosper Together" related to economic development and human resource development. Business actors can partner with the government and the people in Papua to support the improvement and narrowing of the gap in the welfare, education, and health of indigenous Papuans. In addition, the police can also collaborate with business actors who also function as security actors in reducing the risk of cybercrime and cyber security infrastructure procurement because compared to the achievements and information technology possessed by other countries, the technology we use is relatively lagging behind. The high number of cases of disinformation and propaganda of terrorism and separatism in the virtual world is not comparable to the facilities and infrastructure we have. Based on data held by the Minister of Communication and Information (Kominfo), the growth of ICT infrastructure, including networks, access, and applications in Indonesia is still very low and only ranks fourth in the Southeast Asia region. The low level of technology infrastructure development is certainly one of the barriers for law enforcement to be able to detect early, prevent early, uncover and capture perpetrators of disinformation and propaganda of radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. There needs to be an improvement in the communication system and an increase in the maneuvering capabilities of units in areas such as a communication system that can reach all mission areas for the speed and ease of access to information/intelligence and command and control. Meanwhile, the Intelligence Unit in monitoring the possibility of foreign agents assisting the Papua separatist struggle requires support from sophisticated intelligence equipment such as IT Provider devices for tapping opponent's phones.

Academia as a conceiver with Scientific Capital. The government collaborates with academia to create defense and security actors who can become both political and clandestine fronts, while also contributing to the assessment, research, advice, and input in dealing with the Papua Separatist Movement. Scientific Capital in defense and security dynamics refers to agents who have academic legitimacy to voice their views or knowledge about defense and security issues that can be operated at a practical level. Researchers, both civilian and military academics who have expertise in defense and security, along with think tank institutions, are important agents who have the power to build a discourse about defense and security. The approach of professionalism and expertise focuses on the dimension of actors/agents who are able to obtain mandates and authorities from the public to manage defense and security issues. Initially, the actors referred to were only those who had professions as security forces, such as the military, police, intelligence, and others. However, over time, expert actors emerged who were not security forces by profession but had deep knowledge and understanding of security. The presence of security defense experts has led to a division of authority when society wants to discuss security issues. Sociologically, if initially the debate on security was approached with a professional sociology perspective (military, police, intelligence, prosecutor), it shifted to the sociology of expertise (experts, academics, think tanks). In its development, many defense and security forces have also become security defense experts involved in defense and security think tanks. Discourse on scholarly knowledge and security policy is no longer solely the domain of defense and security institutions and actors, as the emergence of new actors from academia, civil society, and think tanks becomes a point of entry for society into defense and security policy. More and more professional security actors are involved in defense and security studies, so that expertise in defense and security is not only based on organizational doctrine but also on theoretical knowledge (scholar soldier/scholar policeman). This defense and security policy discourse also requires support from national and international defense and security expert networks.

Society as the accelerator that possesses Social Capital can generate a certain ability to improve the quality of life of society through its involvement in a community group. Social capital or one's authority is acquired when they can represent a group in voicing its interests. Social capital in the security field can consist of networks, both state and non-state, private and societal. For example, in an international context, NATO and the EU are traditional

networks that have been established after the Cold War, although they do not directly relate to security issues. However, non-state networks, such as banking, civil aviation, humanitarian institutions, and others, become very important to be empowered when a crisis situation occurs, including influencing the course of war. Therefore, the Government, along with defense and security actors such as security defense experts, community leaders, religious figures, and traditional leaders approach important figures in the Papua Separatist Movement, especially Benny Wenda (leader of the political front) and Goliath Tabuni (commander of the armed front) in building understanding, agreement, and cooperation that accommodates each other's interests for the sake of reconciliation, integration, unity, and harmony within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

The integrative function of defense and security actors who can act as political fronts or clandestine fronts in promoting normative and functional integration in society includes: a critical review in resolving social conflicts and defense and security policies that are aligned with the cultural characteristics of society; social networking strategies in promoting social integration in society; social integration models for defense and security actors in society; fostering patterns of relationships between society and defense and security actors/institutions in increasing social resilience and reducing societal vulnerability; community control over defense and security programs; and the relationship between defense and security actors and society with paramilitary/vigilante mass organizations.

Currently, diversity, which is a characteristic of Indonesian society, is becoming a unique challenge. The Indonesian people must be able to turn this multiculturalism into a strength that can unite and bring people together, instead of allowing it to become a threat through provocative and disinformation content with SARA connotations. Society can generate real values through content, activities, advocacy, support, and education. These intangible values, which can be obtained from daily experiences, can make a plural society more familiar and compact because humans are essentially social beings who crave a sense of ownership and connection in a mission, vision, and meaning that motivates and gives a sense of responsibility in carrying out a joint mission while maintaining individual autonomy.

The proliferation of threats in cyberspace is widely seen as a negative impact of technological advancement. Actions such as the dissemination of disinformation, radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism propaganda have caused unrest, conflict, and disputes in society. If examined more deeply, this phenomenon is not solely the fault of technology, but rather of humans themselves. As technology is a human creation, humans should be the ones to control it, not the other way around. Thus, it can be concluded that the negative impact of social media is actually caused by the character of the nation and the values contained in Pancasila, which are declining. Building the character of the Indonesian nation (character building) is a necessity because character determines how someone thinks, acts, and reacts to a given situation. According to Sudarmanto (2011), the characteristics that must be built from childhood are: honesty, citizenship, courage, fairness, respect, responsibility, perseverance, caring, and self-discipline. Society also plays a crucial role in conducting positive propaganda through collaborative projects, blogs and microblogs, crowdsourcing, and social networking sites (such as YouTube, Instagram, TikTok, Facebook, etc.).

As explained above, Polri can leverage its position to establish strategic partnerships with various defense and security actors, traditional leaders, religious figures, community leaders, and society itself to counter propaganda and reduce the impact of disinformation, radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. The modernization of early detection methods should also be carried out both domestically and abroad. According to the Ministry of Politics, Law, and Security, early detection is an effort to enhance the readiness of the police in managing domestic security, including in dealing with the threat of disinformation, radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. In terms of prevention and mitigation efforts, early detection methods are carried out by involving the community through community policing activities. In this regard, the police have been actively nurturing and empowering communities down to the village level to monitor and report changes and dynamics in their surroundings so that the police can act quickly and effectively in responding to threats or symptoms that lead to terrorism and separatism.

The Indonesian National Police, as stated in Law No. 2 of 2002, is an institution that directly engages in protecting, caring for, and serving the community; upholding the law; preventing law violations; and maintaining public order and security. The competitive advantage of the police lies in their closeness to the community, serving them directly and receiving a wealth of information that can be processed and coordinated with other relevant institutions such as the National Intelligence Agency, the Armed Forces, the National Cyber and Encryption Agency, the Ministry of Communication and Information, and the National Counterterrorism Agency. Another advantage is that the police are a judicial subsystem responsible for upholding the law in Indonesia, so their responsibility ranges from prevention to enforcement. Therefore, the police need to collaborate with all elements of the *Trias Politica* and all components of society related to cyber security and ensuring public safety and order.

According to the statement of the Governor of Lemhannas Andi Widjajanto (2023), in facing the increasingly complex cyber threats, readiness is needed from all supporting components. Currently, the government is trying to make a breakthrough by forming a larger organizational structure for the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) by establishing a fourth branch of the TNI in the field of digital and cyber so that Indonesia's cyber defense capabilities and capacities can increase significantly.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1. Conclusions

Several foreign countries are still implementing the "divide and conquer" politics in Papua in order to control its rich natural resources and strategic geographic location. This foreign interference has fueled Papua nationalism in the struggle for independence through political fronts, clandestine fronts, and armed fronts by means of diplomacy, denial of international agreements (UN Resolution No. 2504), and disinformation that always corners the Indonesian government to gain support from the international community in advocating for a "referendum" option and rejecting the results of the *Pepera*. International support at that time caused the Indonesian government to successfully integrate Papua into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, this proves that foreign interference and international support are one of the important factors that we must control and be wary of, because with just 1-2 moments, conditions can change significantly and benefits the Papua Separatist Movement international diplomacy efforts to gain independence from Indonesia. Since 1972, due to the Indonesian central government's failure to acknowledge the capabilities of the armed and political rebel faction associated with the Papua Separatist Movement, international support for the Indonesian government started to dwindle so Indonesia must be able to maintain the support of international organizations, countries and communities in diplomatic relations and political lobbying so that the impacts of Papua Separatist Movement's efforts can be minimized

In addition, the government must also make efforts to limit Papua Separatist Movement from gaining political support, funding, and logistics supply. The government and security defense actors such as security defense experts, community leaders, religious leaders, and traditional leaders must approach important figures in the Papua Separatist Movement, especially Benny Wenda (leader of the political front) and Goliath Tabuni (commander of the armed front) in building understanding, agreement, and cooperation that accommodates each other for the sake of reconciliation, integration, union and unity within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

In accordance with J.J. Rousseau's theory of social contract, that a person is willing to exchange their individual freedom for protection against security, economic and socio-cultural issues, civil and political freedoms, as well as peace. Therefore, law enforcement can be one solution in maintaining public order and security, even though law enforcement is a last resort (*ultimum remedium*) if prevention efforts using customary law and social norms cannot be carried out properly. Effective law enforcement that meets the principle of usefulness is expected to support the realization of social conditions towards self-actualization, the highest phase in Abraham Maslow's theory of human needs. It is this kind of social condition that we hope for in building a prosperous, strong and sovereign nation where its people have mature thinking, are able to regulate themselves well, and are ready to face life pressures well so that they can work with enthusiasm, happiness, appreciate differences, and even take measured risks in solving problems.

Therefore, the government needs to form a large ecosystem and implement a universal people's war strategy in distributing tasks and functions using the concept of *pentahelix* to create synergy between the government as the owner of authority with society, who have social capital, academics who have knowledge capital, mass media that have a wide network of information, and business actors who have working capital and competence. This synergy is expected to build the complete strength of Papua's Astagatra, narrow the movement space of the Papua Separatist Movement, and increase the immunity of the community from provocation, propaganda, and the Papua Separatist Movement's doctrine, such as through white propaganda to win the hearts and minds of the Indonesian people, Papua Separatist Movement actors, including the international community through bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the fields of economy, health, and education in regional and international areas. Human resources are one of the important components in achieving these goals, but the lack of practicing the Indonesian unity motto and the inadequate competence of Papua's human resources make the implementation of the total people's war strategy in the Papua region not maximally executed. Therefore, improving the quality of Papua's human resources is a top priority through programs such as reducing stunting, economics improvement, Pancasila village, and other programs.

Winning a war is important, but winning a war without using physical/military force is much more important because the ultimate goal of waging war is to create peace and prosperity. Using violence will surely cause casualties and suffering on both sides. Therefore, in facing multidimensional threats in Papua, the use of soft power and outsmart strategies is needed rather than outwin strategies in exploiting the vulnerability of the Papua Separatist Movement group, such as using intelligence operations to weaken (attrition) or even eliminate (annihilation) the enemy's power by launching strategic surprise attacks so that the state's enemies and their allies cannot build their competitive advantages. Intelligence operations are basically to learn the nature of threats, build alertness, readiness, and become a constituent element in forming laws, especially towards the 2024 presidential election.

In accordance with the instruction of the President of the Republic of Indonesia to comprehensively resolve separatism in Papua by addressing its root causes such as a welfare approach, the Indonesian National Army (TNI) takes on the role of assisting the National Police and local government in maintaining security and improving the welfare of the community by eliminating conflicts and achieving integration through socio-cultural approaches such as the motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Tanhana Dharma Mangrva" which means "unity in diversity, there is no duality in truth, which is devotion to the nation and the country" (in the context of the Majapahit Kingdom when this motto was created).

In rebuilding the glory of the nation, the government is also obliged to create a big dream to unite the nation, to show the direction of national policy and development strategy (build a unifying dream), to create a roadmap that functions to improve the harmony and coherence of all resource elements (clarity of mission), to guard and protect this dream by creating clear and targeted legislation as the legal basis for implementing national policy and development strategy (certainty of intend), and to ensure the certainty or consistency of the implementation of national development in accordance with what has been established in the 4 basic consensus (power of values) so that Indonesia is filled with great works and achievements, and not with the shedding of blood and tears of the nation.

In the context of Papua, the government, along with all the components of the *pentahelix*, works synergistically to realize Papua as the center of the culture, economy, and civilization of the Melanesian race in the world, considering that in 2015, nearly 80% of the Melanesian race in the world was in Indonesia, spread across the Maluku Islands, East Nusa Tenggara, and Papua, and the remaining 20% were spread across various Asia-Pacific countries such as Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste, Fiji, New Caledonia, and the Solomon Islands.

The dream of realizing geopolitical projection in 2045 is a dream of Golden Indonesia that can be achieved through two methods. First, by developing a methodology for calculating geopolitical capacity to compare Indonesia's position with other countries. Second, by comparing Indonesia's position in five strategic topics, namely democratic consolidation, green economy, blue economy, digital transformation, and the resilience of the

Nusantara Capital. Overall, Indonesia has moderate geopolitical capacity. We must seize this golden opportunity with optimism and opportunism, being astute and agile in playing Indonesia's geopolitical role, in accordance with the message of our founding father, that "One cannot establish a strong National Defense, One cannot build a strong Nation, as a strong Nation-State, without geopolitical knowledge as its Foundation. (Bung Karno, May 1965)".

The calculation refers to three geopolitical dimensions, namely physical geography, human geography, and geographic instruments. To maximize geopolitical capacity, specific issues that need to be addressed, first, the physical geography, by continuing to promote sustainable development such as energy transition to increase Indonesia's ecological capacity to support human life in the future; second, the human geography, by improving the standard of living of people in various areas including education, economy, welfare, and security, as well as improving institutional maturity of governance; and third, the Geographic Instruments, by increasing Indonesia's relative defense capability in all areas and intensifying mastery of technology, especially in the fields of cyberspace and space utilization. *Trigatra* is managed effectively and efficiently to build national strength resilience (*Astagra*) by using a total people's war strategy.

4.2. Recommendations

Here are some efforts that can be done to reduce conflicts and initiate integration, namely:

1. According to the LIPI research, there are four major issues that are being addressed by the Papua Separatist Movement such as marginalization and discrimination issues, lagging development, violence and human rights violations, and the history and political status of Papua. Therefore, by studying these four issues and the strategic environment development, the government needs to make a projection of future threats and collaborate on this projection to build awareness and readiness for Space, Tools and the Conditions of the Warfare (*RAK Juang*) from all components of the *pentahelix* using geopolitical theory, total people's war strategy, and David Galula's counterinsurgency theory (COIN).
2. There are needs to build awareness from all stakeholders to create synergy and interoperability between regional spatial planning with defense regional spatial planning. According to Charles H. Cooley, ideal defense regional planning is a national interest in supporting Military Operations, Military Operations Other Than War, and efforts to maintain stability, security, order, and development of welfare, education, and health in Papua society. This regional planning should be communicated and coordinated with all stakeholders, such as the TNI, Polri, and local government, because improving the synergy of regional spatial planning, defense regional spatial planning, security, and natural resources can increase interoperability. This is in accordance with the principles of implementing the total people's war strategy which must consider the location, position, and geographical conditions; natural resources; and demographics of Indonesia, as well as people centric, holistic, and territorial based concepts.
3. Building a comprehensive resilience of Papua's *Astagra*, which includes Natural Resources, Demographics, Geography, Ideology, Politics, Economy, Social Culture, and Defense Security, starting with building its social culture and ideology.
4. Social media that is misused can change its function into a laboratory and a new battlefield for state enemies in the hybrid war era. Given that diversity cannot yet be a national asset, but rather seems to be a great burden in uniting and collaborating the strengths of all elements and levels of society, the counter propaganda that needs to be done is white propaganda related to patriotism, nationalism, national identity, national awareness, and national strength resilience. In carrying out counter propaganda, all *pentahelix* components should follow the principle of 'who says what in what channel to whom with what effect' so that this propaganda can be successful and effectively implemented.
5. The government and *pentahelix* components can overcome sectoral ego barriers by encouraging local governments and related ministries to actively socialize and positively portray the government's efforts to accelerate development progress to the native Papua community, especially to groups that have been influenced by opinions from the Papua Separatist Movement.
6. Regional leaders such as Regent and Mayor should take a leading role in addressing all issues in Papua so that the opinion that has been formed that the handling of the Papua Separatist Movement group in Papua is

the domain of security defense apparatus shifts to all existing regional government components, especially leaders who are responsible for creating security stability in their area.

7. The utilization of mass media such as TV, print media, radio, and the internet in a structured, systematic, and massive manner has proven to be very effective in shaping opinions so it can be used in promoting the four basic consensus, and correcting the history of Papua's return to the Republic of Indonesia by showcasing the extraordinary struggle and sacrifice of the historical figures, especially the former indigenous Papuan freedom fighters, so that the younger generation of Papua can be inspired to maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, it is also necessary to expose all human rights violations committed by the Papua Separatist Movement, ranging from harassment to murder of the indigenous Papuan community and government officials, so that sympathy from the Papuan community and the international community decreases or even disappears.
8. The intensive and sustainable involvement of indigenous Papuan veteran freedom fighters is needed to reduce the influence and domination of the Papua Separatist Movement's opinions in society.
9. The TNI and other relevant agencies must closely monitor all permits and activities of foreign nationals entering the region, especially their activities, mobility, and interactions with the indigenous communities, as a counter-intelligence effort against the foreign party's efforts to mobilize political groups, clandestine groups, and armed groups of the Papua Separatist Movement.
10. The police are expected to provide legal education and prioritize positive law by enforcing the law strictly to give a deterrent effect to the perpetrators of treason and their groups.
11. There is a need for an improvement in the communication system and maneuvering capability of the assigned units. The necessary communication system is one that can quickly reach all assignment fields, facilitate access to information, intelligence, and command control. Meanwhile, the improvement in maneuvering can be done by adding the number of transport and combat helicopters to increase the speed of combat assistance, logistics delivery, evacuation, and combat action.
12. The intelligence units are expected to monitor the possibility of foreign agents helping the Papuan separatist movement, so in its implementation, it requires the support of special intelligence equipment that has advanced technology such as IT provider devices that can intercept opponents' cell phones.

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Indonesia-India Maritime Cooperation: Implications on Indonesia's Maritime Security from a Cultural Perspective

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Abstract

Indonesia and India have been enjoying a long-standing relationship, rooted in cultural, historical, and economic ties. In recent years, the two nations have increasingly cooperated in the maritime sector, recognizing the potential of their vast coastlines and maritime resources. This paper examines the implications of Indonesia-India maritime cooperation on Indonesia's maritime security from a cultural dimension. The study adopts a qualitative approach, analyzing existing literature, reports, and policy documents to provide an in-depth understanding of the cultural dimensions of Indonesia-India maritime cooperation. The research highlights the shared cultural heritage of the two nations, including their maritime traditions, customs, and practices, which have enabled them to build trust and cooperation in the maritime domain. The paper explores the impact of Indonesia-India maritime cooperation on Indonesia's maritime security, examining the challenges and opportunities that arise from such cooperation. The study argues that cultural factors, such as shared values, beliefs, and norms, have played a crucial role in facilitating cooperation between the two nations, resulting in a positive impact on Indonesia's maritime security. The paper concludes by offering recommendations for strengthening Indonesia-India maritime cooperation from a cultural perspective, emphasizing the need to recognize and leverage the cultural dimensions of this cooperation to enhance maritime security in the region.

Keywords: Indonesia-India Maritime Cooperation, Maritime Security, Cultural Dimensions, Shared Heritage, Trust, Cooperation

1. Introduction

India and Indonesia are the two most populous countries in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). Besides being demographically significant, geography has afforded these countries the prospect of exerting greater influence than they have thus far been capable or willing to attempt. The Indian peninsula occupies a dominant position in the eponymous ocean, proximate to critical shipping lanes that fuel Asia's economic growth. The Indonesian archipelago sits at the confluence of the Indian and Pacific Oceans and the South China Sea, thus placed at the pivot of the Indo-Pacific region. While each of these countries has significant untapped potential, the prospect of what they may achieve through collaboration and cooperation especially in the maritime domain is even more promising (Gopal and Alverdian, 2021).

India and Indonesia are maritime neighbours in a region that has been described as a 'key driver of global politics' (Clinton, 2011). The need for maritime security cooperation between these countries stems from two broad factors. First, both countries rely on unimpeded access to the global commons to sustain economic growth and to fulfil socio-economic aspirations of their citizens. Second, significant security challenges in the Indo-Pacific region threaten the legitimate use of the oceans for economic activity and impose substantial costs on littoral countries. Renewed awareness of vulnerabilities and limitations in national capacities to tackle threats early and effectively is arguably the most compelling reasons to enhance maritime security cooperation between India and Indonesia

Geographically, Indonesia is directly bordered by two oceans, namely the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Therefore, Indonesia joined the two regional organizations in both oceans. The Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) is the only regional organization that represents the coastal countries of the Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean has strategic values especially for the world economy, namely as a trade link from Asia to Europe-Africa and vice versa. In line with the Global Maritime Nexus concept, Indonesia's joining with IORA can become a medium for realizing the Global Maritime Nexus (Kominfo, 2017). Indonesia always supports peace, security, stability, and prosperity of the world through a non-aligned foreign policy with the principle of preserving purity as a nonaligned country. Indonesia does not show partiality to any block and takes the methods of dialogue in dealing with international problems, and actively participates in maintaining world peace, in resolving international tensions (Midhio and Priyono, 2019)

According to President Jokowi, the development of the marine sector is Indonesia's focus in the 21st century and emphasizes the 5 main pillars of the Global Maritime Nexus (GMN). The introduction mentioned the Global Maritime Nexus (GMN). would be realized if the defense of Indonesia's maritime power was adequate so that it would cause a deterrence effect on threats to national sovereignty and security (Subur, Midhio and Sulistyadi, 2022). Based on the Indonesian Maritime Policy White Paper: Towards a Global Maritime Nexus (GMN). year 2017 (Pusat P2K-OI Kemlu dan CSIS, 2017), The five pillars of the Global Maritime Nexus (GMN) vision. then developed into seven pillars in the 2017 Indonesian Marine Policy which include: 1) management of marine resources and human resources, 2) defense, security, law enforcement and marine safety, 3) marine governance and institutions, 4) economy, infrastructure and increasing welfare, 5) management of marine space and protection of the marine environment, 6) maritime culture, and 7) maritime diplomacy (Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs RI, 2017).

At the bilateral level, the Defense Cooperation Agreement was signed in 2001 between the two countries during Prime Minister Vajpayee's visit to Indonesia (Das, 2013,). This agreement binds the two countries to exchange information, exercises, reciprocal visits, education, and training. It also seeks to enhance cooperation in the areas of defense technology, human resource capacity and operational capabilities. While this agreement took 6 years to be ratified by the Indonesian Parliament (Das, 2013,), one of the operational outcomes that was institutionalized relatively quickly was the establishment of the India-Indonesia Coordinated Patrol (CORPAT) at sea. which began in 2002 (Brewster, 2012).

Maritime defense and security cooperation between Indonesia and India has existed for a long time and has resulted in several agreements that have been established, including Cooperative Activities in the Field of Defense in 2001, Coordinated Patrol in 2002, New Strategic Partnership in 2005, and in 2015 it was agreed that defense cooperation and the defense industry (Kurniawan, 2017). In particular, maritime cooperation between Indonesia and India has been established since early 2000, where Indonesia and India formed a new strategic partnership on maritime affairs and fisheries.

In 2014, Indonesia and India entered into an agreement to increase cooperation and joint maritime patrols, the two naval leaders of each country attended the event. In 2015 maritime cooperation between Indonesia and India experienced a significant increase compared to previous years where there was an increase from the amount of cooperation to six maritime collaborations, namely joint maritime exercises, bilateral joint exercises, joint patrols, visits by Indian ships to Indonesia, visits Indonesian ships to India and maritime defense and security agreements.

Based on the background explanation above, we can see how the relationship between Indonesia and India in the field of maritime defense and security has been going on for quite a long time and we can see that the cooperation between Indonesia and India is always increasing. Historically, Indonesia and India have close cultural ties that have the potential to establish mutually beneficial cooperation. Basically, Indonesia and India have a lot in common. These two countries have similarities in terms of cultural, religious, ethnic, and regional language diversity. In addition, the population of these two countries also has a very large number. Indonesia and India are two economic powers in Asia.

This paper aims to examine the implications of Indonesia-India maritime cooperation for India's maritime security from a cultural dimension, bearing in mind that many studies have examined Maritime Policy from an international policy standpoint, based on a review of Geopolitics, and Public Policy. Nainggolan's research (2015) examines Joko Widodo's Global Maritime Nexus Policy and its International Implications. The research results reveal inconsistent responses from other countries in their investment policies towards infrastructure development, as well as the emergence of a critical and even assertive attitude towards law enforcement in Indonesia's seas. Research by Yanyan and Montratama (2015) examines Indonesia as a Global Maritime Nexus: A Geopolitical Review. The study findings show that the Global Maritime Nexus as Indonesia's geopolitics takes advantage of geopolitical dynamics that occur in the region for Indonesia's national interests. Darmawan et al.'s research (2020) examines Maritime Policy Governance in Indonesia from a Sound Governance Perspective. The results of the study show that maritime axis is the main economic resource for increasing welfare. Research by Hanggarini et al., (2022) which examines Maritime Culture and Maritime Diplomacy for the National Interest Based on the perspective of International Relations theory. The results of the study reveal that the pillars of maritime culture and maritime diplomacy are both reflections of national interests that can support the vision of the Global Maritime Nexus. In addition, the attachment of maritime culture to Indonesian society can have positive implications for the inputs, processes, outputs, and outcomes of maritime diplomacy.

This study recognizes that cultural factors, such as shared values, beliefs, and norms, play an important role in facilitating cooperation between countries. The cultural approach is believed to be one of the capitals for creating interregional cooperation. The cultural interactions and exchanges that occur produce cultural wealth that has the potential to be developed as capital for creating regional civilizational dialogue. This diversity can become the foundation of harmony through acculturation and assimilation. Based on this, this paper aims to analyze the cultural dimensions of Indonesia-India maritime cooperation and its impact on Indonesia's maritime security.

2. Method

Based on the objectives to be achieved in the research, namely, to be able to describe, explain or describe the research results as a whole and in depth, the type of research used is qualitative research. Data collection techniques in this study include observation/observation, documentation, and literature study. Data analysis techniques in research use techniques developed by McNabb (2002), namely Grouping the data according to key constructs, identifying bases for interpretation, developing generalizations from the data, Testing Alternative interpretations and forming and/or refining generalizable theory from case study.

3. Results

3.1 History of Relations between Indonesia and India

Historically, relations between India and Indonesia have existed for 2000 years. G. Coedes who was an Indian visited Indonesia in the first or second century AD. As a result of the prohibition of gold exports by the Romans, the Indians came to Southeast Asia with shipping knowledge in search of gold and spices. Apart from trading, the Indian colonists who came to Indonesia also played a role in the spread of Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Indian culture at that time was introduced and began to be practiced in various fields such as political organization, architecture, religious rituals and also language.

The relationship between Indonesia and India can be seen in India's efforts to include its support and recognition for Indonesian independence. In 1947 Jawaharlal Nehru requested special attention from the United Nations or the United Nations so that the Dutch would stop their military aggression against Indonesia. The UN then sent its representatives and was able to stop the Dutch aggression. As sovereign countries, India and Indonesia then officially established diplomatic relations on March 3, 1951 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of India, 1967).

The similarities between the two countries, such as ethnic diversity as a strength of social and cultural values, are based on historical experience and have jointly pioneered the new rise of Asian-African countries with the establishment of the Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955. Apart from that, the two countries have the same concern in fighting for the interests of developing countries in international forums of the Non-Aligned Movement, G-77, G-15, and South cooperation (Arifin, 2008)

India's assistance was also shown in its efforts to resolve the United Nations on the return of Irian Jaya in 1961 to Indonesia. At that time, India proposed that Indonesia and the Netherlands hold negotiations and settle the issue of Irian Jaya peacefully. This consistent support has resulted in a common attitude between the two countries in the context of peace and prosperity. The relationship then continued in economic cooperation in trade, loans and joint ventures. In 1966, Adam Malik visited India and entered into an agreement for an Indonesian-Indian trade delegation agreement (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of India, 1967)

The following year, in May 1975 to be exact, Indonesia was honored by President Fakhruddin Ali's visit. During his visit, President Ali stated that the interaction between Indonesia and India has a very broad scope which will bring positive results for both countries. The trade established between India and ASEAN makes India the seventh largest trading partner for ASEAN. In order to maintain bilateral relations between the two, each country has Embassies in Jakarta and New Delhi. India also considers Indonesia as a key country in ASEAN so that the two countries form a strategic partnership or strategic partnership to strengthen bilateral relations between the two countries. The Strategic Partnership between India and Indonesia was signed when President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono visited India in 2005. The signing of the agreement was implemented to enhance bilateral cooperation and strengthen Indonesia-India relations.

For India, Indonesia is a large and important country in the Southeast Asian region to be the main counterbalance to China's power in the economic and political spheres. Indonesia's geographical location between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean is also used to deal with China's maritime power in the Maluku and Pacific regions. Relations between Indonesia and the United States which tend to be stable are also used by India to build strategic strength for America and its allied countries. India also hopes to carry out multipolar cooperation with other countries. In addition, establishing good relations with Indonesia, which incidentally is the country with the largest Muslim population, will connect India with other Islamic countries in the world. India considers that Indonesia still adheres to Islam which is more open and influenced by Sufi and Hindu rituals in India. This is also expected to be able to bridge India with the association of Islamic countries.

3.2 Indonesia-India Maritime Cooperation Based on a Cultural Perspective

Daniels et al., (2013) present a definition of culture as "learned norms based on the values, attitudes, and beliefs of a group of people." Later, according to Ball et al., (2012), culture has been defined as "the sum total of beliefs, rules, techniques, institutions and artifacts that characterize a human population." In other words, culture consists of "individual worldviews, social rules, and interpersonal dynamics that characterize a group of people organized in a particular place and time. Culture' or more precisely 'culture' influences state behavior in international security issues (Katzenstein, 1996)

There are three basic assumptions about the importance of culture in international relations. First, interactions between people, including between countries, are more determined by ideas rather than material factors. This notion is important because it determines the meaning of material reality. Second, the idea is intersubjective, namely it becomes a kind of 'shared understanding' between actors. Although it focuses on the dimension of

ideas, constructivism is not a psychological view that sees individuals as independent entities. In contrast to psychology, which is very subjective, constructivists emphasize inter-subjectivity where meaning is formed from the results of social interaction and not mere individual perception. For example, marriage requires a shared meaning between 'husband' and 'wife' because if that does not happen then there is no such thing as 'marriage'. Third, intersubjectivity shapes the interests and actions of actors. In contrast to realists and liberals who view interests as exogenous - as drivers of action - for constructivists interests are derivations of ideas. Without ideas there is no concept of interest, without interests there is no meaningful action (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001). In the world of diplomacy, culture is also a source of national strength. Joseph Nye said that culture is a source of soft power where its role is no less important than hard power. Culture here is not meant merely as popular culture (pop-culture) as most people often associate it with (Rosyidin, 2015)

The long history of cooperative relations between India and Indonesia has been going on for a long time since the days of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms. Marked by socio-cultural, political-economic, and scientific exchanges, it can be seen that the two countries already have a strong foundation and many similarities to improve bilateral relations. Culturally, of course, this provides opportunities for cooperation that is mutually beneficial. In addition, the two countries are also known for their large population numbers, with a very large population it is certainly not impossible for Indonesia and India to become economically strong countries in the Asian region. In addition, it also has a large youth population which could be useful for achieving demographic gains in the future.

Indonesia and India share a rich cultural heritage, with historical and archaeological evidence pointing to a long-standing relationship between the two countries. The two countries have been linked through centuries of trade, religion, and cultural exchanges. The maritime traditions of the two countries are also closely intertwined, with both countries having a strong seafaring culture. The two countries have collaborated in preserving and promoting traditional seafaring know-how, such as navigation techniques and shipbuilding. Cooperation in traditional maritime knowledge has led to the development of joint research programs and training courses, enhancing the skills of the maritime community in both countries.

With a rich cultural history, India and Indonesia enjoy a similar set of traditions and lifestyles. Indonesia has certain karmic rules that are like India such as: respect based on hierarchical relationships that are continuously maintained, younger people must show respect to older people by bowing with folded arms, recognition of social status, shoes and hats must be removed when entering someone else's house, etc. Lombard (2008) explains that there are three indicators for appreciating how the cultural contact between India and Indonesia has permeated the lives of Indonesian people. The first clue is the legend of Raja Aji Saka, which tells how a son of a king of Brahmin descent came from India and settled in Medang Kamulan. The second clue is the 16th century Javanese text, *Tantu Panggelaran*. The manuscript, according to Denys Lombard, is a guidebook for Hindu hermitages on the island of Java. The third clue is that many place names on the island of Java are derived from Sanskrit, proving there was a desire to recreate India's geography.

Supriyanto (2013) suggests that Indonesia-India cooperation can form mandala coherence. Indonesia-India cooperation has evolved from where previously there were dynamics of disagreement turning into a complementary relationship due to the common fear of China's strengthening (Brewster, 2011). Indonesia and India both hope to realize multipolar conditions in their respective regions and also to be recognized internationally as regional power countries. Furthermore, Brewster (2011) argues that India's efforts to strengthen relations with Indonesia are to expand its influence in Southeast Asia. Geographically, Indonesia is in a golden position, namely at the entrance to the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. Indonesia's geographical position is of great interest to India, which is also expanding its role in the Asia-Pacific

Even though Indonesia has common interests with India, India does not make Indonesia a threat, but a strategic partner to strengthen defense cooperation with the aim of mutually achieving the national interests of each country. This is evidenced by the existence of an agreement in the form of Shared Vision on Maritime as a form of shared vision between India's Act East Policy policy and Indonesia's Maritime Axis. India and Indonesia recognize that both countries are strategically located as maritime powers, with India occupying a central

position in the Indo-Pacific and Indonesia as the fulcrum connecting the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The two leaders are committed to upholding international law, global common freedoms which are essential to the maintenance of regional peace, stability, and prosperity.

Like India, Indonesia is a pluralist democracy with the fourth largest population in the world with a population of 250 million people who upholds unity amidst diversity with the motto *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*. This is of course in line with India's condition, which both strive for stability and peace amidst differences in language, culture and religion. Both India and Indonesia, the two countries share the same vision of ensuring maritime security and the safety of sea lines of communication. The two countries emphasized the importance of freedom of navigation and overflight on the high seas, trade without barriers, and resolving maritime disputes in a peaceful manner in accordance with universally recognized principles of international law.

Jha (2008) writes that this security cooperation is very important for both countries when security becomes important, when India needs to guard its interests in Southeast Asia and when Indonesia needs a cooperation partner who is 'tame' for its security. The cooperation includes maritime security, energy security, and counter-terrorism cooperation. According to Jha (2008), India and Indonesia both have complementary interests in security matters. Aceh is one of the regions of Indonesia which has sea borders with India. The location of Aceh is only 162 kilometers from the closest point of the Bay of Bengal. Maritime cooperation between India and Indonesia will focus on security around the Aceh region and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Berthold D. H. Sinaulan put forward the idea to carry out development in the framework of utilizing maritime cultural heritage. According to him, Indonesia could promote maritime shipping lanes known as the "spice route" as carried out by China in promoting the "silk route" or by India with the "Meusam route". He suggested that archaeologists could make efforts in that direction. Such an effort is important because it can have an impact on increasing the sense of pride as an Indonesian nation and can bring in foreign exchange (Rahardjo, 2018).

Maritime cooperation between Indonesia and India was implemented by increasing maritime cooperation between Indonesia and India from 2011 to 2015. In 2011 Indonesia and India agreed to continue maritime and fisheries cooperation which was approved in 2005. In the same year Indonesia and India agreed to develop a vision strategic mission in the next 15 years. Two years later or in 2013, the two countries agreed to set five important points that must be achieved to strengthen cooperation between the two. The two sides agreed to increase cooperation and joint maritime patrols to a higher level than before in 2014. In that year the two naval leaders of each country attended and became actors who opened and closed ceremonial events. Then in 2015 the coordinated patrol cooperation (CORPAT) was increased by creating a different CORPAT than in previous years, namely the form of CORPAT which was followed by the Inaugural India-Indonesia Bilateral Maritime Exercise. (Indian Navy, 2015).

Indonesia-India maritime cooperation experienced the most significant increase in 2015 when compared to previous years. The increase can be seen from the number of collaborations that have been established this year. Indonesia and India in 2015 carried out six maritime collaborations that were established in various forms of cooperation, namely multilateral joint maritime exercises, bilateral joint military exercises, joint patrols, visits by Indian ships to Indonesia, visits by Indonesian ships to India, and maritime defense and security agreements. The number of these collaborations has greatly increased compared to 2013 which only amounted to three collaborations and in 2014 there were also three collaborations. In addition to the number of maritime cooperation, the increase can also be seen from the joint patrol cooperation or the 26th CORPAT in 2015 which expanded not only to include patrol activities but also joint military training of the two countries (Indian Navy, 2015).

Based on the perspective of national defense, maritime culture is the basis for the formation of elements of maritime defense in Indonesia. A strong maritime defense is determined by a strong maritime culture (Wiranto, 2020). While culture in a sociological perspective, can be understood as a habit that lasts for several years that is inherent in a social structure of society. Culture can be born because of a continuous pattern of relationships

between humans and humans, humans and society and humans and their environment (Octavian and Yulianto, 2014).

Indonesian Maritime Culture is embodied in the five pillars of the Global Maritime Nexus vision and then developed into seven pillars in the 2017 Indonesian Maritime Policy which include: 1) management of marine resources and human resources, 2) defense, security, law enforcement and maritime safety, 3) governance marine management and institutions, 4) economy, infrastructure and welfare improvement, 5) management of sea space and protection of the marine environment, 6) maritime culture, and 7) maritime diplomacy (Ministry of Maritime Affairs RI, 2017). Through the vision of the Global Maritime Nexus, President Jokowi's government is determined to rebuild Indonesia's maritime glory which stems from the historical traces of the archipelago (the era of the Sriwijaya and Majapahit Kingdoms) and the momentum for the birth of the Juanda Declaration in the post-independence era. (Yanuarti, Wibisono dan Midhio, 2020).

Based on the uniqueness of its geographical identity, Indonesia is a maritime and archipelagic country located in a strategic location between two oceans and two continents (Kristiyanto et al., 2021). Maritime culture also allows people to have an attitude of tenacity, hard work, entrepreneurship, mutual cooperation, respect for differences, and love for the environment. The maritime cultural knot makes the sea a space with many functions, namely a living space, a fighting space, a place to study, work, work, exercise and be creative and a space to educate the public. Because the sea has a broad function space and determines maritime culture, in the Indonesian Marine Policy, the Government establishes a maritime cultural policy strategy program, namely: increasing education and public awareness about maritime affairs, identifying and inventorying marine cultural values and social systems in the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia Indonesia, evoke an understanding of maritime insights and culture, harmonize and develop elements of local wisdom into a sustainable management and utilization system of marine resources, and maintain, develop and enhance the role of historic port cities (Ministry of Maritime Affairs RI, 2017).

The country of India has a maritime culture that is embodied in the Act East Policy, which intensifies the vision to take an important role in the Southeast Asian region, especially Indonesia as the central region of Southeast Asia and a strategic point in achieving its goals in the economic, political, defense and security fields. India is seeking to position itself to engage more actively with countries to its east. It is also influenced by China's assertiveness and strong position on the South China Sea issue, and its naval and diplomatic expansion into the Indian Ocean has become a matter of strategic concern to countries in the region as well as India. (Rajeev,2018). China also issued regulations unilaterally, such as fishing regulations, safeguarding the maritime environment, building two new Chinese district areas on Paracel Island and Spratly Island, mandatory reporting of warships, submarines, chemical carriers, spy ships. , Gas and oil carriers and ships suspected by China's maritime apparatus, besides that China has also seized and claimed sea features that are below sea level from claimant countries in the South China Sea (Achyar, Midhio dan Khaerudin, 2021).

India and Indonesia are geographically close together and have the same vision to maintain regional stability as countries that share the waters of the Indian Ocean. The embodiment of the implementation of India's Act East Policy in maritime security cooperation that existed between India and Indonesia from 2015 to 2018 included: 1) Navy to Navy Cooperation through Coordinated Patrol as part of maritime power cooperation, 2) Shared Vision of India-Indonesia Maritime Cooperation Agreement, 3) Maritime Infrastructure at Sabang Port.

Based on the conditions of the maritime culture of Indonesia and India, there are several reasons that can be the background for the existence of a cooperative relationship between the two countries, especially in the maritime field.

1. Indonesia and India have a strategic position and are neighbors in the Indian Ocean region. The distance between the waters of India and Indonesia is only 80 nautical miles between Indonesia's westernmost province in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam and India's southernmost province on Great Nicobar Island. This closeness makes India and Indonesia strategic partners in ensuring security in the maritime area between the two countries so that it is necessary to strengthen cooperation to be able to guarantee the economic growth

- of each country and face various problems and challenges in the field of defense and security. (Ministry of External Affairs Government of India, 2018)
2. The shared cultural heritage of Indonesia and India has also facilitated cooperation in the maritime sector. For example, the two nations have collaborated in preserving and promoting traditional seafaring knowledge, such as navigation techniques and boat building. The cooperation in traditional seafaring knowledge has led to the development of joint research programs and training courses, enhancing the skills of maritime communities in both nations.
 3. As a country that has a positive relationship with India, India views Indonesia as a strategic partner country that can play an important role in the Look East policy. India and Indonesia share geographical proximity by sharing maritime boundaries and have the goal of establishing progress, prosperity, stability, and territorial integrity. India and Indonesia have a convergence of views about the perceived threat from China's aggressiveness in the South China Sea, in the agreement it can be seen that the two countries unite the vision to uphold freedom, peace and comply with the principles of international law that apply through UNCLOS.
 4. Geographically, India and Indonesia are both maritime countries. India is on the strategic route of the Indian Ocean and is a country that occupies a dominant position in the region. On the west, India shares maritime boundaries with Pakistan, the south with Sri Lanka, and the east with Bangladesh, Myanmar, Thailand, and Indonesia. India's maritime geography is also important as a shipping transit route connecting Asia Pacific and the west coast of the United States (Sakhuja, 2003)
 5. India and Indonesia have an advantage in the geographical location of the maritime area. However, Indonesia's position as India's maritime neighbor and its center of gravity advantage makes Indonesia relied on as a strategic partner in providing a platform for India to expand its maritime reach, especially in the Southeast Asia region, the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea as part of entities that appear in the Indo Pacific. (Marjani, 2018)
 6. India and Indonesia have determined a position to give firmness to China to maintain peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region. So that through India's Act East Policy, which is in line with Indonesia's Global Maritime Nexus policy, the two countries increase maritime security cooperation and align approaches with regional forums such as the ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting (ADMM-Plus) which discusses joint security.
 7. India and Indonesia share common perceptions of threats in the maritime domain (Government of India: Ministry of External Affairs, 2013). While Indonesia does not explicitly list its perceived threats from state actors, unresolved maritime disputes in the South China Sea, together with China's overt assertions of its claims therein, would figure high on the list of concerns for Indonesia (Gindarsah & Priamarizki, 2015).

3.3 Implications of Indonesia-India Maritime Cooperation Based on a Cultural Perspective

Implications of Indonesia-India Maritime Cooperation on Indonesia's Maritime Security: Indonesia's vast archipelago and extensive maritime borders make it vulnerable to various maritime security threats, such as piracy, illegal fishing, and maritime terrorism. Indonesia-India maritime cooperation has the potential to address these challenges by enhancing maritime security cooperation and promoting a rules-based maritime order.

With the similarity of Indonesian and Indian maritime cultures, maritime culture can certainly be applied to every element contained in Indonesia's foreign policy. As two countries that are adjacent maritimately, it can be said that too much of the security cooperation between India and Indonesia has been neglected. Maritime security cooperation with Indonesia has opened up the strengthening of bilateral maritime security relations between the two countries.

The existence of Indonesia's policy as a Global Maritime Nexus is also an important opportunity for India to increase bilateral interaction through more comprehensive cooperation, assessing that this policy is in line with the Act East Policy in upholding security stability in the region. India then made Indonesia a strategic partner to strengthen maritime security cooperation with the aim of mutually achieving the national interests of each country.

Both India and Indonesia, the two countries share the same vision of ensuring maritime security and the safety of sea lines of communication. The two countries emphasized the importance of freedom of navigation and overflight on the high seas, trade without barriers, and resolving maritime disputes in a peaceful manner in accordance with universally recognized principles of international law.

To become a maritime country, Indonesia does not only need domestic support and action but also from interactions with other countries that have the same interest in maritime progress both bilaterally and multilaterally. One of them is by establishing bilateral cooperation with India, especially in the maritime sector. The existence of cultural similarities between the two countries in developing their maritime potential is the basis for cooperation in the maritime field. Even though the cooperative relationship between Indonesia and India has been established since the century before Christ until now, the cooperation relationship that continues to increase every year is evidence of the interests of the two countries in advancing the conditions of their respective countries.

It can be concluded that this cooperation includes all components in the Global Maritime Nexus (GMN) vision, so that it can be concluded that Indonesia-India maritime cooperation strongly supports Indonesia's vision to become a Global Maritime Nexus (GMN) country. although not all the cooperation can be realized. However, this cooperation has not fully made Indonesia a Global Maritime Nexus (GMN) country. because there are still many efforts that Indonesia must do in improving Indonesia's maritime regulations. Indonesia also needs time and the long term to reach the Global Maritime Nexus (GMN), moreover, there is still much cooperation between Indonesia and India that has not been completed and will continue to run in accordance with the interests of both countries in the maritime sector.

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Corporate Crimes in the Perspective of Self-Control and Criminaloid Approaches (Study of 5 Fraud Cases)

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Abstract

This paper examines financial crime through the lens of self-control and a criminaloid approach. Some of the data gathered is an attempt to describe the general state of financial crimes in relation to the contribution of aspects of self-control using a criminaloid approach. The author attempts to capture this general picture through case illustrations that can reflect financial crimes, especially tax fraud, based on the criminaloid aspect's contribution. The data sources used are classified into two types: primary data and secondary data. Researchers employ data collection techniques in ways that do not provide equal or diverse opportunities. The BPS criminal statistics from 2014 to 2018 were used as a secondary data source in this study. Data collection methods based on in-depth interviews (in-depth interviews). This is done as an illustration to bridge the gap between the explanation of the role of self-control and criminaloid aspects in financial crime. Physical and psychosocial characteristics, hesitation in acting, ease of giving confessions, moral sensitivity and intelligence, as well as social and cultural status in terms of social control, all contribute to perpetrators' willingness to commit crime. Neutralization factors also assist perpetrators in legitimizing criminal behavior as reasonable or legal.

Keywords: Criminaloid, Fraud, Financial Crime, Neutralization, Social Control

1. Introduction

White-collar crimes with criminaloid elements are committed as moral and ethical violations, breaches of trust, and violations of the profession. There is an inconsistency of actions with the cultural ethical principles of certain group subcultures in the context of white-collar crimes that intersect with moral and ethical violations. Meanwhile, the relationship to breach of trust takes the form of job legitimacy abuse. Meanwhile, professional violations are committed by taking advantage of opportunities provided by job legitimacy.

White-collar crimes are classified as fraud, embezzlement, and corruption in this context, according to the classification made in the recording of criminal statistics. As a result, the criterion for the criminaloid aspect is embedded in the comprehension of fraud. This is defined in Article 327 of the Criminal Code as an act of taking the property of another person in part or in whole, where the perpetrator already has control over the item, but the control occurs legally. For instance, mastery of goods as a result of a task or position. The goal is to gain control of goods or money that essentially belong to other people. Fraud, according to Lamintang and Samosir (1983), can

also be defined as an abuse of rights or an abuse of trust. The concept of fraud is comprised of two (two) components: the perpetrator and the object. Fraud based on the actor's element includes the intent to steal goods that do not belong to him. Meanwhile, fraud based on object elements is defined as claiming to be one's own, in the form of goods, wholly or partly belonging to another person, under the perpetrator's authority, against the law, and on purpose (Tongat, 2011). According to this interpretation, there are several types of fraud, such as ordinary fraud in the principal form (Article 372), light fraud (Article 373), aggravated fraud (Articles 374 and 375), fraud within the family circle (Article 376), and fraud (Article 377). In addition to the types of fraud above, there are still other crimes regarding fraud, namely Articles 415 and 417 where the crime in these articles is a crime of office, which is now withdrawn into Law No. 31 of 1999 and Law No. 20 of 2001 concerning Corruption.

In Indonesia, the trend of corporate fraud shows significant fluctuations. The author collects data on corporate fraud crime cases from 2011 to 2018, with the most cases in 2017 (see Figure 1). Meanwhile, the lowest number was 17,813 cases in 2018. Meanwhile, it has remained stable in previous years, with 20,470 cases reported in 2011. The number of cases then dropped to 20,033 in 2012. The number of cases increased to 21,345 in 2013, 21,404 in 2014, and 21,646 in 2015. As of 2016, there were 20,459 cases. In 2017, there was another significant increase to 27,418 cases, but this time it was decreasing to 17,813 cases in 2018.

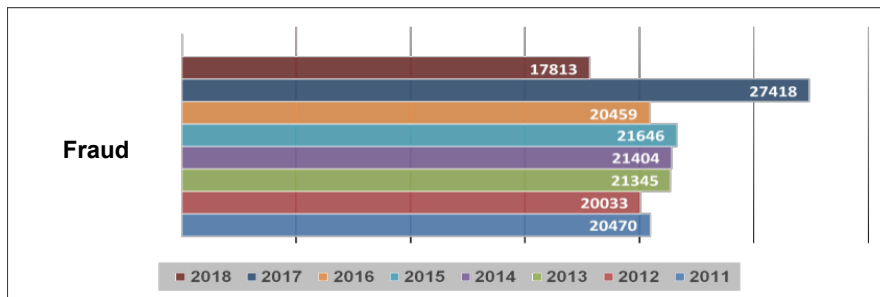


Figure 1: Illustration of the trend of corporate tax evasion cases in Indonesia in 2011 – 2018
 Source: Reprocessed from BPS Crime Statistics (2011 – 2019)

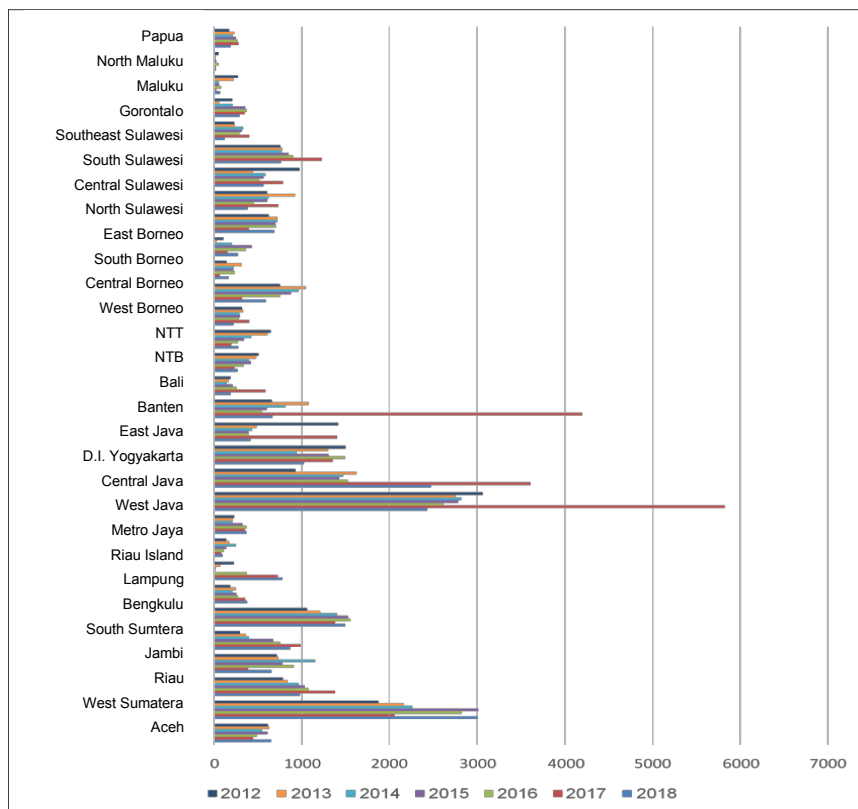


Figure 2. Illustration of trends in cases of fraud in Indonesia by jurisdiction 2012 – 2018
 Source: Reprocessed from BPS Crime Statistics (2011 – 2019)

Fraud cases have been reported throughout Indonesia's province. According to the data gathered by the researchers, the jurisdictions of Metro Jaya, North Sumatra, South Sumatra, West Java, and Central Java had the highest rates of fraud crimes (see Figure 2). The year with the most cases was 2017, with 5,823 cases in Metro Jaya, 5,197 cases in East Java, and 3,608 cases in West Java.

2. Method

In this study, data was gathered using a qualitative approach. The researcher must first determine the orientation in order to determine the number of case illustrations based on the size of the phenomenon used as the actual data source. This is accomplished by taking into account the population's characteristics and distribution in order to obtain a representative case illustration. The researcher focuses on 5 (five) examples of financial crime in the field of fraud to determine the criminaloid aspect of financial crime. The term fraud refers to the BPS Criminal Statistics classification of embezzlement, fraud, and corruption. In order to simplify the data, the researcher creates a classification of similar references.

The selection of examples of financial crime cases is based on a method with a specific goal in mind. Researchers consider case selection and grouping with this specific purpose in mind in relation to efforts to answer the first research question. The case illustration method is based on three (three) scenarios. The first scenario is when the researcher has a one-of-a-kind case that is extremely informative (Neuman, 2007). Illustrations of financial crime cases are used in this study to represent each criminaloid and organizational criminogenic aspect, or both. In the second scenario, the researcher uses case studies to identify members who are difficult to reach or members of special populations. Researchers identify sources from difficult-to-access financial crime cases where no previous research has been conducted.

The cases met the intended case's illustrative criteria, which are aligned with the first research question, namely:

- a. Financial crimes occurred between 2012 and 2018.
- b. Financial crimes based on the classification of cases with reference to the recording of criminal statistics from BPS, especially cases of tax evasion.
- c. Each case has at least one social control and criminaloid indicator.

Using a case illustration approach, the researchers selected 5 (five) fraud cases to represent the representation of each criminaloid indicator. It seeks to understand the complexities of each criminaloid indicator. Researchers use an understanding adapted from social control theory to help them understand each indicator. The criteria for 5 (five) cases to explain criminaloid indicators in fraud are listed below.

Table 1: Reference Criteria for Illustrating Fraud

Criminaloid Indicator	Criteria
Absence of certain physical and psychological traits	Mental or personality disorders such as antisocial and others (Eaton & Korach, 2016)
Doubt in action	Lack of self-control: self-centeredness, temper, risk-taking, physical activity preference over verbal communication, impulsivity, and lack of the consideration for the long-term (Eaton & Korach, 2016)
Easy to give recognition	Cultural hedonism: pursuit of performance, pay for performance and individual greed (Eaton & Korach, 2016)
Moral sensitivity & intelligence	Moral force associated with attachments; involvement; commitment; and beliefs (Hirschi, 1969)
Social and cultural status	Overconfidence and over-appreciation for self-authority: traditionally acquired and charismatically acquired (Eaton & Korach, 2016)

Source: processed again by researchers

Furthermore, after collecting and managing data from informant interviews. The researcher will conduct a criminaloid analysis, with the framework of thought aligned with the chapter 2 line of thought. As a result, the researcher will later analyze the five determinants of criminaloid in each fraud cases. Finally, the dimensions of actor behavior popularized by Clinard-Quinney (1973) will be formed:

1. Violating legal and ethical aspects;
2. Offender's criminal career;
3. Group support for criminal behavior;
4. The relationship between bad behavior and lawful behavior; and
5. Social reaction and legal process.

3. Results

Case studies are used to demonstrate the relevance of criminaloid aspects to social reality. This also underpins the researcher's assumption that financial crime, particularly fraud is a real part of life in Indonesia. The researchers focused on 5 (five) case illustrations as representations of financial crimes, particularly fraud, in Indonesia based on the collection and grouping of the intended case illustrations with the criteria that had been developed. Fraud case illustrations are the result of collecting and grouping case illustrations based on criteria for primary and secondary data sources. In this study, drawing illustrations of fraud cases yields illustrations with the following general information:

Table 2: General Description of the 5 Fraud Case Studies

Case identity	Position	Loss of funds	Relations with other actors	Timeline
ARM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ PT PPA Tax Consultant ▪ PT TLM employees 	Rp 21.281.729.622,-	Cooperate	2010-2014
FS	Director in 43 undername companies	Rp 270.592.552.920,-	Cooperate	2020-2015
HB	Director of PT GKS	Rp 24.450.636.226,-	Cooperate	2009-2013
SSK	Director of PT IMS	Rp 2.743.344.105,-	Alone	2009-2013
JAT	Director of PT AOP	Rp 16.112.728.758,-	Cooperate	2010-2014

Source: reprocessed by researchers from informant interviews (2021)

3.1. Case Illustration of ARM

ARM is a defendant in a joint tax crime, as defined in Article 39 A letter a, Article 43 paragraph 1 of Law No. 16 of 2009, and Article 64 paragraph 1 of the Criminal Code. Between 2010 and 2014, ARM committed several fraud. ARM worked with 3 (three) other people to commit its crimes. With the status of a freelancer, ARM works as a tax consultant at PT PPA. ARM is also listed as a member of the accounting and tax department at PT TLM. Surprisingly, ARM does not have a license to provide consulting services. However, one of ARM's responsibilities in carrying out its work is to prepare fiscal financial reports, report Annual SPTs, and Periodic SPTs to the Tax Service Office..

Due to several bad bills from various clients, PT PPA experienced cash flow difficulties in 2010. As a result, SMY summoned RD, PT PPA's accounting and finance supervisor, to provide guidance on the VAT issue, which was later fully delegated to ARM. Because ARM agreed to lower the VAT burden. By paying ARM a fee of 30% of the VAT amount on the tax invoice. Then, at ARM's request, SMY ordered input tax invoices to YT that were not based on actual transactions in order to reduce the amount of VAT that had to be paid. YT is paid a 2% fee in the form of a current account or a check. Then ARM received an input tax invoice from RD. RD will later use and credit the input tax invoice on behalf of PT PPA in the Periodic VAT SPT.

When receiving an input tax invoice recap document from ARM, RD performs calculations and sends a tax invoice recap to SMY. Then, RD made a funding request and submitted it to SMY. Once approved, the fee is paid by transferring funds from a PT PPA account to an ARM account. Then, RS creates a general journal voucher document and proof of cash disbursement in the General Ledger, along with an estimate of Third Party Debt. Thus, based on data from the Directorate of Tax Technology and Information regarding Periodic VAT SPTs, there was a recapitulation of tax invoices that did not match the actual transactions carried out by PT PPA during the 2010-2014 period. The transaction involved 43 companies and 746 tax invoices totaling IDR 12,360,482,891. Based on this action, the state suffers a revenue loss of at least Rp. 10,640,864,881.-. In the end, ARM was sentenced to 2 years and 10 months in prison for illegally issuing a joint and continuous tax invoice that was not based on actual transactions.

3.2. Case Illustration of FS

FS was legally proven to have participated in committing a crime in Article 39A letter a in conjunction with Article 43 paragraph 1 of Law No. 6 of 1983 as amended several times, most recently by Law No. 16 of 2009 concerning General Provisions and Tax Procedures in conjunction with Article 65 paragraph 1 of the Criminal Code. The timeline of events began in 2010, when FS met SY, who was introduced by WA. The introduction is based on FS, which has numerous subsidiary companies. An undername company is a legal entity used to assist owners of goods who do not have export or import permits. Apart from being the owner of several unnamed businesses, FS is also a tax consultant who can help with bookkeeping and tax reporting to the Tax Service Office. FS suggested to SY during the meeting that he establish an import company and ensured that it was safe and feasible. FS is willing to assist in arranging the establishment permit for forming a company, and FS will assist in obtaining the permit.

Furthermore, as a requirement for the establishment of PT BMS, FS requested that SY create a KTP as well as submit an AR KTP. Based on a notary deed, FS created a KTP with a photo of SY and the identity of the name Andi Wijaya. Thus, AR is the commissioner and AW is the director of PT BMS. SY and FS shared tasks after PT BMS was established. SY handles the problem of importing goods and releasing goods from Customs Excise, whereas FS handles bookkeeping, financial report preparation, and tax obligations. PT BMS operates by importing goods at the request of customers who wish to import goods into Indonesia. Following the agreement of the service fee, the customer will provide SY with import documents in the form of a packing list, invoice, and bill of lading for the requirements for handling the release of goods from Customs until the goods leave the port and are received by the owner of the goods. SY then gives FS all the import documents after PT BMS and the import companies managed by FS and SY have completed their duties. As a result, FS categorizes the types of goods that will be used to generate tax invoices without any delivery of goods or payments made by FS.

Furthermore, FS allocates the need for tax invoices based on the 103 companies' ownership of the companies. Owners of imported goods through SY do not accompany tax invoices issued by customers who require them. The documents used to create tax invoices are then managed by SY. This is done to deceive the tax officer into believing that the tax invoice was issued correctly. Furthermore, SY owned the companies that issued tax invoices, one of which was PT BMS. The process of issuing a tax invoice is divided into several stages. In the first stage, the customer requests that it be made to aid SY's import process. SY then contacted FS via WhatsApp, BBM, and email to confirm whether they could issue a tax invoice. If the fee is published, FS will inform SY of the amount. Finally, SY will inform the customer who owns the ordered goods of the amount that must be paid. As a result, the customer will send a purchase order to SY via phone, email, or fax, containing the company name, NPWP, and so on, which will be forwarded to FS. Later, FS will generate a tax invoice and provide data in the form of a draft containing all of the information that its employees will enter.

Following input and printing, the tax invoice form will be submitted to the FS for signature and stamping by imitating or copying the signature of the director of the company issuing the tax invoice, which is adjusted to the signature stated on the photocopy of the KTP. These data are contained in company documents profiles obtained by FS when he established his own import company or obtained from importers who perform bookkeeping and tax reporting managed by FS. Within 1-2 weeks, FS delivers to SY the various finished tax invoices in sealed envelopes to be handed over to the customer without opening/viewing them first, or couriered to the company.

The FS will frequently meet with tax invoice users at a predetermined location on several occasions. However, some tax invoice users are not provided with physical documents, only a summary of the numbers to be included in the Periodic VAT SPT.

Furthermore, so that the tax invoice issued by the FS can be used as an input credit, reducing the tax invoice user's expenditure credit. Periodic Income Tax Returns Article 21 and Periodic VAT Returns are prepared by FS for companies that issue tax invoices, one of which is PT BMS. Furthermore, the FS directed its employees to complete the output tax column (issued tax invoice) in the Periodic VAT SPT in accordance with the recapitulation of tax invoices issued and sold to tax invoice users, as well as tax invoice transactions issued between invoice issuing companies. tax. In the input tax column, an import tax payment letter (import VAT) will be generated from import documents belonging to the company using the tax invoice and the company issuing the tax invoice, as well as tax invoice transactions issued between companies issuing the tax invoice (layering). The FS does this to avoid overpayment of VAT in the invoice issuing company's Periodic VAT SPT.

SY benefits from the collaboration between FS and various fictitious companies by 9% of the import VAT value stated in the import document (PIB). Meanwhile, FS charges tax invoice users a fee of 18-30% of the VAT value. The fee is 15% of the VAT value for users of tax invoices who are actual owners of goods (customers). Customers who come to the FS directly pay a fee of 20% of the VAT value. Regarding the price requested by the salesperson for the sale of tax invoices to buyers, the salesperson is free to sell at any price. What matters is that FS requests a fee of 20% of the VAT value from sales of tax invoices.

FS, in addition to managing SY's import company, has several import companies and enters into agreements with other importers through which FS issues and sells tax invoices that are not based on actual transactions. Between 2010 and 2015, FS managed at least 102 import companies that were used to issue and sell tax invoices that were not based on actual transactions. As far as FS is aware, the name of the director listed in the company documents does not correspond to the name of the person who founded the company.

The 102 companies are then import service companies managed by FS that importers use to import goods via wholesale imports (door to door). FS only provides wholesale import services to parties who do not have import permits through 102 companies that have never made a sale and purchase transaction of imported or locally manufactured goods. The owners of these goods, like SY, gave FS control of their company's bookkeeping and tax reports (SPT), which were then used to issue and sell tax invoices that were not based on actual transactions. According to the FS, compensation of 8-10% of the import VAT value is carried out for each import document received from importers by creating a fee payment account for the issuance of a tax invoice.

3.3. Case Illustration of HB

HB is the Director of PT GKS who was found to have committed the crime of violating Article 39A letter an in conjunction with Article 43 paragraph 1 of Law No. 6 of 1983 as amended into Law No. 16 of 2009 concerning General Provisions and Procedures for Taxation in conjunction with Article 65 paragraph 1 of the Criminal Code. The crimes that ensnared HB were committed collaboratively by several parties, including his family members. HB established PT GKS in 2007, with HB as the sole shareholder. SMY and his wife divorced in 2009, with HB and his wife remaining at PT GKS and SMY and his wife establishing PT PPA. In this context, ARM is also a freelance tax consultant who lacks a license at PT GKS.

This particular crime began with HB's requirement that he collect 10% VAT from customers who paid it to PT GKS's account. HB is already aware that the collection is an output tax that must be reported and paid after the credited input tax has been deducted. Then, HB informed one of the employees at PT GKS that the company was having cash flow issues as a result of several bad bills and a large tax debt. This has an impact on the ability to pay taxes, particularly VAT. HB informed the employee that ARM, as a tax consultant, could assist in settling and mitigating the tax payment. Then, HB approached ARM for assistance in arranging ways to reduce tax payments, particularly VAT. ARM is also willing to seek out and provide fictitious input tax invoices. YK provides fictitious

input tax invoice orders for a purchase price of about 25-30% of the VAT value. The ARM commission is 1-2% of the VAT amount. HB did this from 2009 to 2013.

Payment method fictitious tax invoice from PT GKS to witness ARM, namely after reporting the VAT return period to the tax office. Then, one week later, a new fictitious tax invoice is paid. However, it is sometimes done in two or three months at a time, with payment made with a company check or giro signed by HB and SI. These checks and current accounts cannot be cashed without SI approval, and they are immediately given to AMR to make payments to YK with a 22-23% fee. By prior appointment, YK submitted fictitious tax invoices to ARM.

3.4. Case Illustration of SKK

SKK was charged with a crime under Article 39 paragraph 1 letter d of Law No. 6 of 1983, as amended several times, most recently by Law No. 16 of 2009 concerning General Provisions and Tax Procedures, in conjunction with Criminal Code Article 65 paragraph 1. The timeline of SKK's involvement in this particular crime is linked to its position and role as PT IMP's management and commissioner. SKK committed tax evasion or failed to report taxes between 2009 and 2012. SKK, as Director of PT IMP, failed to file a VAT Periodic Tax Return (SPT) for the fiscal year December 2009 to November 2012. Using the PK-PM Tax Invoice Data Comparison Application and the data and information contained in the SIDJP (Directorate General of Taxes Information System), obtained data on all output tax invoices issued by PT Inter Mas Pacific that should have been submitted by PT IMP from July 2009 to December 2013. In fact, there are transactions and business activities carried out by PT IMP related to business activities by issuing tax invoices that should be submitted in their entirety in the Periodic VAT SPT based on the data contained in the decision.

3.5. Case Illustration of JAT

JAT was involved in the crime of article 39A in conjunction with article 43 paragraph (1) of Law No. 6 of 1983 concerning General Provisions and Tax Procedures, as last amended by Law No. 28 of 2007. JAT collaborates with a number of other actors from various companies. JAT engages in buying and selling as well as issuing fictitious invoices. JAT sold merchandise in the form of RE orders from PT HR from January 2010 to July 2014. JAT collaborates with IGAAH and RB in addition to ET. However, at the request of RE, JAT consciously reported the VAT period SPT that was not based on the actual transaction. IGAAH represented the request on a request to purchase household goods.

JAT is collaborating with BU as the Director of PT MWM in the form of promotional needs or gimmicks for the promotion of Moringa brand milk, which was purchased imported using PT AOP's cargo services, in addition to these three actors. Starting with the goods bid documents, purchase orders, tax invoices, and bank statements, all documents are in the name of PT AOP. In fact, it was agreed that the checking account document would only be used to receive payments from PT SP, while the travel documents would be given blank PT AOP travel documents, which would then be filled out by PT MWM as needed. As a result, all documents, beginning with the goods offer documents, purchase orders, tax invoices, and checking accounts, are classified as fictitious, making it appear as if a real transaction occurred between PT AOP and PT SP.

In addition to issuing tax invoices to PT HR and PT SP that are not based on actual transactions, JAT also issues tax invoices to PT MWM that are not based on actual transactions. JAT also acts as a broker or intermediary for tax invoices that are not the result of actual transactions with PT MWM. This request for a tax invoice that was not based on an actual transaction was made because BU had asked JAT at the time to find a tax invoice that could be used to reduce taxes owed to the state by PT MWM. As a result, JAT receives 36% of the VAT value in the tax invoice.

JAT uses a series of activity flows to reduce and issue tax invoices that are not based on actual transactions. The amount of underpaid tax will be determined after accounting department employees record data on the sale of goods and output VAT that has occurred. Furthermore, once the amount of tax that must be paid to the state is determined, the accounting department, namely DS, reports the amount of VAT that must be paid to JAT.

Following that, JAT directed DS to locate a company that could provide a tax invoice as input tax. This input tax is used to reduce the output tax that has been issued, so that the VAT that must be paid to the country is reduced based on the JAT's financial situation.

4. Discussion

In this study, the theoretical dimension of criminal behavior intersects with the illustration of fraud. Green (2001) attempted to redefine white-collar crime as professional crime (occupational crime). Crimes committed as a result of legitimate employment help to distinguish them from traditional crime. Robin (1974) was among the first to propose renaming white-collar crime occupational crime. As a result, professional involvement can be used to identify opportunities for criminal perpetrators (Green, 2001: 406). Professional crime, in contrast to the concept of occupational deviance¹ popularized by Pino (2001), can be committed by individuals through moral and ethical violations, breaches of trust, and violations related to the work undertaken. Financial crime, particularly tax evasion, reflects the group's lack of control over individuals (van Onna, van Geest, & Denkers, 2018).

Low control over the perpetrators' self-control is an indicator that fraud is being committed. Self-control is more dominant in FS, HB, SSK, and JAT. Meanwhile, he is faced with a decision that he regards as difficult. As a result, there are elements of the environment that place pressure on self-control to be exercised. As a result, there is a determinant dynamic of fraud on self-control that is dependent on the variation of the desire for choice. Morality is one of the factors that influence a perpetrator's self-control because it contains a manipulative element strong enough to justify crime (Gelder & Elffers, 2017). Furthermore, the perpetrators' maturity level and relatively high level of education can be a motivator for fraud.

Clinard-Quinney's (1972) theoretical dimension of criminal behavior is based on three (three) aspects: the legal and ethical aspects that are violated, the perpetrator's criminal career, group support for criminal behavior, the relationship between criminal behavior and lawful behavior, and social reactions and legal process.

1. Violating legal and ethical aspects

The definition of crime is created by agents who are political and have authority in society. Financial crimes that are illustrated through fraud activities, both in the tax context and those related to the profession, are a form of accommodation activity to regulate people's behavior. This is done in order to close the threat gap from the company's leaders.

2. Criminal career of the offender

The perpetrator's behavior is the result of normal formation and activity as part of the development of individual crime. This includes the actor's social role in work activities and various criminaloid aspects.

3. The relationship between bad behavior and lawful behavior

The wedge between the main task of work and behavior that can be categorized as a crime is on a biased spectrum. This includes violations of morals and ethics, violations of trust, and violations related to work.

The term "violations that occur during work activities and are related to work" refers to violations that occur during work activities and are related to work (Robin, 1974). Green (1990:13) emphasizes that the crime is committed by creating and exploiting opportunities through the legitimacy of work. Furthermore, professional crime no longer refers to the offender's honor and social status. In this study, fraud takes two forms: organizational occupational crimes or professional crimes within the corporate sphere and individual occupational crimes or professional crimes within the lower social class (Green, 2001). Based on this understanding, the authors conclude that white-collar crime is not limited to perpetrators with specific jobs/professions. The definition of white-collar crime has been broadened to include the inherent status of employment or business. The following are indications of the criminaloid aspect's contribution to fraud with certain social statuses:

1. Making or causing false records in books or in reports, as well as in documents or business activity reports,

- transaction reports or bank accounts.
2. Eliminating or not including or causing non-recording in the books or in reports, as well as in documents or business activity reports, transaction reports or bank accounts.
 3. Change, hide, obscure, delete, or omit the existence of a record in the books or in reports, as well as in documents or reports on business activities, transaction reports or accounts of a bank, or intentionally change, obscure, omit, hide or damage the bookkeeping records.

This can also be interpreted as the perpetrator using the position gained through trust to commit a crime (Reiss and Biderman, 1980). The scope of trust abuse does not only refer to the perpetrator's position. The emphasis is on how the perpetrator gains legitimacy through this belief to lie, steal, falsify, fabricate, exaggerate, omit, deceive, conceal, circumvent, embezzle, abuse, decide unilaterally, and engage in corruption or other violations (Shapiro, 1990). As a result, white-collar crimes are not always committed by perpetrators of high honor and social standing.

The researcher found that the individual aspects reflected through criminaloid indicators were not necessarily attached to the interviewees. Sources in general does not have physical characteristic abnormalities and psychosocial aspects of tendencies. On the other hand, the informants have morality, self-control and status attached as attributes in carrying out fraud. Thus, the role of self-control contributes to perpetrators being involved in fraud.

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Cultural and Religious Resilience as Community Negotiations in the Era of COVID-19 to Post in Indonesia

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Abstract

This study aims to explain cultural and religious resilience as an effort by the Muslim community to carry out obligations, especially the practice of worship and efforts to negotiate customary events during the pandemic and take place afterwards. The data obtained for analysis were through the distribution of 155 questionnaires, 25 in-depth interviews of religious and community leaders, and literature studies. The study revealed that the shift in worship practices resulted from difficult or emergency situations and the choice to practice their religious obligations as righteous people. The Mobility Restrictions Policy related to the closure of places of worship, communal religious traditions, social distancing, and compliance with health protocols is a form of creative efforts to prevent the spread of the virus until after the pandemic. In the context of community cultural and religious practices, it aims to prevent and build resilience to the spread of the Covid-19 virus and post-pandemic. The study examines shifts in Muslim worship practices, and the cultural and religious traditions and identities negotiated during the post-pandemic.

Keywords: Resilience, Cultural Identity, Religion, Post Covid-19

1. Introduction

The concept of resilience is used as a framework developed to solve individual, family, and even community problems (Canale et al., 2019). This resilience is widely developed to overcome psychological problems, groups, and society in general (Zamora-Moncayo et al., 2021). Resilient groups often experience psychic symptoms and appear tensions between individuals (Djelantik et al., 2021). In the context of the individual, it takes self-awareness to build solidarity and cohesion when facing social tensions (Kövé, 2021). The practice of solidarity arises when the other party is in a marginalized position, and is suppressed by stronger parties (Udasromo & Setiadi, 2021). Social tension is a social phenomenon that can result in individual and social rifts (Drenten, 2013). Therefore, tension can be minimized through mechanical efforts of individual and group resilience.

Discussing cultures at the idiosyncratic level, groups, and organizations often found by groups at several levels often relate to strength and status or problematic social positions (C. A. Gadea, 2013). The balance of power requires the same role, both at the structural and semi-structural levels (Zemtsov, 2020). In connection with this

role, it requires the involvement, cooperation and competence of social agents (Ashmore et al., 2018). In the study of indigenous peoples, cooperation and roles are traditions that are maintained (Murhaini & Achmadi, 2021). Cooperation produced by social services in overcoming crises to obtain solutions to community resilience (Pal et al., 2021). The power of the social agent is influenced by its ideology in power relations and its social structure (Zion-waldoks, n.d.). Ideological differences give rise to conflicts between agents, due to differences in interests between parties (Campos & Lima, 2018; Koenig & Dierkes, 2011; Romashko, 2018).

Religious practice is a religious activity based on knowledge, structural relationships, and various interests. Religious practices can be observed through rituals or traditions, such as religious tourism, death rituals, birth rituals and even marriage (Chakim et al., 2021). Religious practice is determined by the construction of an individual or group over religion (Maye-Banbury, 2021). This individual's educational background, family, and experience influence on the way of thinking, behaving, and acting in a society (Muensit et al., 2019). There is an interest in social agents to accumulate social capital through the religious role embodied in religious activities in social life (Egid et al., 2021). In the context of social relations, interactive communication built at the level of interpersonal, group, and religious organizations is to be the determining factor (Bečević & Dahlstedt, 2022; Rončáková, 2020).

Cultural identity is produced through communicative social interactions within ethnicity, class, religion, and various specific Institutions. The realization that stands out is in the form of a social category (Kyprianides et al., 2021). Language is one of the instruments for understanding the cultural identity of a particular society (Kamionowski, 2017). Through Language, certain ideologies can dominate society, and even the state (Mallya & Susanti, 2021). For example, in research, language can be used to prevent verbal, virtual, and sexual violence (Hammarén, 2022). Language is the knowledge of producing power can give birth to a certain marginalization and domination of power (É. Gadea, 2021).

However, resilience in the era of Covid-19 to post-pandemic shows the tendency of people to negotiate social mobility restrictions as a form of national and local policies affecting people's attitudes and behavior. In fact, social mobility restrictions tend to be responded to by society as functional stupidity (Alvesson & Spicer, 2012). Changes in social mobility are an opportunity to make improvements, and can be detrimental to certain groups of people (Hoven et al., 2019). Religious and cultural arguments tend to be used as instruments of legitimacy mainly, both those carried out by governments and figures of socio-religious organizations (Fernández, 2013; Ferreira & Serpa, 2021). The legitimacy of the government and socio-religious organizations is necessary as long as it does not conflict with sharia (Khanafi, Imam., n.d.), so that legitimacy is a cultural process used as a conflict resolution strategy in the covid-19 handling program until the aftermath (King et al., 2021).

Mobilias sosial adalah salah satu kegiatan individu atau masyarakat dalam bentuk perpindahan dari satu posisi sosial tertentu. Posisi sosial adalah relasi kuasa yang menghasilkan relasi dominan dan kelompok marjinal (Stringfellow et al., 2015). Kelompok dominan memiliki akses sosial, politik, dan ekonomi karena modal digunakan untuk menggemparkan masyarakat (Semeen & Islam, 2021). Kekuatan kelompok dominan ini diperlukan untuk sosialisasi yang sukses, mendorong kelompok tertentu untuk mengubah pola pikir, mampu bekerja sama, dan mobilitas sosial dapat dicapai (Hoven et al., 2019; Keajaiban & Fernández-Bessa, 2021). Mobilitas sosial membutuhkan teknologi digital untuk diseminasi program pemerintah dan sekaligus edukasi informatif kepada masyarakat dalam lingkup batas teritorial (Chouliaraki & Georgiou, 2019). Oleh karena itu, konsep integrasi penting untuk relasional, produktivitas, dan ketahanan masyarakat berkelanjutan jangka panjang (Ahlborg, 2017).

Negotiation is one of the ways of resolving conflicts for specific interests. Conflicts of interest can be negotiated through existing societal traditions, so tensions can be reduced (Gotua & Rcheulishvili, 2019). Tradition in a cultural context is understood as an instrument for building cohesion of groups of people (Ross Gordon & Djonler, 2019). Similarities and differences of views in society also depend on social agents who play a role in building togetherness, but there are differences as a form of negotiation of social mobility restrictions implemented by the government, both at the local and national levels. Therefore, this study questions how the practice of negotiating religion and culture of society. What are the forms of narrative negotiation?

2. Methods

Social research in dealing with pandemic conditions uses a mixed method, namely a collaboration method between qualitative and quantitative. While the use of quantitative approaches is used to develop knowledge (the use of measurements, influences, and observations, etc.). Using the postpositivistic paradigm, and field surveys required quantitative data (Creswell, 2003). A qualitative approach to the interpretation of individual and group opinions and practices or actions in the context of broader systems and meanings (Müller, 2019). Analysis of real problems is carried out to be implemented in various lives. A total of 155 respondents were used with likert scale measurements. In-depth interviews with 25 figures were accompanied by informal and structured discussions about forms of religious practice and cultural practices related to community traditions. From January to July 2021, participants were interviewed twice. Each interview is 25 to 35 minutes long. Interviewees are recorded audio, complete records, while other data are obtained, and analysis based on all available information.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. The level of resilience

Table 1: Results of Community Review in Purbalingga district

Numb.	Resilience Rate	Number	Percentage
1	Very High	12	7,7%
2	High	20	13%
3	Medium	85	54,8%
4	Low	29	18,7%
5	Very Low	9	5,8%
	Number	155	100 %

In general, the level of resilience of the Purbalingga community is at a moderate level. Based on the calculation results, it was shown that as many as 12 respondents or 7.7% had very high resilience. Respondents who have high resilience are at a percentage level of 13% or as many as 20 respondents. The majority of respondents have resilience at a moderate level, reaching 85 respondents or equivalent to 54.8%. Respondents who had low resilience were 29 people or with a percentage of 18.7%. Meanwhile, respondents who had a very low level of resilience reached 5.8% or were found in 9 respondents.

3.2. The Level of Resilience of purbalingga society is based on status in the family

Table 2: The Level of Resilience of the Purbalingga Community Based on Status In the Family

No.	Status in the Family	Resilience Rate					Total
		Very High	High	Medium	Low	Very Low	
1	Family Members	5	5	39	20	6	75 (48,4%)
2	Head of Family	7	15	46	9	3	80 (51,6%)
	Total	12	20	85	29	9	155

Respondents in this study were also distinguished based on their status in the family, namely as the head of the family or as a family member. The number of respondents who have the status of the head of the family amounted to 75 people or with a percentage of 48.4%. Respondents who had a position as family members totaled 80 people or with a percentage of 51.6%.

3.3. Negotiating the pattern of religious practice in the pandemic era

The measurement of resilience of the Purbalingga community is divided into personal resilience, family resilience and community resilience. Likewise, it is related to resilience by considering local wisdom and traditions related to religious activities. The policy of limiting mobility cannot be separated from the protocol of health and restriction of crowds in religious activities as well as the national policy and implemented by the Purbalingga reGENCY government. In this case, it regulates the procedures for worship practices, especially religious activities in places of worship, such as mosques, prayer rooms, *taklim majlis*, churches, islamic boarding school shrines and others.

Based on the results of interviews with several religious leaders about the restriction of mobility through the PPKM program, it is indeed contrary to the implementation of religious activities as conveyed by (WHD, DRT, AJ, and IMD, June 2021), that:

"The application of PPKM to the five-time *jama'ah maktubah* prayer activities is still running, it's just that the procedures related to the distance of the *shaf*, the rows are loosened, which usually after the completion of the prayer shakes hands becomes no, the pilgrims wear masks, the provision of hand soap, without carpets and most pilgrims bring their own prayers, *TPQ* is still running otherwise they are sorry because online schools and children are experiencing burnout....activities *majlis taklim*, it was the *yasinan* pilgrims or this routine recitation that had been stopped and the appeal of the government and the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) to postpone activities that brought in crowds".

Based on this interview, the community is still holding on to carrying out and maintaining religious activities, especially in the aspect of daily worship, but in the implementation of religious studies, most people can accept the recommendations of the MUI government, and religious organizations. The attention of the government, religious organizations are very influential related to PPKM. In this case, there is an interesting, attitude of some religious figures (EDS, AMR, HMK, September 2021), as:

".... Covid-19 comes from Allah SWT, we don't need to be afraid. If we hit it, it's fate, and think of it like a common cold. Prayers are changed by social distancing, even though the Islamic provisions are tight and straight, the face, *jidat*, nose must stick to the floor.... how come it is even ruled to wear a mask and not be allowed to congregate, even outsiders are not allowed to participate in very strange pilgrims....".

Meanwhile, a small part of the community in the implementation of daily worship in mosques is still running and some are not implementing the *prokes*, as stated by JDN (interview, September, 2021), that

".... the implementation of mosque activities here continues even though it is always urged by the village, even the prayer activities of *magrib* and *isya* pilgrims are even rame and full, *takmir* still advises to bring their own masks and prayers but most of them ignore... for there is a belief this face should always be held on the floor should not be covered by cloth...".

The religious field, especially Islamic religious activities, tends to involve many people for recitation or *majlis taklim*, whether attended by children, youth or the elderly. The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on some Islamic religious activities of Purbalingga community there are tendencies towards restrictions on community mobility, some believe that they continue to carry out their usual worship activities in mosques, they continue to do without health protocols, and there are also some people who pay attention to and follow health protocols. In this case, these two different attitudes, provide evidence, that society has two psychological resiliences in religious practice. For those who continue to worship without using health protocols, for example, this happens because there is a personal belief that covid-19 is a disease that comes from the Creator and is considered an ordinary illness, so this attitude affects the family as part of the Purbalingga community, for example in rural areas almost congregational prayers and routine activities such as *tahlilan* events, *yasinan* still running and without using *prokres*. In addition, when the pandemic increased in urban mosques were closed, the situation of village mosques continued to carry out Friday prayers and children's recitation activities continued, as interviews with SRY, ATK, AMN, and NDN (2021).

This situation is in line with showing that religious practices have caused new clusters and clusters of Covid-19. This data shows the rejection of new patterns of worship, of course, the attitude of some religious figures and supported by some pilgrims to carry out congregational prayers like the normal era. However, most mosques and

mosques are almost written about health protocols that must be followed and the provision of hand soap. (Observation, July, 2021). Attitudes and actions in the implementation of communal worship and the provision of health protocol warnings and the completeness of hand sanitizer, soap, water tanks in mosques are compromising actions that contain the value of mutual respect and cooperation in the same space or what is referred to as a discursive device that highlights differences in unity (Ku, 2004; Plummer, 2020), a reflective consciousness that is perceived culturally (negotiating religious and cultural identities goes hand in hand) (Katrin, 2020).

The rejection and attitude of these characters show something different from the mainstream. Religion is understood and followed obediently and should not undergo a shift in the pattern of practice, as a presumption of the capacity to perform self-healing or bounce back from difficult situations (Mikhalev, 2021). Some communities have ways of negotiating under pressure from the government, villages, sub-districts, regions and the central government. The attitude of rejecting health protocols in the practice of worship is a form of discursiveness and recognition of different beliefs in the same space. On the one hand rejection (health protocols are not required). On the other hand, public acceptance of health protocols has implications for new patterns of practice in worship (in the form of social distancing in prayer, wearing masks, bringing their own prayer mats) are both coherent meanings and attachments to follow the rules of worship jurisprudence that are positivity. This form of recognition will encourage relationships of religious identity that can culturally develop and the maintenance of inter-religious differences in beliefs and even cultures (Bond et al., 2018; Gunawan et al., 2019).

It is this state that often becomes the pros and cons among the people. Indeed, the roles of religious figures are urgently needed to socialize the practice of worship in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic and the development of new, more virulent variants. This data shows that the process of negotiating new patterns is not easy and compromise and equal communication are needed, so that this attitude of mutual respect can be used as an instrument to build cohesiveness of local communities and citizens (Bourdieu, 2018).

3.4. Cultural Identity and Prevention of Covid-19

The research of community leaders in this case is played by rw and rt environmental officials in the success of PPKM in rw-an and rt-an activities, such as the results of interviews submitted by WRT and SPT (interview, September, 2021), that

"This PPKM does have a great effect on social activities, such as the activities of the Dasa Wisma mothers' association, rt, rw and several groups of groups are very controlled, meaning that while the group or crowd activities are stopped to bridge the meetings and aspirations of our citizens make the Whatsapp Group rt and rw through this group some information and communication are carried out.... although the situation of PPKM personal contact remains well established...."

The implementation of PPKM is indeed very effective to limit activities that present crowds. Interviews with some of these rts are proof that there is a good awareness of efforts to find alternative communication media in the implementation of social activities, the level of resilience of family members and heads of families is very high, high and moderate. Strengthens the role of social institutions at the rt and rw levels as the vanguard of the success of the PPKM policy to control the spread of Covid-19. The very thick habit of gatherings is a tradition of Purbalingga people, which is a form of cultural activity. Groups are vehicles that can be used to socialize. Gathering activities both carried out by mothers and fathers are understood as a communication process to discuss various problems that arise in society into a custom and perspective of community groups to solve existing problems (Pleios, 2012; Ridwan et al., 2020).

The creativity of the community in this pandemic era does not make people discouraged when the community and religious leaders, as well as community leaders know online applications both through WhatsApp groups in recitation activities as well as some religious and social coordination in community organization activity programs both in the Nahdhalotul Ulama, Muhammadiyah and Al Irsyad environments as well as various youth organizations. Religious and social communities are increasingly literate or familiar applications zoom, goegle meet, zibax and the like, it seems that people are starting to grow in confidence and improve the quality of studies, coordination of social activities or learning with religious and community leaders. The feeling of worry and anxiety

when meeting and contact with others gradually decreased. In the context of the shift in the habits of the normal era of face-to-face meetings and in-person gatherings in a certain room, shifting new patterns mediated by Information technology in the form of zoom applications, google meets, and zibax etc. on the one hand the community is culturally forced and must adapt new technologies. This insecurity will become a necessity by evidence of ease of access, efficient and effective, if the technology of a society undergoes changes, then their way of thinking will also undergo changes (Moualla & McPherson, 2019). This change in way of thinking is also understood as processes of cultural identity change, in the form of a shift in the use of cyber media (Archer et al., 2018; Barrera, 2021).

3.5. Implications of the power of negotiating and reciting society

Restriction of Community Mobility (PKM) as a strategystep that affects the resilience of individuals and communities, especially there are positive and negative attitudes of some people. Thus, there are some communities and even religious institutions responding to the government's invitation regarding the credit of preventing the spread of Covid-19, as appreciated by the Regent of Purbalingga (Banyumasdaily.com, 2020), that there is awareness that there is awareness with some people.

"Purbalingga Regent Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi gave high appreciation and admitted that he was proud of the residents of Purbalingga community regarding joint efforts to prevent the spread of Covid-19. This was revealed by the regent who is usually called Tiwi when conducting a review as well as providing support for officers at the Integrated Post for Data Collection and Health Checks for Transport Passengers."

These various self-help activities have become the pride of the Purbalingga regency government, socialization and prevention of the spread of Covid 19 have encouraged social sensitivity that was never imagined for the response of most purbalingga people, as,".... it can be seen that many community members who move independently to spray disinfectants in public places, such as prayer rooms, village roads and others. They do it for the sake of common health, done in a mutually and independent manner". This joint awareness is a proof of the reciprocity of individuals, households and community groups that have something to do with worship centers that cannot be separated from the attention of spraying disinfectants. In addition, there is strong evidence of the intensity of socialization carried out by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Purbalingga, as reported through its website,

"Islamic Extension Officers, Dhika and Rahel fulfilled the same task in playing an active role in socializing the Circular Letter of the Minister of Religious Affairs Number 22 Thun 2021 and monitoring the implementation of the 5M +1D health protocol in places of worship". These places of worship, of course, are not only Islamic, non-Islamic religions are also a concern. As n did the MORA team as an extension officer, "...Dhika began to move to the Church from Friday. GBT YJS Purbalingga, GKI Bobotsari, GBT Candinata, GSPDI Filadelfia Bobotsari and GKJ Pengalusan village. He continued monday's soisilization. In Purbalingga, there are 28 churches spread both in urban areas and sub-district capitals" (purbalingga.kemenag.go.id).

Based on the report, the pastors and managers are very welcome regarding efforts to carry out worship activities in accordance with health regulations and help socialization in their respective religious activities. In terms of these differences in religious beliefs there is something interesting about the resilience or reciting of mobility restrictions. The two different religions were able to make a breakthrough to deal with the spread of Covid-19, namely in the form of the implementation of tolerance, in the form of agreements between Islam and Christianity in the practice of worship using loudspeakers whose voices reached outside the area like Muslim groups recitation in the mosques of Pengalusan Purbalingga village. The agreement, which is based on the anxiety of the spread of Covid-19, is a form of mindfulness between followers of different religions built with good interfaith communication (Lee & Oh, 2021). In contrast to the changes in the pattern of worship practices in both Muslims and Christians (Pasaribu, 2021; Qodarsasi et al., 2021). These changes do not have a process of negotiating and making their respective adjustments separately. The findings of the negotiation process and the achievement of a common consensus between adherents of different religions are a form of difference in the unity of cultural identity.

4. Conclusion

The Covid-19 and post pandemics have had a diverse impact on the social dynamics of society. This condition requires the community to always "move", transform, and make adjustments to the pandemic conditions that occur. So far, according to the results of the analysis, it shows that the Purbalingga community has a moderate level of resilience. This shows that they are quite capable of adapting and having resilience in the face of social restriction situations that have an impact on life, socio-cultural and religious.

These results are reinforced by qualitative analysis that shows that communities, and their citizens are able to negotiate by maintaining trust in worship practices with mutual respect at the urging of protocols during the pandemic and subsequent restrictions on social mobility. As a large part of society is gradually able to make adjustments in the existing practices of worship and traditions. Residents of the community before the pandemic, conducted worship in person in places of worship. However, during the pandemic, people have an awareness that worship has easy rules and the pandemic situation is considered as a spirit and religious activities can be carried out using possible media, such as worshipping at home and participating in online studies. However, some people continue to practice worship and traditions as normally as possible. This research will be more perfect if the research is carried out with a critical approach as further research.

5. Suggestions

This research has many limitations so that it requires further research support in order to obtain comprehensive data and an overview of the condition of the Purbalingga community in facing various problems due to social restrictions during the Covid-19 pandemic. As for the advice we can give. Research on studies that have not been discussed in this study is needed, for example about more specific research on the relationship between resilience and economic growth, culture and diversity with a critical approach.

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Social Discourse of Cyber Hate in Indonesia: The Potential Transition from Hate to Crime

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Abstract

The dynamics of hate crime have changed as a result of digital media. The emergence of cyberhate waves is one of the manifestations of cyberspace within the context of hate crime. The purpose of this study is to present a social discussion about cyberhate in Indonesia as a sign of the transition from hatred to crime. A qualitative approach is used in this study. These diverse backgrounds serve as the foundation for this study, which aims to investigate the typology of cyber haters in Indonesia, particularly how perpetrators undergo transformation. In other words, the reconstruction of this research problem's background is rooted in the evolution of hate crime, which has undergone changes and encroachments on digital platforms. Cyber haters are one of the slices of the Indonesian study of cyber crime that has not received a special portion. Aside from that, the socio-political context of society influences the dynamics of cyber haters in Indonesia. The internalization of prejudice experienced by perpetrators and its implementation in supportive situations and conditions are inextricably linked to the escalation of cyber hate. Because different types of data are not only part of how social processes are built in qualitative research, but they are also artifacts. Opportunities to access data in greater depth are unique features found in the analysis of cyber haters in Indonesia. The three formulations of the problem indicate that cyber hate is a type of power imbalance that has the potential to cause differences in the definition of crime. Apart from the social form and social action associated with it, cyber hate has a relatively large impact.

Keywords: Crime, Cyber Crime, Cyber Hate, Hate Speech, Social Discourse

1. Introduction

Hate crime, in its early stages, is a type of prejudice-based crime. Instead, the existence of hate crime is intended to separate perpetrators of crimes motivated by emotions such as jealousy, greed, political ideology, and so on (Jacobs and Potter, 1997). Hate speech is the catalyst for the emergence of hate crime. Hate speech is defined as hatred directed at individuals or groups based on differences in race, ethnicity, religion or belief, group, skin color, or sexual orientation (Jacobs & Henry, 1996; Bleich, 2011; Naidoo, 2016; Bartle, 2000). This is the context for prejudice-motivated hate crime (Shirlow, et al., 2013; Jacobs & Potter, 1997).

Hate crime is distinguished from criminal acts motivated by intent, jealousy, greed, politics, and other factors (Jacobs & Potter, 1997; Gale et al., 2002). This became the foundation for the FBI (FBI, 1999) to define hate crimes as prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity, which was later expanded to include disability and gender. Jenness and Grattet (1996), for example, compare hate crime to bias crime because the motivation and reason for the crime are biased. In contrast to other types of crime such as theft, murder, or robbery, the element of subjectivity is inherent in the offender's attitudes, values, and character in hate crimes. The element of dislike is frequently used by perpetrators to justify actions that lead to hate crimes. As a result, it is not surprising that the targets of hate crimes are frequently groups with specific identities, vulnerable as targets of prejudice, expression visualization, historical context, and the stigma of constitutional results (Andersson, Mellgren, & Ivert, 2018).

Hate speech that has progressed to hate crime can be classified as a social epidemic (Jacobs & Henry, 1996). The hate crime epidemic, in fact, demonstrates how quickly this phenomenon is spreading. One of the reasons for this is a shift in the digital world's constructive perspective of social reality (social construction of reality) (Gerth & Mills, 1990). This is based on the philosophy of hate crime, which is based on contexts, assumptions, and frames that can change depending on how they are interpreted (Brax & Munthe, 2015). Jacobs and Henry (1996) describe the hate crime epidemic in terms of the media's, politicization's, and academics' roles in reconstructing the situation of specific groups as targets of hatred.

The dynamic interpretation of hate crime places it on a knife-edge of sensitive issues. Because hate crime is so widespread, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE, 2018) categorizes prejudice that leads to hatred as anti-Semitic, anti-Muslim, anti-Christian, gender bias, sexual orientation bias, and disability bias. Because of the link between hate crime and sexual orientation, same-sex enthusiasts are victims because they are not exposed to the public due to visibility issues, the availability of spaces that are not monitored by the public, generally in the private sphere, perpetrator ignorance, and low response from law enforcement agencies (Bartle, 2000). In fact, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) groups' sexual and gender orientation issues have had an impact on the pressure to take over citizenship in Canada (Field, 2007). Gender discrimination has also become a problem in developing hate crime policies in England (Gill & Mason-Bish, 2013). Minton (2016) investigates hate crime in other societal contexts on the basis of society's inclusion side of alterophobia. Furthermore, hate crimes target groups with disabilities, both physically and mentally (McMahon, West, Lewis, Armstrong, & Conway, 2016).

In more extreme cases, the scope of hate crime has a broader impact on xenophobia, religion, and ethnicity. Adolescent racial and ethnic sentiments dominate horizontal conflicts aimed at minority groups (White & Perrone, 2010). Hate crimes frequently target religious issues in addition to race and ethnicity. Sentiment toward Muslims in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks aided the development of Islamophobia in the United States (Kaplan, 2006). As a result, the reasons for "justifying" hate crimes are intimidation and discriminatory attitudes toward Muslims. Indeed, hate crime has evolved into prejudice against individuals associated with Muslim characteristics and characterized by Arab society (Disha, Cavendish, & King, 2011). Because of the severity of hate crime cases, Islamophobia has been designated as a special crime category in Germany since 2018 (Tempo, 2018).

The dynamics of hate crime have diversified through digital media. Simply put, hate crime is no longer in the conventional realm through physical contact, but this prejudice is transmitted via the internet. Guichard (2009) stated that the transition of hate crime within the scope of cyberspace has challenges in terms of interpretation of the meaning of freedom of expression, legal context, and culture. Thus, the existence of cyberspace can pose a threat to 10 (ten) aspects of freedom, namely 1) access to information disclosure; 2) financial transparency; 3) censorship of hate speech; 4) restrictions on internet access in education; 5) censorship of digital services; 6) restrictions on the freedom to send and receive information anonymously; 7) access encryption limitations; 8) violation of privacy rights; 9) universal access and access restrictions (electronic redlining); and 10) the digital world is a source of satisfaction (Beeson, 1996).

Cyber hate represents a global movement based on prejudiced hatred. The prejudice is directed at targets who have distinct attribute characteristics (Reed, 2009). This condition creates a dichotomy in cyberhate boundaries, namely the more regulation or more speech approach (Cacas, 1998; Nemes, 2010). Cyberhate stimulus has the potential to become a global racist subculture as a form of collective identity with international ramifications (Perry & Olsson, 2009). This exclusive nature strengthens the dominance of certain groups in the digital world, which is generally based on competition and social creativity. As a result, it is more likely to direct behavior in order to achieve identity existence through social conflict (Douglas, McGarty, Bliuc, & Lala, 2016).

Cyber hatred is relevant to today's technological developments. The use of cyber hate media has shifted from websites, blogs, and news sites initiated by specific groups to social media platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, and Whatsapp (Meza, 2016; Rasanen et al., 2016; Gerstenfeld, 2003; Oboler, 2014; Williams & Burnap, 2015; Williams & Burnap, 2015). For example, in 2015, Charlie Hebdo was subjected to cyber-hatred in the form of threats of violence and hate messages spread via Twitter.2016 (Miro-Llinares & Rodriguez-Sala). Surprisingly, cyber hate, like hate crime, is based on prejudice bias based on ethnicity, religion, gender, and political identity, and it occurs across almost all social media platforms (Celik, 2019). However, cyber hatred frequently manifests itself not only online but also in physical contact (offline) (Rasanen, et al., 2016). It is difficult to criminalize in this situation because there is ambiguity between the perpetrator and the victim, both of whom are biased against each other (Balica, 2017).

2. Method

A qualitative approach is used in this study. This is due to the fact that researchers will approach or seek to understand social phenomena that arise from personal experiences and social values (Creswell, 2009). The cyber hater typology formulation aims to provide a detailed interpretation of the quality and content of individual experiences (Marvasti, 2004). Darlington and Scott (2002) argue that qualitative research is used to better understand human phenomena and as a supplement to other scientific disciplines. Based on the observations, the author considers the cyber hater typology, which has evolved from amateur to professional, to be a form of understanding (Flick et al., 2004).

In this study, the qualitative approach is inductive, with the goal of elaborating various research data findings into a single final conclusion. To arrive at these conclusions, the approach does not prioritize the number of respondents or participants, but rather uses in-depth information as data from multiple sources or key informants. The basis for viewing phenomena and answering research questions is data analysis of information related to cyber haters (Wu & Fraser, 2016). A qualitative approach in criminology refers to the collection and interpretation of meaning through observation of data that can be textual, verbal, or in the real world to provide information about the causes, nature, and consequences of crime, as well as responses to crime (Miller & Copes, 2015). Because, in qualitative research, various types of data are not only used to construct social processes, but they are also artifacts. Opportunities to obtain more detailed data are unique features found in the analysis of cyber haters in Indonesia (Noaks & Wincup, 2004).

Furthermore, because the researcher will be using the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD) program, this qualitative approach was chosen. According to Keller (2013), SKAD is a modification of Foucault's approach to conducting discourse analysis as a performative statement of practice that is reality and produces power effects in conflict-ridden networks of social actors, institutional dispositions, and knowledge systems. Discourse is material and concrete. SKAD refers to case studies and observation methods developed in symbol interactionism and interpretive sociology to understand the materiality and disposition of discourse, similar to qualitative research principles (Keller, 2011).

3. Results

Indonesia is also a country experiencing an escalation of cyber hate. As part of cyber crime, we first observe statistical trends in cyber crime in the 2015 – 2019 range. In general, cyber crime trends have jumped by 58% from 2015 to 2019 (see Figure 1.1). In 2015 the total number of cyber crimes ranged from 2,609 cases with 624

cases being completed. Meanwhile, in 2016 it increased to 3,110 cases with 908 cases completed. Even though it decreased to 3,109 cases with 1,610 cases completed in 2017, the following year it increased quite significantly. In 2018, the number of cyber crime cases reached 4,360 cases with 2,273 cases resolved. Meanwhile, in 2019 there was an increase to 4,586 cases with 2,284 cases completed.

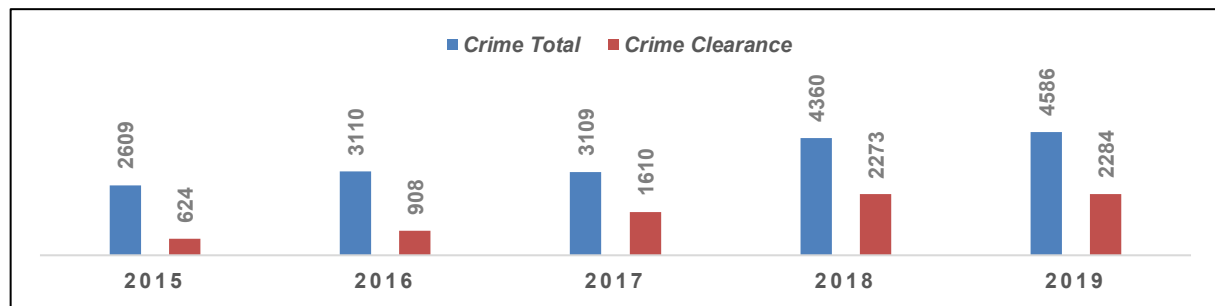


Figure 1: Cyber Crime Diagram Trends in Indonesia for the 2015 – 2019

Source: Reprocessed from the Directorate of Cyber Crime Bareskrim Polri (2020)

Surprisingly, cyber crime in Indonesia evolved from computer crimes to computer-facilitated crimes. It can be argued that the dominance of cyber crime in Indonesia is similar to traditional crime that develops through the use of computers. As a result, it is not surprising that cyber hate has become a prevalent form of cyber crime between 2015 and 2019. According to data from public reports compiled by the Cyber Police Directorate, the most common types of cyber crime were cases of online fraud and the spread of provocative content. In contrast to the stable number of cases of online fraud, the number of cases of spreading provocative content is increasing. This can be seen in 2015, when there were only 715 cases. In 2016, there were 1,047 cases, and in 2017, there were 1,157 cases. The rapid increase began in 2018 with 1,724 cases and continued in 2019 with 1,769 cases. Furthermore, the number of computer-assisted crimes involving pornography, gambling, and extortion is on the rise. Meanwhile, each year, less than 150 cases of computer crimes such as unauthorized access, data/identity theft, hacking of electronic systems, illegal interception, changing the appearance of websites, system disruptions, and data manipulation are reported. Gambling and racketeering follow similar patterns. Meanwhile, under 150 cases of computer crimes such as unauthorized access, data/identity theft, hacking of electronic systems, illegal interceptions, changing the appearance of websites, system disruptions, and data manipulation are reported each year. Gambling and racketeering follow similar patterns. Meanwhile, under 150 cases of computer crimes such as unauthorized access, data/identity theft, hacking of electronic systems, illegal interceptions, changing the appearance of websites, system disruptions, and data manipulation are reported each year.

4. Discussion

The transformation of cyber crimes cannot be separated from the increasing number of internet users in Indonesia. Penetration of Indonesian internet users has reached 171.17 million people out of a total of 264.16 million Indonesian people (APJII, 2018). The comparison ratio is 64.8% of Indonesia's population has been exposed to the internet. In comparison, in 2017 only 54.68% of the population used the internet. In other words, there was a jump of 10.12% or 27 million people each year. Of these, the majority are internet users from the age range of 15-44 years from the educated community.

Part of the reason for the potential exposure to cyber hate in Indonesia is that internet usage is dominated by communication activities via messages (24.7%) and social media (18.9%). Although more research is needed, there are indications that crime is relevant to social media (Asongu, Nwachukwu, Orim, & Pyke, 2019). Indeed, according to Wang, Yu, Liu, and Young (2019), the two can be linked by using social media as a tool for crime control. This was done in one of the United States' states between 2012 and 2013 using Twitter data. Facebook (50.7%), Instagram (17.8%), and Youtube (15.1%) have the highest internet user penetration in Indonesia (APJII, 2018). Instagram, Whatsapp, Facebook, telephone/SMS, and Twitter, on the other hand, are frequently used to spread cyber hatred (see Figure 1.5.). According to Bialy (2017), internet users' motivations for using social media include maintaining social relationships, getting information on the latest news and events, filling free time, the

majority of peer groups are on social media, and building new relationships. Harlow, Salaverra, Kilgo, and Garca-Perdomo (2017).

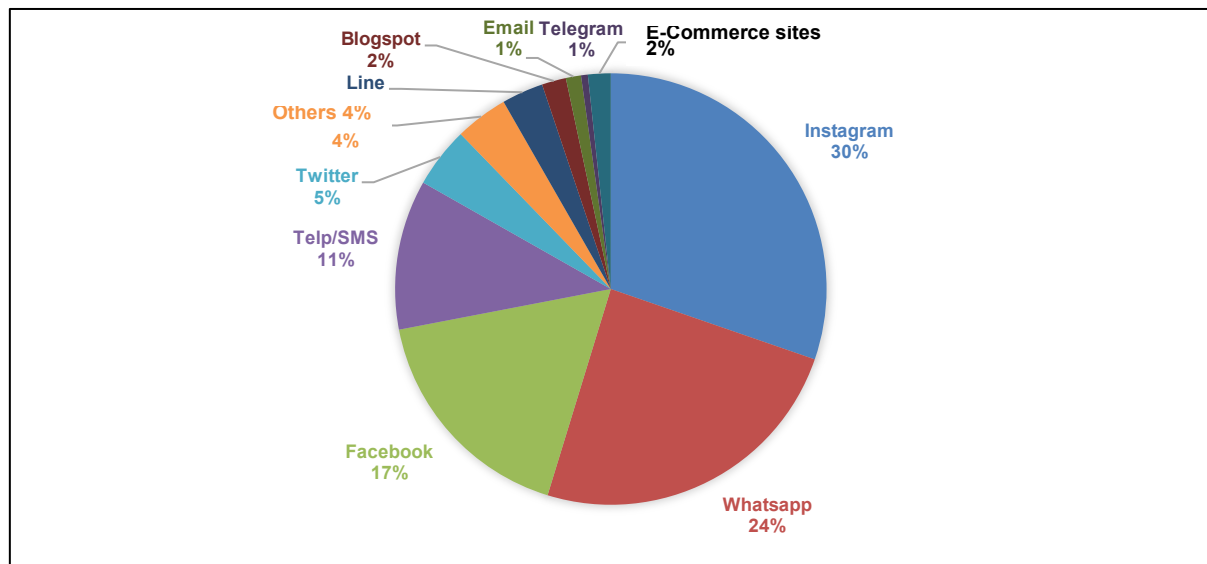


Figure 2: Pie Chart Types of Social Media Platforms in Cyber Crime

Source: reprocessed from the Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers (2018)

Following identity conflicts in 2017, the link between cyber hate and social media in Indonesia has become increasingly clear. According to Amin, Alfarauqi, and Khatimah (2018), the role of social media as a channel for conveying hate and cyber hate content cannot be separated from society's socio-political context. In Indonesia, cyber hate is synonymous with ethnic, religious, racial, and inter-group bias prejudice (SARA). Amnesty International's 2017 annual report documented 5 (five) cases based on the rise of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), religious sentiments, separatist movements, accusations of anti-Pancasila bias, and sexual orientation differences. It didn't stop there; throughout 2017, various cases of cyber hate included insults to the head of state, ethnicity, religion, race, and class (SARA), until untested information (hoax) became a commodity of crime (Kompas, 2017). Cyber hate activities have evolved into a professional pattern through organizations affiliated with the muslim_cyber1 to the Saracen group (Detik, 2018). Amateur actors, such as housewives in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), are also involved in cyber hate (Kompas, 2017).

Several articles in the Criminal Code (KUHP), Law No. 19 of 2016 concerning Amendments to Law No. 11 of 2008 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions, and references to Chief of Police Circular No. SE/06/X/2015 is included in an overview of cyber hate regulations in Indonesia. There are currently no separate legal regulations in Indonesia that address hate speech. With reference to the circular letter, specific limitations on hate speech material include criminal acts such as insults, defamation, defamatory acts, unpleasent acts, provoking, inciting, spreading fake news, and all actions that aim to or could have an impact on acts of discrimination, violence, loss of life, and/or social conflict. Ethnicity, religion, religious sects, beliefs and beliefs, race, inter-group, skin color, ethnicity, gender, people with disabilities, and sexual orientation are all covered. Campaign activities, banners or banners, social media networks, public delivery or demonstrations, religious lectures, print and electronic mass media, and pamphlets can all be used as delivery mechanisms. Perpetrators can include anyone, especially those who commit incitement to violence.

In the context of hate crimes, perpetrators are motivated by prejudice bias. There are three (three) types of hate crime perpetrators: those motivated by pleasure or simply seeking sensations, those motivated by sentiment toward specific characters, and those motivated by a desire to make the world a better place (McDevitt, Levin, & Bennett, 2002). According to this typology, the motivations of hate crime perpetrators are defensive, retaliatory, and bigoted. The conditional aspects, both psychological and environmental, that encourage perpetrators to act are inherent in the typology of hate crime perpetrators. However, the media's ability to convey hate crime is limited.

As a result, the typology of cyber hate is expanding. In contrast to McDevitt, Levin, and Bennett (2002), Jacks and Adler (2015) conducted a study of hate crime perpetrators. If McDevitt, Levin, and Bennett classified hate crimes based on conventional actions, Jacks and Adler classified cyber haters in a typological manner. According to Jacks and Adler (2015), there are four types of cyber haters: browsers, commentators, activists, and leaders. The browser typology is involved in hate speech material, but it is not associated with any specific community. Meanwhile, the typology of commentators is actors with browser types who are members of specific internet communities. Meanwhile, activists are commentators who exist not only on the internet but also in the real world. Finally, there are leaders who spread hateful propaganda. Leaders will work to organize, support, and promote specific ideologies. Leader typology has a strong ideology that serves as the foundation for justifying various crimes committed.

These diverse backgrounds serve as the foundation for this study, which aims to investigate the typology of cyber haters in Indonesia, particularly how perpetrators undergo transformation. In other words, the reconstruction of this research problem's background is rooted in the evolution of hate crime, which has undergone changes and encroachments on digital platforms. Cyber haters are one of the slices of the Indonesian study of cyber crime that has not received a special portion. Furthermore, the socio-political context of society characterizes the dynamics of cyber haters in Indonesia. The internalization of prejudice experienced by perpetrators and its implementation in supportive situations and conditions are inextricably linked to the escalation of cyber hate.

5. Conclusion

Based on the description of the background above, the authors attempt to formulate the problem into 3 (three) aspects, namely 1) high cyber hate in cyber crimes; 2) the relevance of cyber hate and social media; and 3) patterns of cyber hater acceleration in the socio-political context. First, from the high cases of cyber haters compared to other forms of cyber crime. Several things that can be used as indicators include a significant increase in cyber crime in 2017-2018 and statistical data that in the same year span the types of crimes that spread provocative content also increased and tended to be dominant. Meanwhile, various other types of cyber crimes tend to be stable and not as many as cases that are classified as computer facilitated crimes. The transition from conventional forms of crime to crimes based on prejudice bias is carried out in the form of humiliation or defamation, spreading fake news (hoaxes/fake news), provocation or incitement, to blasphemy (Dirsiber Polri, 2020). SARA elements tend to act as a basis for prejudice in cyber hate. In other words, the high penetration of internet users in Indonesia has not been matched by an adequate level of literacy.

The social discourse of cyber hate in Indonesia is a form of imbalance in the structure of power relations which has the potential to cause differences in the definition of crime. Cyber hate apart from the social form and social action attached to it has a relatively massive impact. So, it does not close the gap that the study of cyber hate can involve various other criminological studies, such as symbolic interaction, social construction, phenomenology, ethnomethodology, Marxist structure, poststructuralism, structural theory, and semiotics.

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A Genealogical Study of the History of Philippine Terrorism

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Abstract

The history of terrorist acts in the Philippines is the focus of this paper. Each act of terrorism has a unique goal, but the most common goal is to undermine the power of a state's government. Terrorism is not an act committed by individuals, but by groups that have made decisions based on shared beliefs and commitments, even if these individuals have different commitments and beliefs toward the group. The researcher used observation through the experience of researchers when they were involved in various activities related to Philippine terrorists, such as the release of Indonesian citizens held hostage by the Abu Sayyaf Group and the evacuation of 17 Indonesian citizens who were members of the Jemaah Tabligh who were trapped in two locations in Marawi City for five months at the hands of terrorists. MNLF, MILF, ASG, National Intelligence Coordination Agency, Philippine National Police (PNP), and Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) researchers collaborate on these activities. Observation becomes the foundation for researchers interested in answering research questions through the experience of researchers who have been directly involved in missions to rescue the phenomenon of terrorism in the Philippines. During the observation, the researcher maintained contact with Philippines terrorists and security forces. The identification results in this paper include at least three aspects that underpin terrorist acts in the Philippines, namely conflict history, economic conditions, and religious disparities. These three factors have all played a role in the history of terrorism in the Philippines.

Keywords: Genealogy, Philippine, Religion, Terrorism

1. Introduction

Terrorist acts in Southeast Asia show that perpetrators came from various countries such as Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Singapore which shared ideological similarities. Despite the fact that terrorist acts only reflect the local interests of the terrorists' home countries, Philippine terrorists have never participated in terrorist acts in Indonesia, indicating that there are factors that influence Philippines terrorists.

According to the data, the Philippine Terrorist Group did not carry out any actions in Indonesia following the bombing of the Philippine Embassy in Jakarta, except for hijacking ships and tugboats with Indonesian crew members in Philippine and Malaysian waters. Terrorist acts in Indonesia from 2000 to 2018 began with the bombing of the Philippine Embassy by an Indonesian terrorist group affiliated with Philippine terrorists. According to Karnavian (2009) and Singh (2009), there has been contact and cooperation between Indonesian and Filipino terrorists; Saad stated at the trial of the Philippine Embassy bombing case that he carried out his actions in

retaliation for the burning of the Abu Bakar Bashir camp in Mindanao. However, Filipino terrorists have never been proven to have participated in carrying out their actions in Indonesia, which differ from those carried out in Malaysia, Singapore, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and other countries.

Terrorism resurfaced in Indonesia in 2000, with the bombing of the Philippine Embassy on August 1, 2000, followed by bombings at the Jakarta Stock Exchange on September 13, 2000, throwing grenades at the Malaysian Embassy on August 27, 2000, and a series of bombings on Christmas Eve, December 24, 2000. Terrorist acts continued in Indonesia in the years that followed, namely 1) 2001: the bombings of the Santa Anna Church and HKBP Jatiwaringi, Plaza Atrium Senen, KFC Makassar, and the Australian School in Jakarta; and 2) 2002: the bombings of the Santa Anna Church and HKBP Jatiwaringi, Plaza Atrium Senen, KFC Mak 2) 2002: New Year's Eve bombings at the Bulungan Chicken Restaurant in Jakarta and several churches in Palu, Bali bombing, Philippine Consulate General in Manado, and Mc Donald's Makassar Restaurant; 3) 2003: Lobby of Wisma Bhayangkari Police Headquarters, Terminal F of Soekarno Hatta Airport, and Hotel JW Marriott Jakarta; 4) 2004: Palopo City, Australian Embassy, Immanuel Church in Palu; 5) 2005: Bombings in Ambon City, Tentena, Pamulang Tangerang, Bali 2, and Pasar in Palu; 6) 2009: JW Marriott and Ritz-Carlton Jakarta Hotel Bombings on 17 July 12) 2017: a pot bomb in Kampung Melayu and a pot bomb in Cicendo Pandawa Park in Bandung; 13) 2018: convicts kidnapped several Brimob and Densus 88 members at the Mobile Brigade Headquarters, suicide bombings at GKI Surabaya, the Central Pentecostal Church, and the Immaculate Santa Maria Church in Surabaya, and an attack on the Riau Police Headquarters. Kompas (2005); Okezone (2016); Indopos (2016); Pontianak Tribune (2016); TribunNews 2017 & 2018, Britatagar.id (2018).

The aforementioned terrorist acts occurred following the fall of the Suharto regime (Zakiah, 2016), and there are indications of a close relationship between Indonesian and Filipino terrorists (Tito Karnavian, 2009: 117; Daljit Singh, 2009: 84); in the form of an emotional relationship motivated by ideology (Larasati, 2015). This is evidenced by the close relationship that had existed between Indonesian and Filipino militant Islamic groups since 1985, when Darul Islam (DI) leaders Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Bashir met for the first time with Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) leader Salamat Hashim in Lahore, Pakistan. Indonesian militant Islamic groups DI/NII, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), Kompak, and Wahdah Islamiyah/Laskar Jundullah allied with the MILF, the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), and the Rajah Solaiman Movement (RSM) in the Philippines.

Several Indonesian terrorists were killed in part and apprehended by Philippine security forces (Tito Karnavian, 2009: 117; Daljit Singh, 2009: 84). The MILF and JI then established several camps in Mindanao, including Camp Abu Bakar for Indonesian and Filipino terrorists who had met in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and Camp Hudaibiyah for Indonesian, Filipino, and Arab terrorists. Furthermore, the MILF facilitated the establishment of two additional camps in Mindanao: the Sulawesi Camp for Sulawesi terrorists who were not JI members and had operated in Afghanistan, and the Banten Camp for West Java terrorists who were not JI members and had operated in Afghanistan (As'at Said Ali, 2014: 180-181).

2. Method

The purpose of this research is to find out why Filipino foreign terrorist fighters (FTF) do not carry out attacks in Indonesian territory. As a result, researchers must delve deeper into how Philippine terrorists select targets for attacks. The researchers used a qualitative approach to investigate this. A qualitative approach in criminology refers to the collection and interpretation of textual, verbal, or real-world observational data to learn about the causes, nature, consequences, and responses to crime (Miller & Yang, 2008).

Qualitative research can assist researchers in overcoming research problems with no variables and a need to explore. Because previous research literature is a weakness for researchers, qualitative research can be used for research studies that produce little information about specific phenomena (Creswell, 2009). Then, according to Sugiyono (2015), qualitative research refers to single or partial symptoms of an object. Thus, when researchers use this approach, they will examine the social situation under investigation, which may include places, actors, and activities that interact in a synergistic manner.

This study also emphasizes the importance of looking at ideological relationships and interests with various terrorist groups in Southeast Asia and jihadists in general in order to achieve research objectives. This approach can benefit researchers because qualitative researchers can investigate interpretations or observations with greater fluidity, mutuality, and depth of interaction with informants or informants. Qualitative research, which is epistemologically compatible with the fluidity and progressive nature of social phenomena, typically does not narrowly restrict study boundaries and adapts research protocols (e.g., modified interview guides) (Miller & Yang, 2008).

Researchers see benefits to this approach, such as focusing on the attitudes and opinions of sources or informants, emphasizing ordinal responses, and focusing on bold explanations and descriptions, because voices and answers in the field are sought (Miller & Yang, 2008). Furthermore, qualitative research can estimate the size and characteristics of the population of interest, facilitating research on the phenomenon of terrorism.

The genealogy method is used by the author as a research method to study historical and familial relationships between individuals or groups. Tracing family trees, identifying ancestors and descendants, and analyzing patterns of inheritance and migration over time are all part of this method. Genealogy is used in social science research to investigate social and cultural dynamics in families, communities, and society. Genealogy can be used to investigate how gender, race, class, and other social factors are passed down through generations, as well as how family structures and relationships evolve over time (Rivers, 1900).

Genealogy can be used to trace the various analyses, developments, and claims that surround the spread of a crime phenomenon, which can have an impact on the development of new areas of competence and their legitimacy in relation to crime ideas. This can be accomplished by following the analysis chain and investigating the conceptualizations of the phenomena it supports. The data collected as a result of the analysis will be divided into phases in order to identify common threads in the evolution of the crime phenomenon and the factors that influence it (Morales, Gendron, & Guénin-Paracini, 2014).

The genealogy method popularized by Foucault, which he developed from Nietzsche's genealogy method, is widely used in the social sciences, particularly criminology. The genealogy method of Nietzsche has been described as "utilitarian" and "materialist" (Prinz, 2016). The genealogical method, which is widely used in social science, particularly criminology, was popularized by Foucault and developed from Nietzsche's genealogy method. The genealogy method of Nietzsche has been described as "utilitarian" and "materialist" (Prinz, 2016). In writings about the evolutionary process of aviation terrorism or aviation terrorism (Szymankiewicz, 2022), the genealogical method is used in terrorism cases. Szymankiewicz (2022) employs the genealogical method to investigate how the phenomenon of aviation terrorism has evolved over time.

3. Results

The Moro Muslim movement, which seeks independence, is to blame for the Southern Philippines' security problems. This insurgency movement was led by the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in 1972, and by the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in mid-1977. The Abu Sayyaf Group emerged in 1991 as a fragment of the two previous movements (Eusaquito, 2004), and is regarded as a major terrorist and criminal organization by the Philippine government (International Crisis Group, 2008). Terrorist attacks in the Philippines range from plane hijackings to attacks on military installations and cities, bombing soft targets, and kidnappings. The MNLF was responsible for the majority of terror attacks in the Philippines, though the MILF and ASG were responsible for the most extreme and dangerous attacks (Eusaquito, 2004). MNLF's international network then provided opportunities for JI to enter (Abuza, 2003). According to Eusaquito (2004), the Philippines was then used by JI as a place to increase operational capabilities or as a training ground, as well as a place of refuge, which affected the rampant acts of terror attacks resulting from the protracted conflict between Moro and the Philippines, including efforts to close camps in the South Philippines.

After Basilan's Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) pledged allegiance to ISIS and its leader, Isnilon Hapilon, declared himself Amir of ISIS in Southeast Asia, Philippine security forces increased their attacks on terrorist groups in the Philippines, resulting in many casualties among the ASG, BIFF, AKP, and Maute. On December 31, 2016, Isnilon Hapilon decided to relocate to Butiq, Lanao Del Sur, Mindanao Island, to join the Maute Group, BIFF, AKP, and control Marawi City on Mindanao Island, Philippines, between May 23 and October 23, 2017, in order to establish an ISIS "wilayat" in Southeast Asia.

The Philippine government is increasingly aware of the gravity of the threat posed by foreign terrorist organizations operating in the country. The main threat posed by transnational terrorists, according to the Philippine government, is the transfer of knowledge and skills to local terrorist groups, which can facilitate and nourish local terrorist acts through the supply of funds and other operational logistics. Local and transnational terrorism pose a real threat to the Philippine government (Armed Forces of the Philippines, 2010). To address the aforementioned insurgency and terrorism issues, the Philippine government has developed a counterinsurgency or counterterrorism policy that, in general, overlaps. According to Eusaquito (2004), the existence of a coherent policy is a very valuable resource in combating terrorism that is completely resource dependent. The Philippines' response to terrorism has so far been ad hoc and reactive, rather than strategic and decisive, as Eusaquito (2004) revealed. Plans, institutional architecture, equipment procurement, training, and regulations or laws, including international agreements, can all be part of counter-terrorism policies.

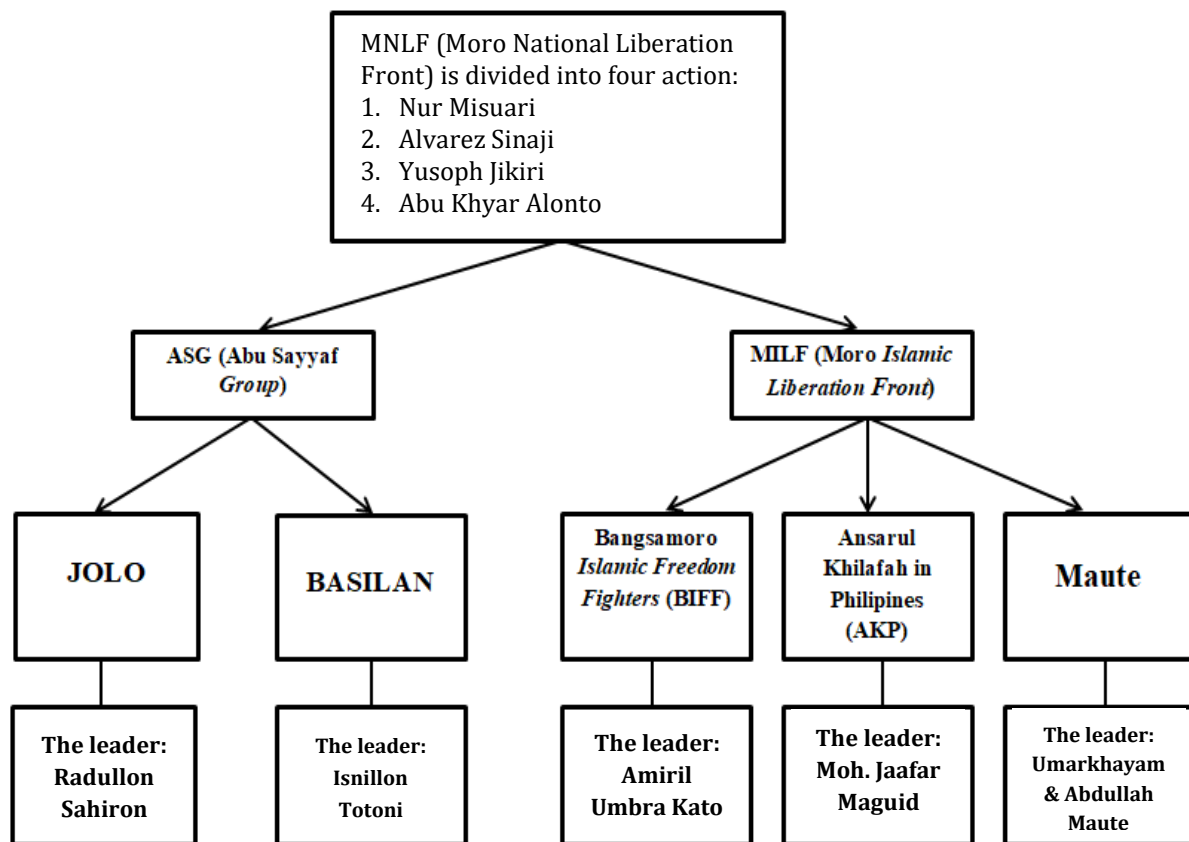


Chart 1: Terrorism Network in the Philippines

Source: processed from various sources

4. Discussion

Because it combines economic and cultural explanations, the Bourdieus framework has proven useful for research on political and religious radicalization (Bourdieu, 1990). As a result, it can provide a more nuanced, diverse, and dynamic understanding than one that is solely focused on ideology, geopolitics, or aggression. Cultural ideas like

violent jihad (Sandberg, 2008a) will always be linked to and embedded in concrete material contexts, but their nature is not entirely determined by this socioeconomic foundation.

When applied to terrorism in the Philippines, habitus theory can help explain how people become involved in terrorist movements and why those movements continue to exist. In this context, habitus can be defined as a proclivity to resolve conflicts through violence, with terrorism serving as a manifestation of this proclivity. As a result, this chapter will examine the origins of the terrorism phenomenon in the Philippines. The concept of habitus developed by Bourdieu is used to explain the evolution and nature of terrorism in the Philippines.

Spain attempted to subdue the Muslims in Mindanao for more than three centuries, beginning in 1521. Spain conquered large areas of the Christian population, but it was never able to establish extensive rule over areas of the southern Philippines inhabited by a small proportion of Muslims (at the time, Muslims made up 4-5 percent of the population). Under the Treaty of Paris in 1898, Spain included Mindanao in the transfer of sovereignty to the United States. When the United States ruled the Philippines, the Moro in Mindanao staged some of the most violent rebellions at the turn of the twentieth century (Dalpino, 2003).

In 1946, the United States granted independence to the Philippines, but there were strong objections from Muslims in Mindanao to the inclusion of Mindanao in the Republic of the Philippines. Muslims in Mindanao continued their separatist struggle, this time against Manila. Despite this long history of separatist sentiment, Filipino Christians and Muslims alike trace internal friction and conflict over Muslim separatism not because of religious differences, but because of economic inequality. Since then, Muslim groups to secede from the Philippines and rebellion against the Philippine government has continued (Dalpino, 2003).

The traditional indigenous territories of thirteen Muslim ethnic groups have been Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago, and Palawan, with the Maguindanaoans, Maranaws, and Tausugs being the most numerous and currently more influential in both local and national politics. These groups had their own distinct cultural, social, and political institutions prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. Particularly, they are free to live their own lives (Luga, 2002).

Mindanao and the rest of the Philippines were essentially separate countries for centuries. Following the introduction of Islam in 1460, various communities in Mindanao developed into sultanates and kingdoms, while other Filipino tribes on Luzon and Visaya were scattered and unconsolidated. These sultanates and kingdoms were active participants in extensive maritime trade networks with Southeast Asia, India, Japan, and China. Furthermore, Jolo and Maguindanao served as international trading ports, with Arab, Chinese, and other Asian traders visiting. During the pre-Spanish period, sultanates and kingdoms maintained diplomatic relations with Spain, France, the Netherlands, and England (Luga, 2002).

When the Spanish conquistadors expanded their military and missionary conquests into Mindanao and Sulu, the Muslims retaliated, resulting in what historians refer to as the "Moro Wars." For more than three hundred years, Spanish expeditions against Muslim countries to conquer them failed. Mindanao and Sulu lands were not covered by the Spanish agrarian system or other Spanish land tenure arrangements in the Visayas and Mindanao during the long years of Spanish colonization (Luga, 2002).

The Treaty of Paris in 1898 granted the United States government authority to control and own all land in the Philippine archipelago, and thus the United States inherited the Moro issue from Spain. The US policy, like its predecessor, is to turn Mindanao and Sulu into political entities. The Philippine colonial government enacted legislation that solidified US control of the country, particularly in terms of land ownership. These laws were the Land Registration Act of 1902, the General Land Act of 1903, and a policy enacting a program of resettlement of Filipinos of Christian faith to areas in Mindanao formerly dominated by indigenous peoples of Muslim faith, which went into effect in 1913 (Luga, 2002).

Resettlement policies in the 1950s, in particular, encouraged Filipino Christians to migrate from the densely populated province of Luzon to Mindanao, where Muslims make up the majority of the population and own

roughly 40% of the land. As Christian Filipinos become the majority in Mindanao and gain more land, the Muslim population and landholdings on the island have shrunk significantly. Furthermore, Mindanao Province, which has a sizable Muslim population, remains one of the poorest in the Philippines (Dalpino, 2003).

Furthermore, several sultans entered into negotiations with the Americans, which were opposed by the Muslim community because they were seen as a prelude to surrender. They launched fierce attacks against American troops and military installations from their mountainous and jungle terrain. Individual Muslims will sometimes carry out "juramentado" attacks against the American government if they believe the sultan and datuk have abandoned the jihad against the infidels of the United States (Luga, 2002).

The strong belief among Muslims that they are a distinct and separate nation from the Filipino nationality, and that the Philippine government is a colonial government, resulted in the organization of resistance movements in the 1960s. Although they initially worked separately, several Muslim political leaders, students from Mindanao and Sulu studying in Cairo, and Muslim students in Manila secretly planned and organized the movement (Luga, 2002).

Although Moro resistance was widespread during and immediately following colonial rule, it was not until the early 1970s that the Moro revolutionary movement became formalized. The Moro National Liberation Front, or MNLF, was the first revolutionary organization (Rhoades & Helmus, 2020). MNLF Nur Misuari, an ethnic Tausug and former University of the Philippines professor, founded the organization, which has an overtly nationalistic ideological agenda. MNLF arose as a result of Filipino Muslims' growing awareness of Islam. The MNLF was at the forefront of the Moros' separatist movement. This condition reflects a widespread Moro perception of national oppression at the hands of the predominantly Christian Philippine government (2009) (Chalk, Rabasa, Rosenau, & Piggott, 2009).

The MNLF leads an armed Muslim separatist campaign against the government. The MNLF had approximately 30,000 members in 1975; by 1996, membership had dropped to approximately 17,700 (Rhoades & Helmus, 2020). After five years of bloody conflict, the famous Tripoli Agreement was signed in December 1976, ushering in a new era of peace. The agreement, among other things, called for the establishment of autonomous regions in thirteen provinces in Mindanao and Sulu. In April 1977, a referendum was held in Mindanao's thirteen provinces, asking voters whether they wanted to be organized into an autonomous government. Three of these provinces in Regions 4 and 11, Davao del Sur, South Cotabato, and Palawan, refused to participate in the referendum, and those voting in the remaining nine provinces in Regions 9 and 11 rejected the proposal, preferring to remain in their respective territories. As a result, two autonomous regions, Regions 9 and 11, were established (Luga, 2002).

While two autonomous regions are gradually being imposed in the cities of Zamboanga and Cotabato, the MNLF leadership is shaken by alleged inter-ethnic conflicts among top officials (Luga, 2002). In 1996, the MNLF and the Philippine government signed a peace treaty. Since then, the MNLF has engaged in sporadic political activities and violent attacks, but its popularity has dwindled, and it has been largely sidelined in subsequent negotiations with the government. On the other hand, the goals of the Moro independence struggle have shifted; several groups have split from the MNLF, spawning new separatist organizations (Rhoades & Helmus, 2020).

In 1979, Ustadz Hashim Salamat, a Maguindanaoan and former vice-chairman of the MNLF, formed The Moro Islamic Liberation Front/Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), which broke away from the MNLF in 1978 to pursue a more Islam-focused agenda with respect to seeking Moro independence, replaced the MNLF as the main organization negotiating with the Philippine government for a Muslim autonomous region. When the MILF began to take a stance more in favor of an autonomous region, rather than total independence, many more radical groups emerged. One of them is the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (BIFF) (formerly a MILF military unit) which broke away from the MILF in 2010, the Maute Group (Rhoades & Helmus, 2020) and Misuari Breakaway Group (MBG) in 2002. These groups are not on the US Department of State's FTO list (Manalo, 2004).

With its peace efforts with the MILF in the 1990s, the Philippines saw the formation of another Muslim armed group known as the Abu Sayyaf Group or the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) (Luga, 2002). Abdurajak Abubakar Janjalani, a former MNLF member indoctrinated in Islamic extremism, leads the group. When the Soviet-Afghan

war erupted in the early 1980s, Janjalani enlisted in the Third International Islamic Brigade to assist the Afghan mujahideen in driving out the Soviet invaders. Janjalani was educated in an Islamic extremist mindset there, and upon his return to Mindanao, he formed his own group to fight for Islamic causes inspired by Middle Eastern movements (Manalo, 2004).

ASG is the first Filipino Islamic extremist organization to be included on the US State Department's list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations. Al Qaeda initially provided ideological inspiration, funding, and training to the group. Osama bin Laden has a personal relationship with the ASG leader. Later, bin Laden's brother-in-law helped fund the ASG, and Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, the mastermind of the 9/11 attacks, assisted in training ASG members (Rhoades and Helmus, 2020).

ASG had a central committee structure with distinct functional committees responsible for planning, formulating programs, controlling and directing the activities of all sub-groups across its operational areas (Basilan, Sulu, General Santos, Zamboanga peninsula, including Palawan) under Janjalani. However, following Janjalani's death in 1998, ASG members became dissatisfied and faced a leadership vacuum. As a result, the organization disintegrated, and the ASG is now made up of various armed groups, each with its own leader. The formal organizations vanished, leaving only bandits and money launderers hiding behind jihad and the struggle for an Islamic state. As a result, the government has no intention of reaching a peaceful agreement with the group (Luga, 2002).

ASG and BIFF pledged allegiance to the Islamic State of Iraq (ISIS) on social media in 2014. Despite its origins as part of the MNLF and its links to al Qaeda and ISIS, the ASG was primarily engaged in violent criminal behavior for the majority of its existence, with no clear political or ideological agenda beyond material gain. The ASG has never been included in peace talks with the Philippine government because of its violent activities and extremist ideology. ASG finances itself through kidnapping, extortion, smuggling, and selling marijuana; however, ASG also provides funds to local communities in order to foster support (Rhoades & Helmus, 2020). The following describes the rise of terrorist organizations in the Philippines:

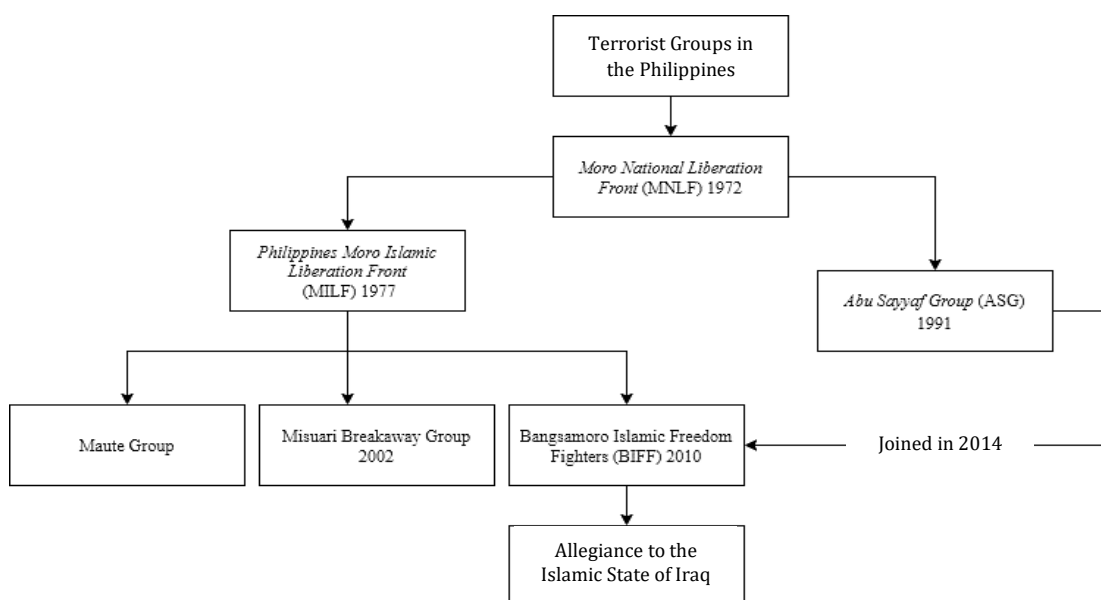


Figure 1: Development of Terrorist Groups in the Philippines

Source: processed by researchers (2023)

The Philippines, arguably, faces the most diverse mosaic of militant internal security challenges of any Southeast Asian country. Threats today include ethnoreligious separatism and Islamic extremism. The characteristics of terrorist groups emerging in the Philippines are as follows (Chalk, Rabasa, Rosenau, & Piggott, 2009):

Table 1: Characteristics of Terrorist Groups Developing in the Philippines

	Moro Islamic Liberation Front (1977)	Misuari Breakaway Group (2002)	Abu Sayyaf Group
Background and Objectives	The establishment of an independent Islamic state is governed by sharia law and Muslims form the majority	Responses from MNLF developments to the Davao Consensus (1996)	Removing all Christian influence in the southern Philippines and establishing the Islamic state of Mindanao whose nature, meaning, symbols and goals are the basis for peace
Structure and Size	The hierarchical organization has an executive branch of the MILF consisting of a chairman and three deputy chairmen for political, internal and military affairs, a central committee and a secretariat. The military structure falls under the post of deputy chief of military affairs and consists of committees responsible for the northern, southern, eastern, western, and central fronts.	The armed partisans numbering around 660 are under the control of Pangdam Malik who is headquartered in Sulu	The ASG configuration was separated, following the death of its leader. The group lost most of its internal cohesion
Patterns of Recruitment and Radicalization	Based on a sense of injustice in the 1970's. Radicalization is motivated by the Islamic obligation to carry out jihad	No inductees into the group, but have remained loyal to the group since the arrest and disillusionment with the mnlf	Ideology was not an important factor, support was based on family and clan relations reinforced by strong traditions of resistance to outside authority
Attitude of the General Population	Develop a deep-rooted military and political infrastructure in western and central Mindanao	Support and respect in movement strongholds in Sulu, Davao, Lanao, Maguindanao and the Zamboanga peninsula	Support in Sulu, Jolo and Basilian
Evidence of Cross-Border Links.	MILF cooperates with Jemaah Islamiyah (JI)	-	Interact with JI
Links to Other Groups	Maintaining operational and logistical relationships with ASG and MBG	Establish operational and logistical relationships with ASG	Maintain operational and logistical links with ASG, MBG and Al Qaeda

Source: Chalk, Rabasa, Rosenau, & Piggott (2009)

Using Bourdieu's theory of practice and the important concept of habitus as an analytical tool, the history of the development of terrorism in the Philippines can be seen. Habitus refers to a proclivity toward a particular way of behaving, an almost natural worldview that embodies the individual and what is required, ingrained in both the body and the intellect, usually at a subconscious level. It situates the individual as a social being in a specific context that serves as a reference point for evaluating all life experiences (Ali, 2014).

The researchers' preliminary findings show that there are several factors that shape the habitus that supports terrorism in the Philippines by looking at historical data on the development of terrorism in the Philippines. First and foremost, political violence and ethnic conflict have become ingrained in history and culture. As previously stated, Spain and the United States have both played a role in the political violence and ethnic conflict in Mindanao involving Muslims. In short, terrorism is viewed as a means of conflict resolution.

Simmel defines religious habitus as a sacrifice that becomes a part of a religious society. This type of religious language is still being reproduced within the inner processes of religious people who commit suicide bombings. Suicidal tendencies can become a habit if they are experienced repeatedly over a long period of time. According to Siregar, habitus is a long-lasting and transposable structured disposition system that generates and organizes practices and representations that can be adjusted objectively with results without requiring conscious efforts to achieve certain goals or mastery (Tamrin, Irwansyah, & Arisnawawi, 2021).

The social environment, life experiences, and individual habits, on the other hand, form habitus, which influences how individuals view the world and act (Ilan & Sandberg, How 'gangsters' became jihadists: Bourdieu, criminology, and the crime-terrorism nexus, 2019). Some of the factors that can shape a habit that supports terrorism in the Philippines include:

1. Conflict history: The Philippines has had centuries of political and ethnic conflict, and violence has always been a part of Filipino history and culture. This conflict gave rise to several terrorist organizations, including the Abu Sayyaf Group, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), and the New People's Army (NPA). Prolonged conflict can reinforce the notion that violence is the only way to achieve political objectives.
2. Economic condition: Terrorist groups in the Philippines often come from disadvantaged groups in society and feel unrepresented in the Philippine political system. Difficult economic conditions can trigger feelings of dissatisfaction and frustration, which can encourage individuals to become involved in terrorist movements.
3. Religion: Several terrorist groups in the Philippines have religious roots, such as the Abu Sayyaf Group and the MILF. Religious beliefs can form a world view that justifies violence as a form of political action. Some terrorist groups even combine violence with jihad, which is considered a religious duty.

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The Strategy of Empowerment Communication to Fish Farmer of Catfish (*Pangasius hypophthalmus*) in the Village of Indonesia: Case Study in Koto Mesjid Village, Kampar Regency, Riau Province

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Abstract

The research about strategy of empowerment communication to fish farmer was conducted in Koto Mesjid Village of Indonesia with the aim of formulating a communications strategy for fish farmer's empowerment in the production and marketing of aquaculture efforts. The method for determining the strategy was designed based on the results of the analysis of communication behavior of fish farmers in empowerment activities around fish farmers, information access and control, production and marketing behavior, opinions from key informants, field facilitators, and fish farmers as administrators of PT Telkom's fostered partners. To facilitate strategy formulation, the design of a communication strategy uses a Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT) analysis. The results of the research explain that the formulation of the strategy for empowering fish farmers in Koto Mesjid Village is through participatory empowerment communication, including: (1) utilizing the power of communication networks in an effort to form cooperative institutions (2) increasing the capacity of fish farmers characteristics through training and mentoring activities (3) implementing aquaculture business by utilizing production facilities, using appropriate and sustainable technology; (4) increasing the capacity and optimizing the performance of field facilitator in accordance with the standard facilitator performance to facilitate togetherness and independence of aquaculture businesses (5) increasing access to production information and building broad market access so that they have a bargaining position on product prices and are sustainable with government support; (6) implementing regular evaluation and monitoring of production and marketing of aquaculture business activities.

Keywords: Strategy, Communication, Empowerment, Fish Farmers, Village

1. Introduction

The communication strategy must be able to show how operational it is practically carried out, in the sense that the word approach can differ at any time depending on the situation and conditions (Effendy, 1990). In simple terms, a communication strategy can be formulated by examining Lasswell's theory in depth which includes: Who? Says what? In which channel? To whom? With what effect? To communicate appropriately according to the existing media, face-to-face communication and communication with the media can be used. Face-to-face communication plays a role in changing behavior, and media communication is for informative communication (Muhammad 2004).

The strategy contains two components, namely: (1) Future Intentions or long-term goals and (2) competitive advantage or competitive advantage (Dirgantoro, 2001). The development communication strategy will have a positive impact if the goals of the development program can be achieved and changes in the behavior of the target audience as the ultimate goal can be observed and measured. Its achievements are characterized by: (1) the emergence of public awareness to understand the benefits of innovation, (2) the embodiment of concrete community actions in the form of adopting these innovations, and (3) the emergence of quality human resources as a result of adopting innovations. While the criteria for success are: (1) the existence of elements of understanding, concern, and the ability of the community to select and implement various innovations, (2) active commitment and agreement to increase the success of various dimensions of development programs, and (3) a better life (Hubies, A.V., et al., 1995).

According to Melkote (2006) communication expert Rogers made a major contribution to the development of agricultural development communication through various studies on the diffusion of innovation, participation, empowerment, and social change in society. According to Chambers (1995) community empowerment is a concept of economic development that encapsulates social values. Community empowerment is a development strategy that focuses on the interests and needs of the people that lead to community independence, network participation and justice (Hikmat, 2004).

In an effort to empower catfish farmers in Koto Mesjid village, Kampar Regency, it is necessary to design a communication strategy for the right catfish farmers, so that the business can develop and be capable, independent and prosperous.

1.1. Problem Statement

Based on the background, the formulation of this research problem is: How to formulate a communication strategy for empowering fish farmers in rural of Indonesia, especially in the Village of Koto Mesjid ?

1.2. Research Objectives

This study aims to formulate a communication strategy for empowering fish farmers in rural of Indonesia, especially in the village of Koto Mesjid

2. Literature Review

2.1. Communication strategy in empowerment

The results of Kifli's research (2007) from the results of his research on empowering the Dayak community explained that the communication strategy that needs to be developed to empower traditional leaders as liaison persons is in the form of empowering community group communication. Group communication that can be developed is in the form of empowering group meetings within the community by developing a pattern of participatory delivery of opinions by all members of the meeting. These traditional meetings can be in the form of traditional parties, traditional ceremonies or traditional meetings that are routine or temporary. Through traditional meetings guided by influential traditional leaders in the community, various matters other than customary issues can be conveyed and discussed. In this way, it is hoped that a common understanding will be reached about a matter or problem within the members of the community. In order for the resulting decisions to be mutually agreed upon by all components of the community, these meetings must take place in a participatory atmosphere.

Noor (2008) in the results of his research on community development communication strategies at the center of fisheries explained that to develop villages, especially fishing communities, a participatory model approach and the principle of integration are needed. This participatory approach is through efforts to mobilize the most basic forms of group organization together with their participation to build themselves and their environment. The principle of integration means vertical and horizontal. Vertical integration is related to the fisheries production

chain in terms of resource management, catching, processing, marketing, including shipbuilding and workshops. Horizontal integration in relation to the mobilization of supporting resources outside fisheries such as PAM, electricity, markets, health, education and so on.

Furthermore, Rangkuti (2009a) in his study of communication strategies to build food self-sufficiency explained that to empower rural farmers, a strategy for developing a cooperative organizational communication model is needed with a complete set of supporting elements packaged in an integrated program so that all stakeholders can play a role through an effective information communication network and efficient.

The research results of Masruroh, (2010) regarding the development communication model in disseminating village regulations by conducting case studies in Sidomukti Village, Plaosan District, Magetan Regency, East Java explained that there were three issues that were studied in the study, namely: 1) what was the background to the village regulation Wilwamati; 2) what is the development communication process used in disseminating village regulations, 3) what factors support the implementation of the natural village regulation. From the results of this study it was found that: 1) the background of the Perdes is due to the large number of children who watch television while studying so that a pattern of dependence forms within them; 2) the communication model used in disseminating village regulations is a one-way communication model, a two-way communication model and a Westley and Maclean communication model where all of these models can be summed up as a multi-stage communication model, while there are 2 forms of communication used, namely interpersonal communication and communication groups, whose nature is persuasive; and 3) the factors that support the implementation of village regulations are three factors, namely, (a) the role of the village government, (b) community participation, (c) the achievement factor increases.

2.2. Communication and Community Empowerment

Communication that contains various development information, including from the reverse side, should communicate about the problems and needs of local communities from below, this is important in fisheries development. Every communication strategy should be based on various assumptions and requires certain conditions.

Community empowerment is an important thing to do because through empowerment community life can be better, if empowerment is carried out in accordance with participatory empowerment procedures and models that can be used as a reference for implementing activities, especially in fish farmers empowerment activities. In the concept of empowerment, according to Prijono and Pranarka (1996), humans are subjects of themselves. Empowerment process that emphasizes the process of giving the community the ability to become empowered, encouraging or motivating individuals to have the ability or empowerment to make life choices. It is further said that empowerment must be aimed at groups or layers of society that are left behind.

According to Sumodiningrat (1999), community empowerment is an effort to make people self-sufficient through the realization of their potential abilities. As for community empowerment, it always involves two interrelated groups, namely the community as the empowered party and the concerned party as the empowering party.

Empowerment as stated by Ife (1995) has two different concepts, namely power and disadvantage. First, empowerment is seen from the giving of power to individuals or groups. Allowing them to determine power in their own hands. Second, empowerment is seen from a lack of luck, this is more based on the social structure which results in the community not having adequate space to participate in the process of regional development. Empowerment is one of the goals of community development, by providing resources, opportunities, knowledge and skills to increase the capacity or ability to determine one's own future and to participate in influencing community life.

Several views on community empowerment are as follows (Ife 2002):

1. Structurally, empowerment is an effort to liberate, fundamentally structural transformation, and elimination of oppressive structures or systems.

2. Pluralism, empowerment as an effort to increase the power of a person or group of people to be able to compete with other groups in a certain 'rule of the game.'
3. Elitism, empowerment as an effort to influence elites, form alliances with these elites, and try to make changes to elitist practices and structures.
4. Post-Structuralist, empowerment is an effort to change discourse and respect subjectivity in understanding social reality.

The essence of the conceptualization of empowerment is centered on humans and humanity, in other words humans and humanity as normative, structural, and substantial benchmarks. Thus the concept of empowerment as an effort to build the existence of personal, family, community, nation, government, state and world order within the framework of a just and civilized humanity actualization process. Community empowerment is a concept of economic development that encapsulates social values. This concept reflects a new paradigm of development, namely one that is "people centered, participatory, empowering, and sustainable" (Chambers 1992).

Community empowerment is an effort to increase the dignity of layers of society who are currently unable to escape the trap of poverty and underdevelopment. In other words, empowerment is enabling and empowering the community. In an effort to empower the community can be seen from three sides, namely:

1. Creating an atmosphere or climate that allows the community's potential to develop (enabling). Empowerment is an effort to build this power by encouraging, motivating and raising awareness of its potential and trying to develop it.
2. Strengthening the potential or power possessed by the community (empowering) by providing input and opening access to various opportunities that will make the community empowered. Efforts that are very basic in empowerment are increasing the level of education, health status, and access to sources of economic progress such as capital, technology, information, employment, and markets. Development of basic physical infrastructure and facilities, such as irrigation, roads, electricity, as well as social services such as schools and health service facilities, which can be reached by the lowest strata of society, as well as the availability of funding, training and marketing institutions in rural areas, where the population is concentrated those whose empowerment is very lacking is also important to do. The most important aspect is increasing people's participation in decision-making processes that concern themselves and their communities. Community empowerment is very closely related to strengthening, civilizing and practicing democracy. Friedman (1992) states "The empowerment approach, which is fundamental to an alternative development, places the emphasis on an autonomy in the decision marking of territorially organized communities, local self-reliance (but not autarchy), direct (participatory) democracy, and experiential social learning."
3. Empowering also means protecting. In the process of empowerment, the weak must be prevented from getting weaker, due to their lack of power in the face of the strong. Community empowerment does not make people more dependent on various charity programs. This is because basically everything that is enjoyed must be produced on its own effort (which results can be exchanged with other parties).

Jan Servaes links the concept of empowerment in social planning and participatory communication to participation in collective decision-making. Empowerment ensures that people are able to help themselves.

One of the most widely used empowerment concepts today is empowerment as a central organizing concept. Power injustice is a central problem that must be solved in development. Furthermore, empowerment is defined as a process in which individuals and organizations gain more control and mastery of socio-economic conditions, with higher democratic participation in their own communities.

Community empowerment according to Friedmann (1992), is interpreted as gaining power and linking it to the ability of the poor to gain access to resources such as: social networks, social organizations, information, surplus time, means of production, knowledge and skills, living space that can be maintained, financial resources that form the basis of power in a system. This access is used to achieve independence in decision making.

Referring to the opinion of Friedmann (1992), the concept of empowerment can be defined as an effort (in the form of a process, strategy, program or method) aimed at helping the poor towards independence through redistributing the power needed, which can be realized through: mutual cooperation, cooperation, jointly agreed and supported group activities, partnerships and similar activities aimed at improving the welfare of individual members of society. This understanding of empowerment shows that empowerment is an appropriate process if applied to develop certain communities that are experiencing backwardness.

The concept of empowerment in community development discourse is always associated with the concept of independence, participation, networking and justice. Basically, empowerment is placed on individual and social strength. According to Hikmat (2001) empowerment implies a strong and strong mental attitude. Empowerment as a decision-making process by people who consequently implement the decision. People who have achieved collective goals are empowered through their independence and it is even necessary to be more empowered through their own efforts and the accumulation of knowledge, skills and other resources in order to achieve their goals (Hikmat, 2001).

Slamet (2003) defines empowerment as being able, empowered, understanding, understanding, motivated, having the opportunity, being able to take advantage of opportunities, having energy, being able to work together, knowing various alternatives, being able to make decisions, being willing to take risks, being able to find and capture information.

Forms of participatory development communication in the concept of empowerment according to Serveas (2002) include grassroots dialogue forums, new functions of communication in participatory media, knowledge-sharing on a co-equal base), and the development support communicator model (Development Support Communication). Grassroots dialogue is based on the rules of participation to bring together sources and agents of change directly with the community. The method used is awareness through dialogue. Furthermore, the community is invited to formulate problems and find solutions as well as carry out activities to solve problems. In this regard, the communicator also plays a role as a liberator of society in the development process.

2.3. Fish Farmers

According to Law no. 45 of 2009. Fish farmers are people whose means of livelihood are cultivating fish. while small fish farmers are people whose livelihood is cultivating fish to fulfill their daily needs. Fish farming is an activity to raise, raise and/or breed fish and harvest the results in a controlled environment, including activities using ships to load, transport, store, cool, handle, process and/or preserve them.

Aquaculture business actors are divided based on several things depending on the scope of their business activities. According to Effendi and Oktariza (2006) in general, aquaculture actors are divided into five, namely: (1) Fish farmers, namely those who have fish production businesses with activities starting from preparation to post-harvest. Fish farmers are further divided into several categories, usually depending on: the type of fish cultivated (ornamental fish or consumption fish), business location (farmers operating brackish water ponds, seawater/mariculture farmers, freshwater farmers), production stage (hatchery farmers), , nursery, or enlargement). (2) Providers of production inputs, namely those in the downstream subsystem, such as fertilizer, pharmaceuticals, hatchery entrepreneurs, and production equipment entrepreneurs. (3) Fish processors, namely aquaculture business actors engaged in the business of processing basic fish products, for example processing meatballs, shredded meat, nuggets, fish sausages and so on. (4) Traders or distributors, who are engaged in the business of selling aquaculture products and their processed products. In the marketing chain, these actors range from collectors, wholesalers, to exporters and retailers. (5) Parties that support aquaculture activities that act as supporting factors for aquaculture business, such as financial institutions (banks, cooperatives, savings and loans, etc.), government seed supply institutions such as Fish Cultivation Development Centers and Fish Seed Centers (FCDC and FSC), raisers and others.

3. Research Methodology

This research was conducted from December 2014 to September 2015, which took place in the area of a center for cultivating catfish (*Pangasius hypophthalmus*) in a pond, to be precise, in Koto Mesjid Village, Kampar Regency, of Riau Province, Indonesia. The location determination in this study was carried out because this area was selected as a pilot area for aquaculture production centers in Riau Province of Indonesia. The place where fish farmers empowerment activities from the government and PT. Telkom. Defined as a Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) program area and as a CSR Award nominee in 2011.

The method for determining the strategy was designed based on the results of an analysis of the communication behavior of fish farmers in production and marketing activities in the scope of fish farmers, information access and control, production and marketing behavior, opinions from key informants, field facilitator, and fish farmers as administrators of PT Telkom's fostered partners.

To make it easier, the design of a communication strategy for empowering fish farmers uses Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats (SWOT) analysis. The SWOT analysis is followed by setting priorities to achieve the goals.

This research was analyzed descriptively. Primary data collection was carried out through individual and group interviews with fish farmers. In addition, in order to further analyze the research findings, in-depth interviews were conducted with community leaders, village officials, the Fisheries Service, assistants, and fish farmers as administrators of PT Telkom's fostered partners, while secondary data was obtained through a review of documents and literature from various related sources.

4. Results and Discussion

Empowerment of fish farmers in Koto Mesjid Village is carried out through assistance with access to business capital development, provision of production inputs and development of other supporting infrastructure. This activity was carried out by the Kampar Regency Government and PT. Telkom as a way of developing the local economy at the village level with the intention of providing acceleration in the form of a stimulant that can drive local economic development so that it is hoped that there will be a strengthening of social capital in the community. Social capital is a system that refers to the results of social and economic organization, such as general view (world view), trust (trust), exchange (reciprocity), economic and information exchange (informational and economic exchange), formal and informal groups (formal and informal groups), as well as associations that complement other capital (physical, human, cultural) so as to facilitate collective action, economic growth and development (Colleta & Cullen 2000).

Empowerment of fish farmers is interpreted as a process of change towards a better direction aimed at transforming the behavior of fish farmers so that they are highly knowledgeable, positive, skilled and independent in running their business, so as to be able to make their business sustainable.

Sustainability means that the business continues to grow without neglecting environmental sustainability, and can improve the welfare of the fish cultivating family or community itself. Efforts to empower fish farmers can be developed by creating a conducive climate and synergistic cooperation between the various parties involved in aquaculture development, namely assistants or extension workers, fish farmers, and agribusiness institutions that facilitate aquaculture businesses, such as financial institutions that provide business capital, providers of production inputs, information providers, and institutions that market fish. In this case, the role of existing institutions for fish farmers is very important to increase the empowerment of fish farmers by utilizing the potential and functions of these various parties (Fatchiya 2010).

4.1. Analysis of Fish Farmers business

The situation in Koto Mesjid Village, Kampar Regency, shows that the socio-economic level of the cultivating community has developed in a better direction, which is indicated by the high level of income and asset ownership in the aquaculture business. The majority of fish farmers are adequate in meeting their production input needs. This can be seen from the production activities, the availability of seeds, feed, fertilizers and medicines in the activities of raising fresh catfish. However, this existence is not evenly distributed among every fish farmers. Production inputs are controlled by fish farmers who have large capital, high incomes and have a respected position in their community. In the analysis of communication networks, it is known that some fish farmers who have the least communication interactions within their environment are those with low incomes and find it difficult to relate to their environment.

The communication network formed in the production and marketing activities of the aquaculture business in Koto Mesjid Village is interlocked due to the dominant role of several individuals in their environment. This dominant role causes dependence and difficulties for group members to develop to obtain information from many individuals in running their business. Fish farmers as group members will face several obstacles if the central individual in the environment is unable to be contacted so that it has an impact on the aquaculture activities they carry out.

The support of several government and private institutions in the development of agribusiness for fish cultivating businesses is only limited to running programs or projects. Thus the empowerment activities carried out are not in accordance with the expectations and goals of the empowerment itself. Empowerment of fish farmers has not been carried out intensively, this can be seen from the perceptions of fish farmers on the performance of government assistants who are still low, control over the supply of production inputs is dominated by only a few people, access to marketing is still dependent on collecting traders, and dependence on information from group administrators and influential individuals in their environment.

The low capability and bargaining position in the marketing activities of the production of aquaculture business, so that marketing problems are still encountered, including dependence on market prices, high factory feed prices causing low business profits, still low ability to plan and evaluate business. In general, knowing the current condition of fish farmers in Koto Mesjid Village can be explained as follows:

(1) Stopping the revolving of access assistance for business development capital assistance obtained from PT. Telkom due to several fish farmers unable to fulfill the obligation to pay off financing to PT. Telkom.

Based on the results of the interview with Mr. G explained:

"Since the high price of feed on the market for fishery production, the current high cost of living, since then there have also been arrears in payment of access to capital financing from PT. Telkom. even though people say fish farmers here have a lot of money"

(2) Availability of inputs for aquaculture production is sufficient, however, to increase the business scale, it is necessary to increase financing and adequate pond area. Until now, this is still not evenly distributed among fish farmers.

Interview with Mr. W. explained:

"Fish farmers need an increase in business scale so that income and profits can be achieved more, but at this time we, on average, fish farmers still have capital that is still relatively unable to develop higher, the area of the pond is still limited, from PT. Telkom we only have a maximum of get maximum assistance of seventy million per fish farmers. We tried to apply for a loan from the bank, thank God Bank Nagari has opened up opportunities for us."

(3) The performance of field facilitator assigned by the government, both those with the status of Civil Servants and contract field facilitator, is still low.

Interview with Mr SH explains:

"Actually, we don't really know about the existence of assistants appointed by the government, such as PPL officers, they are very rare in this village, so for us, yes, it's hard to say they are working. How come, how come, why don't you do it?"

- (4) There are still individual fish farmers who have low income and low experience and have the least interaction with fellow fish farmers in their environment, resulting in weak ability to access production and marketing information in running the aquaculture business they are engaged in.
- (5) The formal education of fish farmers is generally still in the moderate category, this causes the dependence of production and marketing knowledge and information on farmers with higher education and fish farmers group administrators.
- (6) There is still little implementation of training activities related to the production and marketing activities of aquaculture businesses, such as training on Good Fish Cultivation Practices (GFCP) and training on financial management and systems for handling fishery products.
- (7) Dependence on fish seed only from an individual provider of seed is a separate obstacle, especially when orders are abundant or when seed production is experiencing problems. So for the spread of seeds in fish ponds will also experience problems. Meaning that the availability of seeds still depends on several other individuals among fish farmers.

Interview with Mr W stated:

"The attachment of fish farmers to seed providers like Mr SH in this area, no one has been able to match it, the quality of the seeds produced is of good quality and sufficient to accommodate the needs of us fish farmers."

- (8) The technical capability of fish hatchery, especially catfish requires special skills and expertise, so that in general fish farmers in this area are not able to carry out hatchery independently.
- (9) Fish feed is also an obstacle that is always faced by fish farmers, especially price fluctuations. Prices often increase so that fish farmers experience a decrease in profits from their production. Artificial feed has been cultivated by fish farmers in Koto Mesjid Village but is still in the form of traditional technology so that the quality of the feed is not guaranteed. This situation will affect the quality of fish production produced.

The interview with Mr. G stated:

"In mid-2012 to the end of 2013 fish farmers were faced with high feed prices, the artificial feeds that were available were not able to meet production needs, not to mention the quality was a bit lower than factory pellets. so that it has an effect on production, thank God since the beginning of 2104 yesterday artificial feed products have gotten better and fish prices have increased so that they are able to use factory pellets"

- (10) Water quality and fish disease are also problems faced by fish farmers. Fish farmers often face circumstances that are out of the ordinary, when the summer changes to the rainy season or vice versa.
- (11) Until now, the marketing of fish cultivation business results still depends on collecting traders from outside the area and local collecting traders. This dependence causes fish farmers not to have a fishery market that has access to a wider range. This situation causes the profits obtained by fish farmers to be smaller than the profits obtained by collectors, both local and from outside the area.
- (12) Fish farmers do not yet have a joint business in carrying out aquaculture activities. Especially the container of business results, providers of production facilities and infrastructure. This situation causes dependence on individual providers of seeds, fertilizers and other inputs. The absence of this institution makes the condition of fish farmers even though they are a group of fostered partners but they are still trying to work separately.
- (13) The weak bargaining position of fish farmers in determining the price of fresh fish production, because fish produced by aquaculture in this area are still sold by each individual to local collectors and collectors from outside the area so that the price of fish is still determined by the collecting traders, based on existing market price. So it is very difficult for fish farmers to be able to regulate prices.

Interview with Mr D, stated:

"The fresh catfish harvest in our area is sold to traders to collectors in this village and collectors from outside the area who go in and out of the village every day. Specifically for the collecting traders in this village, he processes it into smoked fish. Eighty percent of our catfish yields are purchased by local collectors, while the rest are from outside."

- (14) Fish farmers have not been able to expand their communication network to several other individuals, especially outside their environment. Weak relations with researchers, government assistants, service agencies and the mass media are problems that are still being faced by fish farmers. The low intensity of interaction with these parties and the lack of innovative technology offered is because fish farmers still rely on the existence of networks

in their environment. Most of the production and marketing information is obtained from fellow fish farmers, group leaders, and collectors.

(15) The low performance of local government assistance. This situation is due to the low competence of assistants, the readiness to provide assistants is only limited to projects and does not carry out assistance based on mentoring work standards. The assistant's knowledge of fish farming techniques is still low, often resulting in the assistant being unable to help solve the problems faced by fish farmers.

(16) The role of group leader as well as companion still has low dynamics. This situation causes the group to not become an effective interactive vehicle in the learning process or to strengthen bargaining positions. The group leader should be able to encourage fish farmers to become dynamic groups, to carry out group activities that are routine or periodic, to connect groups with stakeholders, researchers, aquaculture technicians and be able to motivate them to develop and progress.

(17) The condition of the area and the potential for business feasibility, both economically and ecologically, has a fairly good chance of business continuity, which is indicated by: high production and productivity of fish, high income of fish farmers, existence of groups, profits earned, availability of production assets such as ponds and a large area.

Based on the explanation that has been described, an analysis can be carried out to develop a communication strategy in setting the development goals for aquaculture business as expected by the government by seeking the development of the minapolitan area.

The goal of community development for fish farmers is formulated through a communication strategy to empower fish farmers based on the potential of aquaculture fisheries resources, the socio-economic characteristics of fishery business actors, communication networks in production and marketing activities, and the business climate which includes financial institutions, inputs production, information, and marketing in Kampar District.

Based on the above, the application of a communication strategy to empower fish farmers in the production and marketing activities of aquaculture businesses in Koto Mesjid Village was prepared and designed using SWOT analysis. This designed SWOT analysis is a systematic identification of various factors based on logic to formulate a communication strategy as a program. This analysis is obtained by maximizing the supporting factors but simultaneously minimizing the inhibiting factors.

Based on the preparation of the SWOT analysis that has been carried out, several strategies can be designed as a form of recommendations and formulations to overcome several problems related to community empowerment activities. Empowerment activities that refer to a good strategy will provide added value and towards program improvement and achievement of better empowerment results. Empowerment of fish farmers from a systems approach point of view can be carried out by referring to the existing situation in the fish cultivating community. Furthermore, the program can be implemented from available inputs, such as: fish cultivating organizations, government, fisheries assistants/extensioners, researchers, and agribusiness support institutions. Based on the existing inputs, a participatory mentoring process is carried out to produce outputs as expected. The expected output of the assistance process carried out is the realization of fish farmers empowerment. In the end, the outcome (impact) from this external is the emergence of a sustainable business, namely a business that develops without neglecting environmental conditions, and increases welfare.

Table 1: SWOT analysis of the communication strategy for empowering fish farmers in the production and marketing of catfish farming in Koto Mesjid Village, Kampar Regency, Riau Indonesia

<p>Internal Factor</p> <p>Eksternal Factor</p>	<p>Strenght (S)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Adequate income 2. Availability of production inputs 3. Potential and suitability of available land 4. Productive age of fish farmers 5. Performance of active self-help assistants 6. Awareness of fish farmers towards new modern production technologies 7. Strong communication network ties between fish farmers 8. The standard of living and mindset of fish farmers are getting better 	<p>Weakness (W)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Land has not been optimally utilized 2. The independence of fish farmers who still depend on the existence of self-help partners 3. The low performance of field facilitator officers from the government 4. Production and marketing technology is still simple 5. Weak ability to distribute marketing only to collectors 6. There are still limited economic institutions supporting the marketing of fishery products 7. Cooperatives have not developed 8. Lack of government support to stimulate and facilitate market access
<p>Opportunity (O)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Natural environment and other supporting natural resources 2. Improved technology, information and transportation facilities that support business development. 3. An enabling climate for product development 4. High public interest in product consumption 5. Local government policies that support the development of aquaculture businesses 	<p>Strategy SO</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participatory empowerment of fish farmers 2. Aquaculture business partnership 3. Increasing access to productive assets, technology and management 4. Business assistance to increase employment opportunities 5. Fostering and developing fishery product processing businesses for joint business groups 	<p>Strategy WO</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Training, guidance and counseling in order to increase the independence of fish farmers. 2. Optimizing the performance of mentoring/PPL from the government 3. Improvement and development of fishery product processing business 4. Increasing and expanding market access and assisted by local governments 5. Formation of fish farmers cooperative institutions
<p>Threat (T)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sudden change in water quality and attack of fish disease 2. Formation of fish farmers groups that are not yet participatory and still seem forced, so that the process of institutional strengthening is not working. 3. Dependence on providers of production inputs and collectors salesman 4. Increasing production costs from year to year 5. The price of production is still low because it depends on collectors salesman and the market 	<p>Strategy ST</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Intensification and extensification of the use of cultivation technology innovations 2. Formation of joint business groups in participatory. 3. Providing assistance to the marketing efforts of community business results 4. Improvement and development of production technology to reduce production costs 5. Improving product management and quality through product production and marketing training 	<p>Strategy WT</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participatory and responsible facilitation performance improvement 2. Formation and institutional development of fish farmers cooperatives in terms of production and marketing of fishery products 3. Increasing the partnership program through cooperative institutions with banks 4. Development and strengthening of village economic institutional systems through fish farmers cooperation and local government facilitation

Source: primer data analysis

4.2. Communication strategy in empowering fish farmers

Communication strategy is the overall planning management of communications to achieve the desired communication effect. The effect of communication in development is defined as a communication situation that allows for conscious, critical, voluntary, genuine and responsible community participation (Hamijoyo 2001). The

formulation of a communication strategy is inseparable from understanding the elements involved in the communication process. Congestion and blockages in the communication process indicate that the communication strategy used is inappropriate. Based on the general conditions and problems contained in the network of production and marketing activities for aquaculture businesses, in realizing the empowerment of fish farmers in Koto Mesjid Village, a communication strategy was developed, namely:

4.2.1 Participatory Communication Strategy

The participatory communication strategy emphasizes a balanced flow of two-way communication and is audience-oriented, in this case, fish farmers. The participatory communication paradigm explains that all people are invited to participate more in the communication process up to decision making. Development support communication is carried out in a horizontal communication model, communication interactions are carried out in a more democratic manner. In the process of communication, there is not only a source or receiver. The source is also the recipient, the recipient is also the source in the same position and at the same level. Therefore, communication activities are not giving and receiving activities but "sharing" or "dialogue." The contents of the communication are no longer "messages" designed by sources from above, but facts, events, problems, needs which are codified into "themes." And it is this theme that is highlighted, discussed and analyzed. All voices are heard and considered to be taken into consideration in decision making. So those involved in this communication model are no longer "sources and recipients" but participants" with one another (Wibowo 1994).

Participatory communication strategy is a new approach in development communication. The participatory approach is based on the spirit of togetherness in articulating and perceiving things in thoughts, attitudes and actions including ways of solving problems together. The concept of togetherness determines the purpose of the communication process so that all parties involved have the opportunity to exchange and negotiate the meaning of the message towards harmony and harmony of shared meaning. Because communication activities take place in public spaces, it allows everyone to access information and open dialogue equally (Dilla 2007).

The communication strategy in an effort to empower fish farmers that are deemed worthy of development is a participatory communication strategy that produces a balance in the perspective of exchange theory through established institutional channels supported by effective forms of transactional communication, both vertical and horizontal in the fisheries socio-economic system.

The intended participatory communication strategy is institutional development and organization of fish farmers to form a partnership pattern. Cooperatives can be used as a forum that supports the partnership pattern to support the interests of its members (fish farmers). To build effective and efficient cooperatives, the fisheries cooperative model with catfish as the main commodity is an alternative that can be developed to accelerate the development of a modern fisheries business with the support of a fisheries communication information system. Fishery cooperatives with superior catfish commodities that are oriented towards empowerment, welfare, independence and fairness among fish farmers in rural areas, especially Koto Mesjid Village, will be able to encourage the emergence of reliable cooperatives in development.

Based on the SWOT analysis and explanation above, a communication strategy draft for empowering fish farmers in the production and marketing of fishery products is proposed, namely:

- (1) Utilizing the power of communication networks in the effort to form cooperative institutions that have the principle of togetherness to create independent, prosperous and just fish farmers.
- (2) Increasing the characteristic capacity of fish farmers through training and mentoring activities for fish farmers.
- (3) Carry out aquaculture business activities by utilizing production facilities, using appropriate and sustainable technology.
- (4) Increasing the capacity and optimizing the performance of field assistants in assisting fish farmers in accordance with mentoring performance standards, to facilitate togetherness and independence of aquaculture businesses within the scope of fish farmers.
- (5) Increasing access to production information and building broad market access in order to have a bargaining position on product prices and be sustainable with government support.

(6) Implement periodic evaluation and monitoring of production and marketing activities of aquaculture business. Utilizing the power of communication networks in an effort to form cooperative institutions that have the principle of togetherness.

4.2.2. Utilizing the power of communication networks in an effort to form cooperative institutions that have the principle of togetherness.

The strategy for realizing prosperous and independent fish farmers needs to be done through the establishment of strong socio-economic institutions in the form of fish cultivator cooperatives. Fish farmers need to get good attention from various groups, especially the group administrators and the fish farmers themselves.

Institutions that are formed between fish farmers can be used as a place to build collaborative training and mentoring activities with various institutions, both government and private agencies. A strong institution will pay attention to the resources of its members, so that the success of members is mutual success and progress.

Through the development of cooperatives that have a clear vision and mission, efforts to increase the ability of individual fish farmers can be increased. Some of the characteristics of fish farmers who have lower formal education, lower income and have few assets, in their environment are generally very less able to get new information, lack of relationships with each other, they generally tend to experience difficulties in carrying out business functions and solving problems. For this reason, attention is needed with the formation of socio-economic institutions so that they can carry out business activities both through individual fish cultivator cooperation and cooperation with banking partnership institutions or other business institutions. So that individual and group problems can be resolved for all levels of fish cultivating society, and no individual community is "left out."

Fish farmers, especially the management of the Foster Partner Forum of PT Telkom, have an important role in determining the sustainability of their members' businesses, especially in maintaining togetherness and motivation within the group as well as environmental sustainability. The chairman of the forum has a role in initiating the formation of fish cultivator cooperative institutions. The role of institutional administrators for fish farmers in villages designated as fisheries center areas in Kampar Regency plays the role of star, cosmopolite and opinion leader. Therefore, empowerment activities that involve institutional administrators should be directed at creating togetherness and the interests of equal distribution of benefits received by members. The existence of an institutional chairman is needed and it is hoped that his awareness will be for the benefit and benefit of all members. Leadership training and management of social institutions need to be initiated by farmers.

Empowerment of fish farmers through institutions is very important, because the existence of institutions is an effective learning platform for the realization of the empowerment and independence of fish farmers. Interaction between fish farmers can share knowledge and experience. Member solidarity in high institutions can create institutions as a forum for sharing and strengthening each other so that fish farmers have a bargaining position in various activities, especially in marketing fishery products.

4.2.3. Increasing the knowledge capacity of fish farmers through training and mentoring activities

Fish farmers continue to improve their knowledge and skills in the field of aquaculture with limited existing facilities, knowledge of good cultivation, pests and diseases must be continuously developed. Communication networks between fish farmers, either face-to-face or with the benefit of communication technology, can be implemented to improve the ability of each fish cultivator to access various information about aquaculture business.

4.2.4. Development of aquaculture business activities by utilizing production facilities, using appropriate and sustainable technology.

Fish farmers in carrying out their business should be really diligent and take advantage of existing production facilities. The land area can be used for pond expansion, the quality of making traditional feed which is relatively

cheaper needs to be improved, the seed stocking density using the cultivation technology system is twice the stocking density, some of which are harvested when they are still of medium size, then the results obtained can be used as an additional production cost for the remaining stocking density, so as to produce optimal fish production which is expected to be sustainable.

4.2.5. Improvement of Field facilitators Performance and Communication Network

The companion role is very important in empowering fish farmers. Facilitators should be able to manage programs from planning to monitoring and evaluation, developing community organizations in the form of fish cultivating institutions, KUB, to developing networks such as fish cultivator forums or marketing networks, which are accompanied by local leadership training so they can manage these organizations. well. Assistance must strive for empowerment by accompanying the process of forming and organizing community groups as facilitators, communicators or dynamics and helping to find ways to solve problems that cannot be done by the community alone. Assistance personnel must have four characteristics, namely: (1) must be skilled in solving problems (problem solving), (2) must care and have partiality to the empowered community (sense of community), (3) must have a vision (sense of mission) , and (4) must be honest with oneself and with others (honesty with others and with self).

The role of the companion in learning is not to be a teacher who transfers knowledge to his students, but the companion should be a motivator and facilitator who arouses interest in learning and explores the knowledge and experience of the fish farmers themselves.

Extension institutions play an important role in improving the performance or competence of fisheries assistants/extensioners. The Extension Agency and Regional Development Planning Agency of Kampar Regency Riau Indonesia, which facilitates the availability of field facilitators as the person in charge of counseling/assistance activities at the district level has not yet materialized in Kampar Regency, so it is still in the process of being consolidated as an organization. Related to this, it is necessary to accelerate integration in mentoring and counseling in Kampar Regency. So that empowerment and service activities for fish cultivating communities can run faster and better.

The communication network in the production and marketing activities of aquaculture business is determined by the cooperation and interaction between individual fish farmers. Communication networks play many roles in the transfer of information and knowledge. The communication network that is formed cannot be separated from the role and performance of the assistants, especially in the application of production technology and harvest handling for fish farmers. The assistance that is carried out is based on a participatory paradigm from all parties involved in dialogic assistance and communication activities. This paradigm is reflected in various forms, both from the role of fish farmers and assistants, learning processes, mentoring methods, activity materials, information sources, and forms of cooperation between fish farmers.

Dialogical and convergent communication between fish farmers, assistants and related agencies is reciprocal communication, understanding each other's intentions and providing mutual benefits.

4.2.6. Increased access to broad production and marketing information so that they have a bargaining position on product prices and are sustainable with government support.

Economic institutions providing marketing production and distribution infrastructure facilities play an important role in empowering fish farmers. As a provider of production inputs and harvest containers or as a marketing agency. Institutional support for production and marketing, especially in providing broodstock, seeds and accommodating production results, is an important factor in increasing the capacity of fish farmers and the sustainability of their businesses. So far, the majority of fish farmers have obtained brood stock and seeds as the main input for aquaculture from the Graha Pratama Fish Hatchery Unit (FHU), but the seeds produced are still unable to meet the demands of fish farmers, due to the large number of requests from various regions. Institutions that play a role in providing superior broodstock and seeds include BBAT and BBI Kampar Regency. However,

the function of these two institutions to provide superior seeds in sufficient quantities is not optimal. Production and quality are relatively low, less competitive than the Graha Pratama Fish Hatchery Unit. For this reason, the production capacity of BBAT and BBI should be increased.

So far, marketing institutions for fish cultivation products have focused on collecting traders, so the selling price of fish is determined by the buyer and market conditions. Fish farmers do not have a bargaining power over price determination. The institutional role that plays a role in accommodating harvests should be the existence of fish cultivator cooperatives, which are engaged in serving members to meet production and marketing needs.

Government support in seeking to expand production and marketing capabilities for fish cultivating cooperative institutions is urgently needed, the government can play its role through regulations and policies by issuing regional regulations and market facilities and establishing regional cooperation to expand market access as an effort to distribute fishery products. So that fish farmers are expected to be able to have a better bargaining position from the products they produce.

4.3. Output

The expected output from aquaculture business activities carried out by fish farmers is the realization of better and better quality business empowerment and sustainability. This is marked by a change in the standard of living and the mindset of fish farmers towards a more stable one. Fish farmers become prosperous, independent and fair businesses so that they are able to carry out business functions, plan and evaluate businesses, solve problems, and adapt to changes that occur in their surroundings. Through the role of communication networks in accelerating changes in the standard of living and the mindset of fish farmers in running their business, it is hoped that they will become fish farmers as well as entrepreneurs who are well-established and prosperous, independent and just.

The independence of fish farmers in their business is shown by several characteristics including: (1) a change in the standard of living and behavior towards a better direction; (2) able to establish cooperative communication networks with fellow members of fish farmers or other individuals within and outside their environment; (3) have the ability and skills to carry out technical production and marketing of fishery with quality results and understand and know the solutions to environmental changes that occur; (4) ability in financial management, such as being able to make business plans, a simple profit and loss balance sheet, being able to develop business capital to become larger; (5) able to organize and manage the workforce; (6) taking into account the conditions and market demand for the production produced; (7) able to evaluate production and marketing conditions appropriately; (9) continue to strive for innovation and explore new information; (10) making constraints an opportunity to find new ideas in the business at hand; (12) prepare possible obstacles that occur as a basis for learning to be more developed and advanced; (13) be responsible and courageous towards the possible risks that will be faced.

4.4. Outcome (Impact)

The impact (outcome) that occurs as a result of empowering fish farmers is a change in the standard of living and mindset in a better direction. The expected changes are business continuity, increased welfare, independence and fair business. To realize this, fish farmers need to pay attention to their business activities in an integrated manner, starting from planning, monitoring and evaluating the benefits and risks that will be faced. Business sustainability can be achieved if fish farmers pay attention to this, coupled with the condition of the carrying capacity of the environment.

Business continuity will be marked by: increased standard of living, including increased income, increased savings, increased average production and business scale as well as improved infrastructure. Sustainability of the carrying capacity of the environment is indicated by: availability and quality of pool water, pest and disease control. Social sustainability is marked by an increase in the mindset of fish farmers, which is characterized by an increase in children's education, an increase in individual knowledge, an increase in technology adoption, health, self-confidence and an increase in access to information in communication networks that are mutually beneficial and fair within and outside the environment.

4.5. Carry out evaluation and monitoring

Monitoring and evaluation activities are aimed at correcting errors and discrepancies that occur during business implementation, in order to return to the plan that has been determined from the start. The results of monitoring and evaluation are in the form of recommendations for improvements in production and marketing activities. This recommendation can be used as material to improve planning and further development efforts for aquaculture business. Based on the explanation of the fish cultivator empowerment system above, policies and strategies for empowering fish farmers in production and marketing activities are emphasized through the role of networks in realizing changes in the standard of living and mindset of fish farmers.

Empowerment of fish farmers in the long term as something to be expected and achieved in the future is the realization of a fish cultivating society that is prosperous, independent and just in its business and the sustainability of the business being carried out. Meanwhile, in the medium term, the policy formulated is to improve the quality of life of fish farmers, both in carrying out their business functions, solving problems, planning and evaluating businesses, as well as adapting to changes in their surroundings. In the short term, this policy goal is achieved through changes in the standard of living and mindset of fish farmers, especially income, employment opportunities, adoption of technology, infrastructure and knowledge.

5. Conclusion

Based on the results and explanations that have been prepared, it can be concluded that the communication strategy for empowering fish farmers in the production and marketing activities of aquaculture business in Koto Mesjid Village is outlined in the step of revitalizing the concept of development communication by improving the performance of participatory empowerment communication which includes: (1) utilizing the strength of the communication network in the effort to form cooperative institutions that have the principle of togetherness to create independent, prosperous and just fish farmers; (2) increasing the characteristic capacity of fish farmers through training and mentoring activities for fish farmers; (3) carrying out aquaculture business activities by utilizing production facilities, using appropriate and sustainable technology; (4) capacity building and performance optimization of field assistants in assisting fish farmers.

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Digital Persuasive Communication by Indonesian Embassy on Japan related with Consular Service on Instagram

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Abstract

Government and their affairs have been recognized with their formal antic and frequently engaged with old-styled decision or action. With the power of social media and internet, things aren't going with traditionalism forever, because now event Japanese embassy also uses creative touch in engaging with Indonesian Citizen in Japan. To perform their task properly, their service is accompanied by colorful cartoonish illustrations whether it's for notification, event announcement, or encouraging Indonesian citizen to do certain action. This kind of communication method by Japanese Embassy for Indonesia can be called as creative public communication. The content analysis allows us to understand that animation isn't only part of entertainment, but it opens a path to effective public communication.

Keywords: Content Analysis, Japanese Embassy for Indonesia, Anime Culture, 2D Illustration, Art of Communication

1. Introduction

Japan animation, often addressed as anime, has emerged as a significant cultural phenomenon not only within Japan but also on a global scale. With its distinctive art style, captivating storytelling, and diverse genres, anime has captured the hearts of millions of fans worldwide as they contribute a lot to localization industry. This unique form of animated entertainment has given rise to a vibrant and thriving anime culture that spans across various aspects of Japanese society and cultures. The origins of anime can be traced back to the early 20th century, with the works of artists like Oten Shimokawa and Seitaro Kitayama. However, it was not until the post-World War II era that anime truly began to flourish and gain massive recognition. With the introduction of television and the popularity of manga (Japanese comics), anime gained momentum and became an integral part of Japanese pop culture (Samad, 2020).

One of the defining features of anime is its diverse range of genres, medium or broadcast. From action and adventure to romance, science fiction, and fantasy, anime caters to a wide array of tastes and preferences. This versatility has allowed it to attract a diverse audience, both within Japan and abroad. Popular anime series like "Dragon Ball," "One Piece," and "Naruto" have garnered a massive following, not only in Japan but also in countries around the world. Anime's distinctive art style is instantly recognizable due to the great beautification of

human facial features. It often features large eyes, colorful hair, and exaggerated facial expressions that convey a wide range of emotions in their art patterns. This unique visual aesthetic has become synonymous with anime and has influenced numerous artists and animators worldwide. The attention to detail, intricate character designs, and stunning backgrounds contribute to the visual appeal of anime and set it apart from other forms of animation and its in 2D format.

The impact of anime on Japanese society cannot be overstated nor simplified. It has not only influenced other forms of entertainment, such as live-action films and video games but has also shaped various aspects of Japanese culture and their entertainment industry. Cosplay, short for costume play, has become a popular activity where fans dress up as their favorite anime characters with cute designs and accessories. Anime conventions and festivals attract thousands of attendees, showcasing the immense popularity and enthusiasm surrounding anime culture that's been growing well in the Japanese society. Furthermore, anime has also had a significant economic impact in Japan as well as geographic fame's impact. The anime industry generates billions of dollars annually through merchandise sales, licensing agreements, and international distribution even though it's only within pop culture ranges. With the rise of streaming platforms like Crunchyroll and Netflix, anime has become more accessible to a global audience, further contributing to its economic success and also the fame of Japanese arts (Valverde-Maestre et al., 2022).

Anime has also played a crucial role in promoting tourism in Japan due to some video games featured their capital and urban location. Many fans travel to Japan to visit real-life locations depicted in their favorite anime series in order to get real experience of it. Places like Akihabara in Tokyo, known as the mecca of anime, offer a wide range of shops and attractions dedicated to anime and manga culture or video games culture. The Japanese government has recognized the importance of anime tourism and actively promotes it as part of its cultural tourism initiatives which brought tourism benefits in unique way. Moreover, anime has not only captivated audiences but has also inspired creators worldwide. Many non-Japanese artists and animators have drawn inspiration from anime's storytelling techniques, art style, and themes, resulting in a global fusion of influences such as Korean Webtoon of Chinese Donghua. This cross-cultural exchange has led to the creation of anime-inspired works outside of Japan and has further expanded the reach of anime culture that brings change in their own way.

In recent years, anime has also been recognized for its ability to address social and cultural issues but in subtle way instead of using bold symbols such as flag and celebration day. Anime series like "Attack on Titan" and "My Hero Academia" explore complex themes such as identity, discrimination, and societal structures that comes with the ideology complex within society. By tackling these topics in a fictional context, anime provides a platform for introspection and encourages critical thinking among its viewers or ignites analytic ability on their own. In conclusion, Japan animation culture, with its unique art style, diverse genres, and captivating storytelling, has become a significant cultural force both in Japan and globally. From its humble origins to its current global influence, anime has transcended boundaries and captured the hearts of millions. With its enduring popularity, anime continues to evolve, shaping not only the entertainment industry but also various aspects of Japanese society.

1.1 Literature Review

1.1.1. The History of Japanese Animation

The history of Japanese anime is a fascinating journey that spans over a century, marked by cultural influences, technological advancements, and the creative vision of talented artists. Anime, a distinctive style of animation originating from Japan, has become a global phenomenon, captivating audiences with its unique storytelling that makes their audience relaxed or thrilled, visually stunning art, and diverse genres (Pellitteri, 2019). From its early beginnings to the present day, anime has evolved and transformed, leaving an indelible mark on the world of entertainment created by Japanese animation. The roots of Japanese anime can be traced back to the early 20th century when Japan was introduced to Western animation techniques to improve their artistic value. In 1917, the first Japanese animated film, "Katsudō Shashin," was released by Oten Shimokawa, a pioneer in the field. This

short film marked the beginning of a new era, sparking interest and experimentation in animation within Japan and their media broadcast (Choice Reviews Team, 2007, 2014).

During the 1930s, anime expanded its horizons with the emergence of sound and music in animation films. "Chikara to Onna no Yo no Naka," directed by Kenzo Masaoka in 1933, became the first talkie anime, incorporating synchronized sound and dialogue which is an expansion to previous art style. However, it was not until the late 1940s and early 1950s that anime truly began to flourish around the world. In post-World War II Japan, the country experienced a period of rapid industrialization and economic growth that means a lot since it's a growth in entertainment side. This newfound prosperity led to the establishment of animation studios and the birth of iconic characters that would shape the anime landscape itself to further expand its influence. Osamu Tezuka, often referred to as the "Godfather of Anime," revolutionized the industry with his manga series "Astro Boy" in 1952. The success of "Astro Boy" paved the way for Tezuka's subsequent works and inspired future generations of animators and artists (Kapranov, 2020).

The 1960s marked a significant turning point for anime as it gained international recognition. The rise of television allowed for the widespread distribution of animated series to get a global-scale broadcast. Shows like "Gigantor," "Speed Racer," and "Kimba the White Lion" captivated audiences both in Japan and abroad, introducing them to the distinctive art style and imaginative narratives that anime had to offer which left good impression on the growth of kids. The 1970s witnessed the emergence of giant robot anime, also known as "mecha" anime, with influential series like "Mazinger Z" and "Mobile Suit Gundam." These shows not only showcased technological advancements in animation but also explored complex themes such as war, humanity, and the ethical implications of advanced technology (Girsang et al., 2020). This era also saw the rise of anime aimed at a more mature audience, with groundbreaking films like "Belladonna of Sadness" and "Akira" pushing the boundaries of storytelling and animation from Japanese pop culture.

The 1980s and 1990s brought a wave of diverse genres and narratives to anime. Studio Ghibli, founded by Hayao Miyazaki and Isao Takahata, created a series of critically acclaimed films such as "My Neighbor Totoro," "Princess Mononoke," and "Spirited Away," which garnered international acclaim and introduced a new generation of fans to the beauty and depth of anime storytelling that isn't merely for kids' animation but has critical touch in it. The 2000s and beyond witnessed a global surge in anime's popularity, fueled by internet streaming platforms and increased accessibility. Anime series like "Naruto," "Dragon Ball," and "One Piece" garnered massive followings worldwide, reaching audiences far beyond Japan's borders because Shonen genre is deeply loved by global audience. The prevalence of digital animation techniques and the use of computer-generated imagery (CGI) further expanded the creative possibilities of anime, resulting in visually stunning productions like "Attack on Titan" and "Your Name."

Today, Japanese anime continues to captivate audiences of all ages and backgrounds and cultures which highlights that entertainment power isn't always realism. It has become an integral part of pop culture, influencing various art forms and media across the globe. With an ever-growing industry and a diverse range of styles and genres, anime remains a dynamic and evolving medium, pushing boundaries, and challenging conventions that are yet to be explored by *media studies* (Montero-Plata & Pruvost-Delaspre, 2022). In conclusion, the history of Japanese anime is a testament to the power of artistic expression and the ability of animation to transcend cultural barriers and gives more freedom of expression. From its humble beginnings in the early 20th century to its current status as a global phenomenon, anime has left an indelible mark on the world of entertainment. With its unique art style, captivating storytelling, and diverse genres, anime continues to enchant audiences and inspire new generations of creators, ensuring that its legacy will endure for years to come.

1.1.2. Japanese Animation and Diplomatic Interest

Japanese animation, commonly referred to as anime, has gained significant global popularity over the years and has piqued the diplomatic interest of various nations including Indonesia. With its unique storytelling, captivating visuals, and diverse range of themes, anime has become a powerful cultural export for Japan, fostering international relationships and promoting cultural exchange in a form of study, cultural festival, and merchandise

shipping. This essay explores the diplomatic interest in Japanese animation, highlighting its influence on soft power, economic diplomacy, and cultural diplomacy in their perform of work. One of the main reasons for the diplomatic interest in Japanese animation is its ability to project soft power that is more acceptable than blunt movements in the name of certain media (Yoshioka, 2022). Soft power refers to a nation's ability to influence others through culture, values, and ideas rather than through military or economic means like American Hollywood. Anime has served as a powerful tool for Japan in shaping its image abroad and attracting global attention. The success of anime series like "Dragon Ball," "Naruto," and "One Piece" has garnered a massive fan base worldwide, creating a positive association with Japan since it also influenced their childhood. By captivating international audiences, anime helps promote a favorable perception of Japan and its people, fostering a sense of cultural affinity and curiosity among viewers to enjoy their animation. This soft power influence allows Japan to build stronger diplomatic ties and facilitate dialogue on various issues.

Moreover, Japanese animation has played a crucial role in economic diplomacy. The anime industry generates significant revenue through various channels, such as licensing, merchandise, and international distribution. As the demand for anime grows globally, it presents opportunities for collaboration between Japanese animation studios and foreign companies. Joint ventures, co-productions, and licensing agreements have become common, leading to cross-cultural partnerships and economic benefits for both Japan and other nations. For instance, the collaboration between Japanese and American animation studios in producing projects like "Studio Ghibli" films or "Cowboy Bebop" series has not only resulted in creative synergies but also facilitated economic exchanges and cross-border investments due to the critical value in its animations. Furthermore, anime serves as a catalyst for cultural diplomacy, fostering mutual understanding and appreciation between Japan and other countries to be connected more with Japan (Erwindo, 2018; Samad, 2020). Japanese animation often reflects cultural values, traditions, and societal issues unique to Japan, providing a window into the country's history and contemporary issues. The themes explored in anime, ranging from samurai tales to futuristic science fiction, allow viewers to glimpse Japan's rich cultural heritage and modern aspirations around their own animation style and art style. By promoting cultural exchange through anime festivals, exhibitions, and collaborations, Japan deepens its cultural ties with other nations, encourages tourism, and facilitates people-to-people interactions. This cultural diplomacy builds bridges and promotes dialogue on a broader range of topics, transcending national boundaries within society.

Moreover, the diplomatic interest in Japanese animation is evident in the growing number of anime-related events and initiatives worldwide. Numerous countries now host anime conventions, film festivals, and exhibitions that celebrate Japanese animation and let them have a good moment with the cinematic experience out of it. These events not only provide a platform for fans to come together and share their love for anime but also offer opportunities for cultural exchange and economic cooperation which result in more occupation gained by youngsters in artistic area (Escudier, 2020; Roberts, 2022). Countries like the United States, France, and China have witnessed significant growth in their anime industries, with local studios producing anime-inspired content that resonates with global audiences. The diplomatic interest in Japanese animation has led to cross-cultural collaborations in the creative industries, benefiting both the host countries and Japan. However, it is essential to recognize that diplomatic interest in Japanese animation is not without controversies and challenges. Some anime series have faced criticism for their portrayal of certain themes or cultural stereotypes, or the body build in their animation. Cultural differences and sensitivities can arise, leading to misunderstandings or conflicts and death threats from the protests. Nevertheless, such challenges highlight the importance of open dialogue and cultural sensitivity to foster diplomatic relations effectively in each respective country.

In conclusion, Japanese animation has become a significant point of diplomatic interest due to its ability to project soft power, drive economic diplomacy, and promote cultural exchange in subtle way. Anime's global popularity has allowed Japan to shape its image abroad positively, attracting international attention and building cultural affinity with Japanese society (Sarjiati, 2022). The economic benefits derived from the anime industry have facilitated cross-cultural collaborations and economic partnerships. Additionally, through cultural diplomacy, anime serves as a platform for mutual understanding and appreciation between Japan and other countries. As anime continues to captivate audiences worldwide, its diplomatic significance is likely to grow, strengthening international relationships and fostering greater global dialogue.

1.1.3. The Art of Communication Through Anime

The art of communication through anime is a captivating and powerful medium that transcends language barriers and cultural differences and any kind of diversity form. Anime, a style of animation originating from Japan, has gained immense popularity worldwide and has become a unique and influential form of storytelling. Within the vast realm of anime, there exists a remarkable ability to convey complex emotions, messages, and ideas through its vivid visuals, dynamic characters, and compelling narratives painted in their own respective media. One of the key aspects of anime that contributes to its communicative power is its visual storytelling. Through stunning artwork, vibrant colors, and meticulous attention to detail, anime captures the essence of emotions and experiences in a visually striking manner that leaves strong impressions on their audience. Whether it's the exhilaration of an intense battle scene, the tender moments of love and friendship, or the profound contemplation of life's existential questions, anime uses its visual language to evoke a wide range of emotions within its viewers that can provide them a good escapism or natural form of enjoyment (Li & Jiang, 2023).

Moreover, anime utilizes character design and animation to effectively communicate personality traits, motivations, and inner struggles that's bring their performance to be more alive in audience's mind. Characters in anime are often visually distinctive, with unique hairstyles, clothing styles, and facial expressions that contribute to their individuality and give them strong individuality value. These visual cues enable viewers to form quick connections with the characters and empathize with their journeys and events. From the stoic and determined protagonist to the quirky and lovable sidekick, anime characters communicate their thoughts and feelings not just through words, but also through their physicality, expressions, and mannerisms. Anime also excels in exploring complex themes and ideas through its narratives. It tackles a wide range of subjects such as love, loss, identity, societal issues, and philosophical concepts that serve as complexity on their own (Sabri & Ahmad, 2019). Through intricate storytelling and character development, anime delves into the human condition, provoking thought, and sparking discussions among its audience. It often presents morally ambiguous situations, challenging viewers to question their own beliefs and values that determined their existence. By engaging with these thought-provoking narratives, anime encourages viewers to reflect on their own lives and consider different perspectives, fostering a deeper level of communication and understanding in people's mind and growth (Hidayat & Hidayat, 2020).

Furthermore, anime offers a sense of escapism and catharsis, allowing viewers to connect with the characters and their struggles on a personal level which is pretty common in a fandom (Leo-Liu & Wu-Ouyang, 2022; Mori, 2022). Many anime series explore universal themes of self-discovery, growth, and overcoming adversity, resonating with individuals from various backgrounds. This shared experience creates a sense of community among fans, leading to discussions, fan theories, and even conventions dedicated to celebrating the art form. The enthusiasm and passion exhibited by anime fans in these communities exemplify the power of communication that anime fosters inside their materials. In addition to its visual and narrative elements, anime also incorporates music and sound design to enhance its communication in order for them to receive well receptions (Mamat et al., 2022). Iconic soundtracks and emotionally charged songs often accompany pivotal moments in anime, heightening the impact and evoking a deeper emotional response from the audience. From intense battle anthems to heart-wrenching ballads, the music in anime serves as an additional layer of communication that further immerses viewers in the story made by them.

The art of communication through anime extends beyond the screen and has influenced various other mediums as well. Manga, the Japanese comic book form, often serves as the source material for anime adaptations, allowing fans to experience the story in different formats. Furthermore, anime-inspired artwork, cosplay, and fan creations have gained popularity, fostering a rich and vibrant community that continues to communicate its love and appreciation for the medium. In conclusion, the art of communication through anime is a multi-faceted and captivating endeavor (Valverde-Maestre et al., 2022). Through its visual storytelling, character design, narratives, music, and sound, anime possesses a unique ability to communicate complex emotions, ideas, and experiences. It serves as a bridge between cultures, allowing individuals from different backgrounds to connect and engage with its stories and the depth of the theme. As anime continues to captivate audiences around the world, its influence and power as a medium of communication will undoubtedly endure, inspiring future generations and fostering meaningful connections among people who engages with them (Abd Rahim et al., 2020).

2. Method

The Krippendorff qualitative method in content analysis is an approach developed by Klaus Krippendorff, a renowned communication scholar and pioneer in the field of content analysis that is relevant to digital content analysis. This method provides researchers with a systematic framework for analyzing qualitative data, particularly textual content, in a reliable and rigorous manner and can be trusted in modern day. Content analysis is a research technique used to examine and interpret the content of various forms of communication, such as written documents, media texts, and interviews. It involves identifying patterns, themes, and meanings within the data to gain insights and understand the underlying messages or ideas being conveyed by the sender (Putri et al., 2023).

The Krippendorff qualitative method emphasizes the importance of intercoder reliability, which refers to the consistency and agreement among multiple coders or researchers in interpreting and analyzing the data presented in the table. This method provides a structured approach to ensure that different coders reach similar conclusions and minimize subjective biases that presents a different landscape of scientific study. The method involves several steps. First, researchers establish a coding scheme or set of categories that will be used to analyze the data. These categories should be mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive, meaning that each piece of data should fit into one and only one category in the work.

Once the coding scheme is established, multiple coders independently apply it to the data. They review the content and assign codes to different segments based on the predefined categories. To ensure reliability, coders often undergo training and calibration exercises to align their understanding and interpretation of the coding scheme. After coding is complete, intercoder reliability is assessed using statistical measures such as the Krippendorff's alpha coefficient. This coefficient quantifies the degree of agreement among coders, with higher values indicating greater reliability. If the intercoder reliability falls below an acceptable threshold, coders may need to revisit the coding scheme or undergo additional training to improve consistency in the quantitative method.




The Krippendorff qualitative method also encourages researchers to engage in a process of iterative refinement in order to see the quality of the data. This means that the coding scheme and analysis are continuously reviewed and revised as new insights emerge or as the research progresses to allow us to see the social depth of it (Daniel Susilo & Charles Julian Santos Navarro, 2023). This iterative approach helps ensure that the analysis remains flexible and adaptable to the evolving data. One of the strengths of the Krippendorff qualitative method is its versatility. It can be applied to a wide range of qualitative data, including interviews, focus group discussions, open-ended survey responses, illustrations, and textual content from various sources. This method allows researchers to explore complex and nuanced themes within the data, providing a deeper understanding of the underlying meanings which is frequently ignored by audience.



However, like any research method, the Krippendorff qualitative method has its limitations. It relies on the quality and representativeness of the coding scheme, which may be influenced by the researchers' biases or preconceptions. Additionally, the method requires a considerable investment of time and resources, especially when multiple coders are involved. In conclusion, the Krippendorff qualitative method in content analysis provides a systematic and reliable approach to analyzing qualitative data (Susilo & Santos, 2023). It emphasizes intercoder reliability and iterative refinement, enabling researchers to uncover patterns and meanings within textual content. By following this method, researchers can gain valuable insights and contribute to the understanding of various fields, including communication, media studies, and social sciences.

2.1. Analysis Technique

The technique will be done with the method of gathering @kbritokyo's Instagram account. The data will be picked up according to the relevant topic. The data that has been gathered is later put inside a table with category of Content, Caption, and Description. This kind of analysis method is save for everyone. The data then analysed at the social depth level before writing a report out of it.

3. Results

CONTENT	CAPTION	DESCRIPTION
	<p>Bagi WNI yang sedang berada di Jepang, harap mengikuti tata tertib & peraturan di Jepang.</p> <p>Aparat setempat memiliki hak sepenuhnya untuk menahan WN Asing yang melanggar ketertiban maupun hukum Jepang.</p> <p>Mari kita jaga nama baik Indonesia ID @kemlu_ri #IndonesianWay</p>	<p>The Japanese embassy Instagram account posted about a notification for Indonesian citizen to obey the local rules.</p>
	<p>Jepang sedang mengalami lonjakan kasus baru Covid19 sekaligus merebaknya influenza.</p> <p>Yuk, saling mengingatkan. Jaga diri, jaga kesehatan. Mention teman, sahabat, kerabat, kekasih, yang ingin kamu jaga 🙏.</p> <p>Dalam kondisi darurat, hubungi Hotline Emergency KBRI Tokyo (link di bio).</p> <p>#IniDiplomasi #IndonesiainJapan</p>	<p>The Japanese embassy posted about a warning regarding the raise of COVID-19 cases.</p>
	<p>On the occasion of the Indonesia - Japan Friendship Day in Fukuoka, the Indonesian Embassy and Fukuoka City Public Library will hold Movie Screening and Talk for Laskar Pelangi. Detail on poster. See you there!</p> <p>#Inidiplomasi #IndonesianWay #RintisKemajuan #IndonesiaFriendshipDay</p>	<p>The Japanese embassy Instagram account posted about Indonesian Movie Screening and Talk event.</p>
	<p>Verified *Indonesia - Japan Friendship Day - Fukuoka 2022*</p> <p>The Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Tokyo in collaboration with the Office of the Honorary Consul of the Republic of Indonesia in Fukuoka and</p>	<p>The Japanese Embassy Instagram account posted about Indonesia-Japan friendship day in Fukuoka's event.</p>

	<p>supported by Japan Indonesia Association (JAPINDA) are pleased to organize the Indonesia - Japan Friendship Day in Fukuoka, which will be held from 4 - 6 November 2022.</p> <p>The Friendship Day event will highlight the strong Indonesia - Japan Strategic Partnership, centered on economic ties and people-to-people connections through a series of activities, range from business forum, public lectures, movie screening and talk, to cultural exchanges.</p> <p>More details, kindly see the attached posters.</p>	
	<p>Yuk, rutin olah raga dan jaga kesehatan! Kira-kira, kalau Si Unyil main bola lawan Nobita, siapa yang menang ya?</p> <p>Bermain dan berolah raga merupakan waktu yang sangat menyenangkan. Bersama teman bermain di halaman sekolah dan taman tidak hanya melatih kemampuan motorik tetapi juga bentuk olah raga yang murah dan meriah.</p> <p>Berbeda dengan di Indonesia yang memperingati Hari Olah Raga Nasional setiap 9 September, masyarakat Jepang merayakan Hari Libur Nasional Olah Raga dan Kesehatan (体育の日 Taiiku no hi) setiap 10 Oktober.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Warga Negara Indonesia (WNI) yang membutuhkan bantuan darurat agar segera menghubungi aparat setempat dan Hotline Darurat Pelindungan WNI di nomor +818035068612 +818049407419.</p> <p>#IniDiplomasi #IndonesiainJapan</p>	<p>The Japanese embassy Instagram account posted about Sports Day celebration.</p>

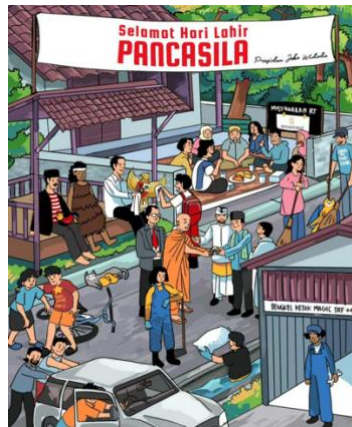
Based on the data above, all of that posts are categorized as a service from Japanese Embassy that is encouraging and also notifying their citizen about certain event of what to do when they lived in Japan. The data has diversity in the form and pattern, it presents cultural event and campaign which proves that the Japanese embassy provides

decent service in that land. This type of data in qualitative manner. There are many contents that also lacks creative touch in it and instead providing bold political narration like Joe Biden's Instagram account. How about the caption itself? The caption itself uses ordinary and casual wording in each of their contents.

4. Discussion

4.1. Japanese Embassy's Creative Touch

As we all know, there are total five contents listed from @kbritokyo Instagram account, but out of all five, three contents that are categorized as Japanese Embassy's service using 2D illustration to communicate their events and notification. Before the discussion section, in Literature Review we're already introduced to how Japanese government uses anime culture as their diplomatic interest, then Japanese Embassy for Indonesia is also included in this (Liang & Yang, 2022). Therefore, this proves that Japanese Embassy of Indonesia uses animation for diplomatic interests. This factor isn't only achieved by Japanese animation culture alone. Jokowi's social media account is also known for using 2D illustrations to give public service.



That was one of example from Jokowi's Instagram account that uses illustration in order to perform public communication. The also means that the embassy recognized that Indonesia is already used to 2D drawing culture in their interaction with government.

4.2. 2D Illustrations for Public Communication

2D illustrations play a crucial role in public communication, offering a visually captivating and easily understandable means of conveying complex ideas, information, and messages. Whether used in educational materials, advertisements, infographics, or public service announcements, 2D illustrations have the power to engage, inform, and inspire a wide audience in social media. One of the key advantages of 2D illustrations is their ability to simplify and clarify concepts in order for it to be clearer to be witnessed. They can break down intricate subjects into digestible visuals, making it easier for people of diverse backgrounds and knowledge levels to comprehend the information being presented. By using symbols, icons, and visual metaphors, 2D illustrations can capture the essence of an idea or message in a concise and visually appealing manner, so they can leave strong impressions (Liu et al., 2021). The illustrations brought from the data above and the fact that Indonesian citizen have been communicating with Jokowi's 2D illustrations prove that 2D illustrations are effective for public communication, especially for Japan with their anime culture.

Moreover, 2D illustrations can transcend language barriers. Unlike text, which may require translation or understanding of specific languages, visual communication can be universally understood or can be presented in universal context. This makes 2D illustrations an effective tool for reaching diverse audiences, including those who may have limited literacy or speak different languages which make them rich in culture. By using universally recognizable symbols and imagery, 2D illustrations can convey messages in a way that transcends cultural and

linguistic boundaries; therefore, we get less boundaries in being part of the industry and market. In public communication, 2D illustrations also have the ability to evoke emotions and create a connection with the audience. By incorporating elements of design such as color, composition, and style, illustrators can create visuals that resonate with viewers on a deeper level while presenting different depth level. Whether it's eliciting empathy for a social cause or sparking excitement for a new product, 2D illustrations have the power to evoke emotional responses and leave a lasting impact on the audience especially Indonesian (Ono et al., 2020).

Furthermore, 2D illustrations can simplify complex data and statistics. By visualizing information through graphs, charts, and diagrams, data can be presented in a way that is more accessible and engaging. This is particularly important in fields such as science, where conveying complex research findings to the general public can be challenging due to the body feature that invites sexualization among their enjoyers; hence the Japanese embassy only uses cartoonish illustrations in their official account. 2D illustrations allow scientists and researchers to present their work in a visually compelling manner, making it easier for the public to understand and appreciate scientific concepts that helps us expand the science and society (Otmazgin, 2016). Another significant benefit of 2D illustrations is their versatility. With advancements in digital technology, illustrators can create stunning and dynamic visuals using a wide range of software tools and techniques that appears engaging. Whether it's a simple line drawing or a complex digital painting, the possibilities are endless. This versatility enables 2D illustrations to be adapted to various mediums and platforms, including print, digital media, and social media, ensuring that the message reaches the intended audience through their preferred channels or different patterns.

In conclusion, 2D illustrations are a powerful tool for public communication especially the domain of social media. Their ability to simplify complex ideas, transcend language barriers, evoke emotions, visualize data, and adapt to different mediums makes them an invaluable asset in conveying messages effectively or being communicative weapon. Whether it's educating, advocating, or advertising, 2D illustrations have the capacity to captivate audiences, communicate ideas, and leave a lasting impression in the public's mind (Oyama, 2015).

5. Conclusion

The conclusion we get from the data and this topic is that government communication becomes more creative and engaging in mind through how Japanese Embassy encourage people and invite people with beautiful 2D illustrations. All this time we only get to know about of government delivers message in traditional and formal way but since to this day, government communication becomes more creative. While it is being used for Japanese embassy, the creative touch to engage with public contributes to good public communication from the government side. This also can be categorized as propaganda from the government side that is ready to dominate entertainment market.

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National Power Analysis of ASEAN Member States with Entropy-Weight-Based ARAS During 2017-2021

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Abstract

ASEAN is an important economy where aggregate gross domestic product of ten ASEAN Member States (AMSs) amounted to US\$3.0 trillion and marked the union as the fifth-largest global economy. This study evaluated national power levels of all of the 10 AMSs and ranked them. National power is important to rank countries. This study evaluated national power of AMSs through using MCDM techniques entropy weight-based ARAS. Results show that in terms of national power Singapore and Indonesia are in the 1st group; Thailand in the 2nd group; Vietnam 3rd group; Malaysia and Philippines 4th group; Cambodia, Lao PDR, Brunei, and Myanmar are in the last group. This analysis shows that, each ASEAN member country contributed to the union an important added value in either finance, energy, infrastructure, education. This underlines that ASEAN is a powerful union strengthening the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of Southeast Asian nations by accelerating regional economic growth as officially aimed. In academic literature, there is limited number of comparative studies conducted on ASEAN countries where the comparisons have focused solely on only a single factor. Moreover, the literature does not contain any comparative analyses of ASEAN countries in terms of national power. This research constitutes pioneering research of the National Power of the ASEAN countries. Furthermore, it adds significant value to the existing body of literature by conducting a comprehensive analysis of 1586 indicators segmented into thirteen principal factors.

Keywords: ASEAN, MCDM Techniques, National Power, Entropy-Weight-Based ARAS

1. Introduction

In the last five years, several global crises, such as the Covid-19 pandemic, climate change, conflicts, food insecurity, economic inequality, and global refugee crisis, have had profound effects worldwide, with differing levels. The COVID-19 pandemic has emerged as a major worldwide crisis, resulting in many deaths and sicknesses, causing devastating impacts on national economies, and significant upheaval in social and cultural conventions. Climate change is currently gaining the utmost significance as an imminent global predicament which

is resulting in a proliferation of severe weather occurrences, including floods, droughts, and wildfires. These adverse conditions displace people, compromise livelihoods, and engender extensive destruction. Numerous conflicts still persist globally, including those in Syria, Yemen, Ukraine, and Afghanistan, which have resulted in significant loss of human lives, with many individuals being forced to migrate or flee their residences and experiencing extreme distress and agony. The issue of food insecurity is of considerable concern in numerous regions across the globe. The problem of insufficient food supply affects a sizeable populace, resulting in detrimental consequences such as malnourishment, hunger, and, ultimately, starvation. The issue of economic inequality has emerged as a pressing concern across global geographies. The worsening socioeconomic disparity between individuals with substantial financial resources and those with limited financial means is becoming increasingly pronounced, culminating in societal discord and instability. Last but not the least the escalating global refugee crisis constitutes a prominent issue of concern. The forced displacement of individuals from their habitual abodes, commonly referred to as refugees, is typically attributed to various circumstances ranging from armed conflicts to acts of violence or natural calamities. The number of global refugees is anticipated to grow in the subsequent years.

Like other nations globally, the member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have encountered diverse degrees of impact from the crises mentioned above. The ASEAN, currently with 10 members, was established in Bangkok, Thailand by a consortium of five original member nations: Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines in 1967. From 1984 to 1999, Brunei, Vietnam, Lao PDR, Myanmar, and Cambodia became members of the ASEAN, resulting in ten member countries (Masilamani & Peterson, 2014). The ASEAN Declaration outlines the Association's objectives and aspirations, which include: (1) strengthening the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of Southeast Asian nations by accelerating regional economic growth, social advancement, and cultural development via collaborative efforts in the spirit of equality and partnership, and (2) promoting regional peace and stability through the observance of justice and the rule of law in inter-country relationships, as well as adherence to the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter (Mangku, 2017). The ASEAN's importance is it has garnered considerable success as a regional organization in attracting the attention of countries beyond its borders. Overall, the ASEAN has effectively cultivated collaboration in politics, economics, society, and culture, by implementing programs and initiatives to promote shared interests and develop exercise and research facilities (Keling et al., 2011). The ASEAN population is defined as the aggregate number of individuals currently residing within the geographic boundaries of the ten Member States, which collectively span an expansive land area measuring 4.5 million square kilometers. In 2020, ASEAN was home to the third-largest populace globally, with only China and India surpassing its population size. Between 1980 and 2020, the population of the Association of ASEAN demonstrated a significant incline, growing from 355.1 million to 661.8 million. According to statistical data, the aggregate gross domestic product (GDP) of ten ASEAN Member States (AMSs) amounted to US\$3.0 trillion. This notable fact has enabled the ASEAN economy to ascend to the rank of the fifth-largest global economy. The nations comprising the world's highest GDP are the United States (\$20.9 trillion), China (\$14.7 trillion), Japan (\$5.0 trillion), and Germany (\$3.8 trillion). From 2000 to 2019, ASEAN demonstrated a salient inclination towards a good GDP performance, despite the adverse effects of the 2008–2009 global economic downturn. In the year 2020, the downward trajectory of the specified entity was attributable to the adverse effects of the COVID-19 pandemic (ASEAN Secretariat, 2021). The COVID-19 pandemic has significantly impeded the region's economic growth trajectory. The economic growth rate, which had witnessed a steady increase, peaking at 5.1 percent from 2009 to 2019, underwent a significant contraction in 2020, recording a negative rate of -3.2 percent, followed by a marginal increase of 3.4 percent in 2021. After having weathered the most devastating outcomes of the COVID-19 contagion, the economy of the ASEAN experienced a rapid resurgence, offering the potential for a 5.1% expansion in the current year. Notwithstanding, it must continue to execute the ASEAN Comprehensive Recovery Framework to fortify regional emergency readiness, reaction, and durability (ASEAN Secretariat, 2022).

Examining the effects of this and similar crises in the last five years on the ASEAN from a broad perspective is an important practical reference for policymakers. In international relations theory, national power holds significant importance as it serves as a widely adopted metric for comprehensively assessing and portraying a country's competitive and influential position at the global or regional level. In this respect, for conducting a comprehensive analysis and comparison of countries' national power and multi-criteria decision-making (MCDM)

techniques are valuable instruments since the utility degrees used in MCDM techniques are similar to National Power. To this aim, this study evaluated and ranked AMS in the context of national power using MCDM techniques.

The concept of power has been approached and comprehended by various disciplines. Mattos explicated the notion of national power through the lens of geopolitics by proffering that it constitutes the comprehensive manifestation of all the capacities a country possesses at a given time for facilitating the attainment of its domestic and international goals regardless of any impediments. The employed univariate measures possess the notable benefit of being uncomplicated. Single-variable approaches have intrinsic limitations as they solely focus on a singular aspect of national power, thereby failing to capture the diverse dimensions of countries. A composite indicator is necessary to evaluate nations' comprehensive competitiveness and influence (Liao et al., 2015). National power is the cohesive amalgamation and centralized manifestation of the multifaceted and intricate elements characterizing a nation's political, economic, societal, cultural, ecological, value-oriented, and historical aspects. Given the complex nature of national power and the subjective nature of assessment, building the concept of national power and assessment utilizing a multifaceted approach incorporating varying degrees of empirical insights is imperative (Li & Wang, 2022).

2. Research Background

The literature review found no studies comparing the national power of AMS using MCDM techniques. Despite this, MCDM methods are frequently used to compare AMSs on various topics. We can classify these studies as studies examining the national power of AMSs in one dimension. In this section, the primary studies in the literature in this field will summarize.

Alibeigi et al. (2021) conducted an assessment of ASEAN Electronic Commerce Laws (ECAs) as a concrete first step towards their harmonization. The Fuzzy Analytical Hierarchy Process (FAHP) was used to weigh criteria and evaluate alternatives. The recognition of the Electronic Message was the most important criterion, with a weight of 0.217 when evaluating ECAs. The Place of Dispatch was the least important, weighing 0.028. This study has the potential to increase online transactions and reduce litigation to harmonize ECAs between ASEAN countries. Wang et al. (2023) conducted a research to provide a comprehensive overview of the digital transformation in healthcare within the rapidly growing ASEAN by applying a bounded rational multi-criteria assessment method. The novel approach presented in this study is formulated considering established psychological behavior theories and the advantages of multi-criteria decision-making techniques that rely on distance computation and statistical parameters. Consequently, this approach cannot only objectively ascertain the weight of the criteria through distance correlations but also provide a comprehensive understanding of the decision maker's subjective psychology. The study makes theoretical advancements through an innovative approach while uncovering significant benchmarks and practical insights from successful digital transformation initiatives in the ASEAN region. The results indicate that factors such as infrastructure quality, information-communication technologies, and healthcare system responsiveness are paramount. The research additionally presents a thorough assessment of the efficacy exhibited by various nations. It identifies the leading countries in the ASEAN region that have undergone a digital transformation in the healthcare sector.

Wanke et al. (2016) evaluated the performance of 88 banks in ASEAN from 2010 to 2013. The researchers employed an integrated three-stage financial criteria approach, emulating the CAMELS (The term CAMELS represents an acronym that comprises six key factors, namely capital adequacy, assets, management capability, earnings, liquidity, and sensitivity) rating system. The study employs the fuzzy analytic hierarchy process as a means of initially evaluating the relative weights of various criteria about capital adequacy (C), asset quality (A), management quality (M), earnings (E), liquidity (L), and sensitivity to market risk (S). The opinions of 88 experts from ASEAN are utilized in this assessment. Subsequently, these weights are employed as a means of prioritization based on the similarity to the ideal solution inputs to evaluate their respective levels of effectiveness. Finally, integrating neural networks with similarity-based preference ordering techniques yields a banking performance model with robust predictive capabilities. The findings indicate that contextual factors exert a significant influence on operational effectiveness. Islamic financial institutions exhibit greater efficiency compared to their

conventional counterparts. As mentioned above, the phenomenon can be elucidated by the comparatively reduced utilization of leverage in the realm of Islamic finance. The higher efficiency levels observed in equity leveraging may be attributed to the principle of parsimony derived from Islamic finance principles.

Wanke et al. (2017) evaluated the banking efficiency of 88 banks in the ASEAN region from 2010 to 2013. The researchers employed probabilistic weighting and the Technique for Order of Preference by Similarity to Ideal Solution (TOPSIS) in their analysis. The study placed particular emphasis on evaluating the influence of Islamic banking while also examining various other types of financial institutions. This paper makes three significant contributions. Firstly, this study presents a novel approach by integrating the variables that simulate the CAMELS rating system for evaluating bank performance with the joint probabilistic weighting of these variables. Consequently, this study deviates from prior research endeavors using the Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) to estimate weights. Secondly, the present study utilizes TOPSIS to compute efficiency scores. This approach possesses the exceptional discriminatory capability, given that the efficiency scores tend to cluster around 0.50 and diverge from 1.0. Thirdly, the bank's classification based on its type, ownership, and origin is employed in a rigorous regression methodology, with outcomes being verified through Tobit and Beta regressions. The findings indicate that Islamic principles play a significant role in enhancing the efficiency of banking operations. To be more precise, these advantageous outcomes are observed in cases where financial institutions are privately owned. The outcomes of this study may be utilized to formulate suggestions for policy development.

Wanke et al. (2022) conducted a research to provide a new perspective that was achieved by utilizing the CAMELS rating system as a proxy and considering the aspect of information reliability on the performance of banks in the ASEAN region. A comprehensive MCDM approach has been formulated, which is founded on alternative techniques to address uncertainties in expert preferences pertaining to ideal performance levels in banking and the relative efficiency of CAMELS variables. Structured interviews are utilized to gather expert preferences. At the same time, Fuzzy TOPSIS is employed to establish partial bank rankings based on primary relative efficiency weights derived from Stepwise Weight Assessment Ratio Analysis (SWARA). Z-numbers are employed to account for the inherent imprecision in the relationship between banking performance and financial distress, as well as the reliability of information pertaining to positive-ideal banking performance and CAMELS variables' efficiency functions. These functions are derived from expert preferences or perceptions. The study's empirical results indicate that utilizing information reliability methodologies on the CAMELS rating system proxy can effectively address the uncertain impact of ASEAN banking performance on financial distress. Utilizing a singular MCDM or probability method yielded outcomes that significantly deviated from those obtained through implementing hybrid MCDM methods, which incorporate uncertainty measures to assess data reliability. Utilizing these novel amalgamation techniques results in a higher level of precision for the model compared to alternative methods.

Karimi et al. (2010) conducted research to ascertain the optimal ASEAN member states for attracting foreign direct investment inflows using TOPSIS. The proposed approach additionally furnishes a relatively uncomplicated instrument for resolving this strategic decision-making predicament. Within the framework, ten distinct indicators have been delineated as fundamental determinants that impact the inflow and attraction of foreign direct investment. The application of the TOPSIS methodology has facilitated the assessment of the potential and allure of the member states comprising the ASEAN region, thereby leading to the determination of their respective ultimate positions within a ranking system pertinent to the 2000-2005 span of time. The findings suggest that Singapore is the preeminent target for investment within the ASEAN bloc, notwithstanding that the rankings of certain other jurisdictions have changed over the intervening period.

Purnomo et al. (2011) conducted an assessment of the competitiveness of the Halal-based Agro-Industry among six ASEAN nations. The researchers employed quantitative SWOT and MCDM analyses to ascertain details of each country's intrinsic and extrinsic factors. The findings indicate that Malaysia and Thailand are the most developed nations within the ASEAN region. In contrast, Indonesia ranks fifth due to its inadequacies in crucial intrinsic and extrinsic factors.

Yu (2022) conducted an assessment of the progress made in promoting road safety throughout Southeast Asia. The assessment was conducted utilizing the entropy-TOPSIS-Rank-sum Ratio (RSR) methodology. In the study conducted, a total of 20 indicators were utilized that were drawn from 11 Southeast Asian countries. Through this approach, a ranking and classification of the nations mentioned above according to their level of traffic safety was attained. The obtained findings may offer valuable insights for formulating and implementing policies or programs in the AMS context. Moreover, the presented approach has the potential to offer a fundamental structure for forthcoming evaluations of road safety advancements within the ASEAN region.

Erdin and Özkaya (2022) conducted an assessment of ranking ASEAN countries and Türkiye using the sustainable development index in the World Bank 2016 Report and other similar development indicators in the report by the TOPSIS method. The present study utilized a comprehensive set of 58 indicators distributed across three distinct factors, namely sustainable environment (consisting of 15 indicators), sustainable economy (comprising 25 indicators), and sustainable social development (comprising 18 indicators). Singapore secured the top position in the country ranking, with a considerably substantial margin from other nations, scoring at 0.620. Malaysia, Türkiye, and Thailand secured the second, third, and fourth positions, respectively, with closely proximate values of 0.465, 0.461, and 0.548. Despite their prominent positions in the sustainable economy ranking, these countries are found to be positioned among the bottom five nations in terms of their performance in the sustainable environment assessment. The findings of this study reveal the necessity for heightened efforts to safeguard the environment during a country's pursuit of economic expansion.

Liao et al. (2011) conducted an assessment that discloses a novel viewpoint on Sustainable National Power (SNP) by emphasizing the conventional framework of Comprehensive National Power (CNP) alongside social and environmental sustainability considerations. A novel metric aimed at quantifying the impact of SNPs through a comprehensive analysis of national power and a sustainable adjusted index was proposed. Furthermore, implementing density-equalizing maps is a valuable tool in delineating and illustrating the sustainable national power of various nations. This approach allows for a comprehensive assessment of the existing conditions and the potential prospects for future growth, presented through a cartographic lens. China and its adjoining nations (encompassing seven AMS) have been chosen as case study areas. The findings demonstrate that China performs better than others across most CNP dimensions. However, the country experiences subpar results in multiple SNP-adjusted dimensions within the study region. According to the composite score analysis, China has attained the most elevated regional SNP, pursued by Japan, Russia, South Korea, and India.

3. Method

MCDM is a branch of operational research dealing with finding optimal results in complex scenarios, including various indicators, conflicting objectives, and criteria. MCDM originated from operations research involving various methodologies with a rational foundation in other disciplines. MCDM techniques have been widely applied in the public and private-sector decisions on agriculture resource management, immigration, education, transport, investment, environment, defense, health care, etc. (Kumar et al., 2017). The MCDM process consists of two stages: obtaining the criterion weights and ranking the alternatives. Criteria are required to be weighed in MCDM processes. Employs two distinct methodologies for assigning weights to criteria: the objective and subjective weight systems. Subjective weights may be obtained through the collection of decision-makers opinions, as is common in many other MCDM processes. The objective weights may be determined by various methodologies, including the Entropy Weight method and the Criteria Importance Through Inter-criteria Correlation (CRITIC) method (Shemshadi et al., 2011).

The initial step in any MCDM technique involves the development of a decision-making matrix. This matrix serves as a means to evaluate the performance of various alternatives based on specific criteria that have been selected by the decision-makers. A decision-making matrix with m alternatives and n criteria is presented in Eq.(1).

$$DM = \begin{bmatrix} x_{11} & \cdots & x_{1j} & \cdots & x_{1n} \\ \vdots & \ddots & \vdots & \ddots & \vdots \\ x_{i1} & \cdots & x_{ij} & \cdots & x_{in} \\ \vdots & \ddots & \vdots & \ddots & \vdots \\ x_{m1} & \cdots & x_{mj} & \cdots & x_{mn} \end{bmatrix}_{m \times n} \quad (1)$$

The rows represent alternatives, and the columns represent criteria.

3.1 Entropy Weight Method

The thermodynamic concept of entropy was introduced in 1865 by Clausius (Tsallis, 2009). The concept of entropy has been employed to elucidate the phenomenon of irreversible motion that manifests in the domain of thermodynamics. Shannon introduced the entropy concept in 1948 within the realm of communication theory to address the issues of uncertain information and incomplete data. Subsequently, the notion of entropy was discovered to be efficacious in tackling dilemmas related to decision-making. The entropy weight method is widely acknowledged as one of the most prevalent techniques among the various objective weighting methods. Decision-makers frequently utilize the entropy weight methodology to ascertain the relative importance of criteria. The method employed for determining the relative significance of each criterion is contingent upon the numerical data collated by decision-makers. The entropy weight method is an objective approach utilized for determining the criteria weights, an extension of Shannon's entropy. The procedural framework of the entropy weight method can be delineated through the following procedural steps (El-Araby et al., 2022):

Step 1. The decision-making matrix is normalized by using Weitenorf's linear normalization. $R = [r_{ij}]_{m \times n}$

For benefit criteria Eq. (2):

$$y_{ij} = \frac{x_{ij} - \min_i x_{ij}}{\max_i x_{ij} - \min_i x_{ij}} \quad (2)$$

For cost criteria Eq. (3)

$$y_{ij} = \frac{\max_i x_{ij} - x_{ij}}{\max_i x_{ij} - \min_i x_{ij}} \quad (3)$$

$$r_{ij} = \frac{y_{ij}}{\sum_{i=1}^m y_{ij}} \quad (4)$$

Where $i=1,2, \dots, m$ and $j=1,2, \dots, n$

Step 2. Calculating entropy values for criteria. $E = [e_j]_n$

$$e_j = -(\ln(m))^{-1} \times \sum_{i=1}^m (r_{ij} \ln(r_{ij})) \left\{ \text{if } (r_{ij} = 0) \Rightarrow ((r_{ij} \ln(r_{ij})) = 0) \right\} \quad (5)$$

Where $i=1,2, \dots, m$ and $j=1,2, \dots, n$

Step 3. Calculating the weight of criteria. $W = [w_j]_n$

$$w_j = \frac{1 - e_j}{\sum_{j=1}^n (1 - e_j)} \quad (6)$$

Where $j=1,2, \dots, n$

3.2 Apply the Additive Ratio Assessment (ARAS) Method

The ARAS method was introduced in 2010 and developed by Zavadskas and Turskis (YIL) and is one of the most widely used MCDM methods. The most distinguishing characteristic of the ARAS methodology, as compared to other MCDMs, is the comparison of utility degree values of alternatives with those of the optimal state, not the maximum value. The ARAS method is the most appropriate approach for proportional rating among MCDMs, owing to its distinctive characteristics. The procedural framework of the ARAS method can be delineated through the following procedural steps (Bakır & Atalık, 2022):

The decision-making matrix to which the optimal alternative is added with $m+1$ alternatives and n criteria is presented in Eq.(7).

$$DM = \begin{bmatrix} x_{01} & \dots & x_{0j} & \dots & x_{0n} \\ x_{11} & \dots & x_{1j} & \dots & x_{1n} \\ \vdots & \ddots & \vdots & \ddots & \vdots \\ x_{i1} & \dots & x_{ij} & \dots & x_{in} \\ \vdots & \ddots & \vdots & \ddots & \vdots \\ x_{m1} & \dots & x_{mj} & \dots & x_{mn} \end{bmatrix}_{(m+1) \times n} \quad (7)$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{if the } j\text{-th criterion is the benefit criteria} \Rightarrow x_{0j} = \max_i x_{ij} \\ \text{if the } j\text{-th criterion is the cost criteria} \Rightarrow x_{0j} = \min_i x_{ij} \end{array} \right\}$$

The rows represent alternatives, and the columns represent criteria.

Step 1. The decision-making matrix is normalized by using Sum-based linear normalization. $R = [r_{ij}]_{(m+1) \times n}$

For benefit criteria Eq. (8):

$$r_{ij} = \frac{x_{ij}}{\sum_{i=1}^m x_{ij}} \quad (8)$$

For cost criteria Eq. (9)

$$r_{ij} = \frac{1/x_{ij}}{\sum_{i=1}^m 1/x_{ij}} \quad (9)$$

Where $i=0,1, \dots, m$ and $j=1,2, \dots, n$

Step 2. Calculating weighted decision-making matrix. $Y = [y_{ij}]_{(m+1) \times n}$

$$y_{ij} = w_j r_{ij} \quad (10)$$

Where $i=0,1, \dots, m$ and $j=1,2, \dots, n$

Step 3. Calculating the optimal value of alternatives. $S = [s_i]_{m+1}$

$$s_i = \sum_{j=1}^n y_{ij} \quad (11)$$

Where $i=0,1, \dots, m$

Step 4. Calculating the utility degree of alternatives. $K = [k_i]_{m+1}$

$$k_i = \frac{s_i}{s_0} \quad (12)$$

Where $i=0,1, \dots, m$

Ranking the utility degree of the alternatives in descending order is equivalent to arranging the alternatives in order of decreasing preference, from the most favorable to the least favorable.

4. Data

The study utilized the World Bank's World Development Indicators (WDI) database, widely regarded as the most comprehensive database in this domain, to accurately depict the countries' capacities and corresponding outcomes. WDI is the primary World Bank collection of development indicators, compiled from officially recognized international sources. It presents the most current and accurate global development data available, and includes national, regional and global estimates (World Bank, 2023). In practical applications, two distinct approaches exist for addressing the issue of missing data. In cases where the missing data are limited in scope, typically involving only a select number of years or countries, techniques such as interpolation and regression analysis are commonly employed. Conversely, in situations where the quantity of missing data is extensive, recording such values as zero may be necessary, owing to disparities in the temporal constraints applied to the report writing process (Li & Wang, 2022). Supplementing some of the missing indicators in WDI was used Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) Military Expenditure Database (SIPRI, 2023) and U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA)'s International Energy Statistics Database (EIA, 2023). All relevant information about AMS for the last five years has been gathered from these databases. As the data about the year 2022 has not been incorporated into the system, the study relied on data from 2017–2021. Furthermore, the Energy factor was added, adhering to the 12 factors in WDI. The utilized dataset for the application comprises five years and encompasses ten distinct countries. It encompasses a total of 1586 indicators and is divided into thirteen fundamental factors, which are outlined as follows: Economic Policy & Debt (309), Education (151), Energy (162), Environment (125), Financial Sector (56), Gender (19), Health (259), Infrastructure (39), Military (16), Poverty (32), Private Sector & Trade (177), Public Sector (78) and Social Protection & Labor (163).

5. Results and Discussion

In the preliminary analysis, the weight values of the Economic Policy & Debt, consisting of 309 indicators, and the health factors, comprising 259 indicators, were suspiciously high. This result shows that in the case of heterogeneity of the number of indicators in the factors, there is a bias in the weight values of the criteria. The analysis was performed in a hierarchical structure similar to Structural equation modeling (SEM) to avoid this bias. Initially, the utility degrees of the factors were calculated, followed by the computation of the utility degrees of the countries. The weight values reported in the findings were derived during the computation of the utility degrees of the countries. A country's utility degrees indicate its proportionate contribution to national power. While scrutinizing the analysis results, it should be noted that the ARAS method has included an optimal country in the AMSs.

The weights of each factor were computed through the weights of the individual indicators within each factor by utilizing the entropy weight method. Table 1 illustrates the allocation of weights obtained to the factors across different years.

Table 1: Entropy Weights for Factors During 2017-2021

Factor	Mean	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Economic Policy & Debt	0.080	0.080	0.080	0.078	0.080	0.081
Education	0.072	0.072	0.072	0.072	0.072	0.073
Energy	0.117	0.116	0.117	0.117	0.117	0.119
Environment	0.073	0.073	0.073	0.073	0.073	0.073
Financial Sector	0.072	0.072	0.072	0.072	0.073	0.073
Gender	0.089	0.090	0.089	0.091	0.088	0.089
Health	0.072	0.072	0.072	0.072	0.072	0.073
Infrastructure	0.105	0.106	0.105	0.104	0.103	0.104
Military	0.089	0.089	0.092	0.090	0.085	0.088
Poverty						
Private Sector & Trade	0.075	0.076	0.075	0.074	0.074	0.075
Public Sector	0.083	0.081	0.081	0.084	0.088	0.079
Social Protection & Labor	0.073	0.073	0.073	0.073	0.073	0.073

Owing to the missing value in all indicators related to the Poverty factor, it has been unfeasible to derive the weight value for this factor in any year. The results obtained from the analysis conducted using Repeated Measures ANOVA indicate that no statistically significant difference was observed when comparing the variances between the years evaluated (p -value = 0.996). Upon conducting a One-Way Analysis of Variance, it was observed that a statistically significant difference was evident among the factors examined (p -value < 0.01). To identify the factors that have the most significant effects, a series of Games-Howell Post Hoc Tests were conducted. The findings of these tests are presented in detail in Table 2.

Table 2: Games-Howell Post Hoc Test's p -values of Factors During 2017-2021

Factor	Energy	Infrastructure	Gender	Military
Economic Policy & Debt	< .001	< .001	< .001	0.010
Education	< .001	< .001	< .001	0.001
Energy	—	< .001	< .001	< .001
Environment	< .001	< .001	< .001	0.002
Financial Sector	< .001	< .001	< .001	0.001
Gender	< .001	< .001	—	.999
Health	< .001	< .001	< .001	0.001
Infrastructure	< .001	—	< .001	< .001
Military	< .001	< .001	0.999	—
Private Sector & Trade	< .001	< .001	< .001	0.002

Public Sector	< .001	< .001	0.122	0.218
Social Protection & Labor	< .001	< .001	< .001	0.002

Only the Energy factor (0.117) and Infrastructure factor (0.104) exhibited significant differences compared to all other factors. The results indicate that the two factors mentioned above exhibit a markedly superior potency in calculating the utility degrees among nations when juxtaposed with other factors.

The utility degrees of each AMSs were computed using the ARAS technique after obtaining their weightings through the entropy approach. The graphical representation of the allocation of benefit levels across time is depicted in Figure 1.

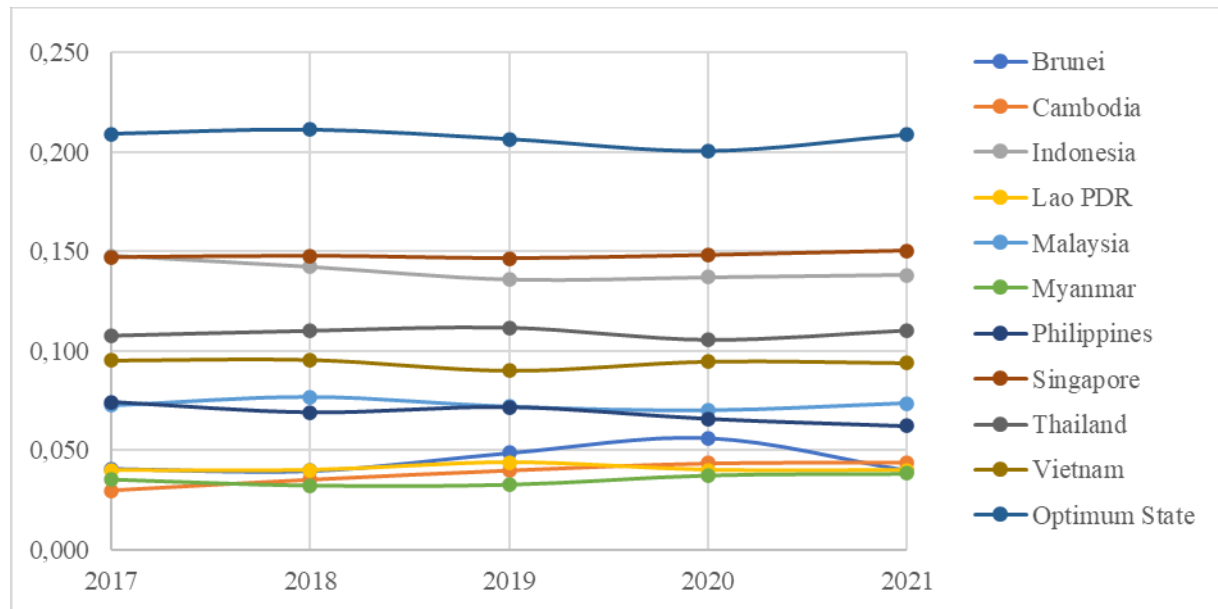


Figure 1: Utility Degrees for AMS and Optimum State During 2017-2021

The results of the Repeated Measures ANOVA indicate a lack of statistically significant differences when comparisons were made between years (p-value = 0.901). A statistically significant difference was observed upon conducting One-Way ANOVA to assess the dissimilarities among the countries (p-value < 0.01). Table 3 displays the outcomes of the Games-Howell Post Hoc Tests conducted to assess pairwise comparisons. Based on the findings acquired, it can be observed that the countries have been categorized into five distinct clusters.

Table 3: Games-Howell Post Hoc Test's p-values of Countries During 2017-2021

Countries	Opt S	SG	ID	TH	VN	MY	PH	KH	LA	BN	MM
Optimum State	—	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Singapore (SG)		—	0.230	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Indonesia (ID)			—	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Thailand (TH)				—	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Vietnam (VN)					—	< .001	0.001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Malaysia (MY)						—	0.710	< .001	< .001	0.006	< .001
Philippines (PH)							—	< .001	< .001	0.009	< .001
Cambodia (KH)								—	0.997	0.855	0.987
Lao PDR (LA)									—	0.920	0.192
Brunei (BN)										—	0.348
Myanmar (MM)											—

Singapore and Indonesia in the 1st group, according to the size of the AMS national power; Thailand in the 2nd group; Vietnam in group 3; Malaysia and Philippines in group 4; Cambodia, Lao PDR, Brunei, and Myanmar in group 5. It is very beneficial for ASEAN that Optimum State is included in a separate group, where the Optimum

State is an imaginary country that consists of the best features of each AMS, its position above other countries show the high synergy of the group.

Descriptive statistics for the utility degrees of AMSs are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics of Utility Degrees for AMS and Optimum State

Countries	Arithmetic Mean (M)	Standard Deviation (S)	Coefficient of Variation (CV)
Optimum State	0.207	0.004	2.0
Brunei (BN)	0.045	0.007	16.2
Cambodia (KH)	0.039	0.006	15.5
Indonesia (ID)	0.140	0.005	3.5
Lao PDR (LA)	0.041	0.002	4.3
Malaysia (MY)	0.073	0.002	3.3
Myanmar (MM)	0.035	0.003	7.9
Philippines (PH)	0.069	0.005	6.9
Singapore (SG)	0.148	0.002	1.0
Thailand (TH)	0.109	0.002	2.1
Vietnam (VN)	0.094	0.002	2.3

As seen in Table 4, the countries' fluctuating national power between 2017 and 2021 can be categorized into three groups. Based on the intensity of fluctuations, Brunei and Cambodia are categorized in the first group, while the second group comprises Myanmar and the Philippines. The third group encompasses Lao PDR, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, Thailand, and Singapore. A noteworthy advancement in promoting stability within the ASEAN region is the inclusion of Singapore and Indonesia, both of which belong to the top tier of national power in terms of size, within the group that exhibits the slightest fluctuations. Furthermore, it can be posited that the interplay of internal and external factors about the coefficient of variation value of AMSs from 2017 to 2021 did not significantly influence the internal dynamics of ASEAN in relation to national power.

Figure 2 and Figure 3 depict the distribution of utility degrees over the years to analyze the internal dynamics of Brunei and Cambodia, which are in the first group according to the intensity of fluctuations.

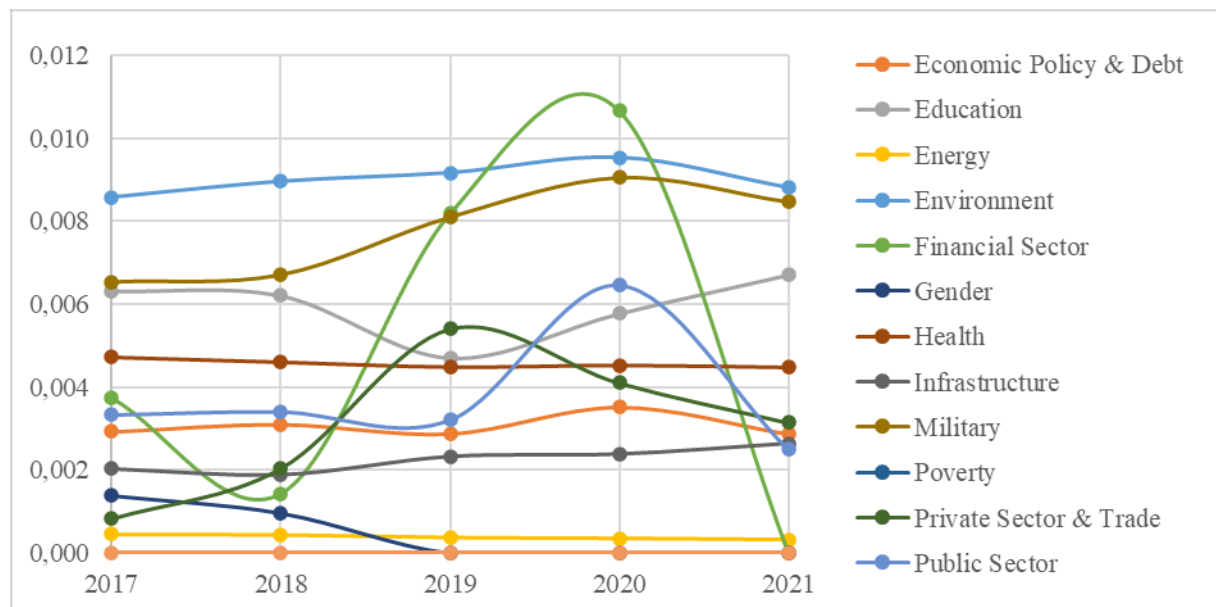


Figure 2: Utility Degrees for Brunei During 2017-2021

The most significant variation in Brunei was observed within the realm of finance. After a rise in the financial industry commencing in 2018, a considerable downturn occurred in 2021, ostensibly attributable to the COVID-

19 pandemic. A comparable phenomenon to that observed in the financial sector factor has also been witnessed within the military factor. Furthermore, a reduction was observed in the public sector in 2021.

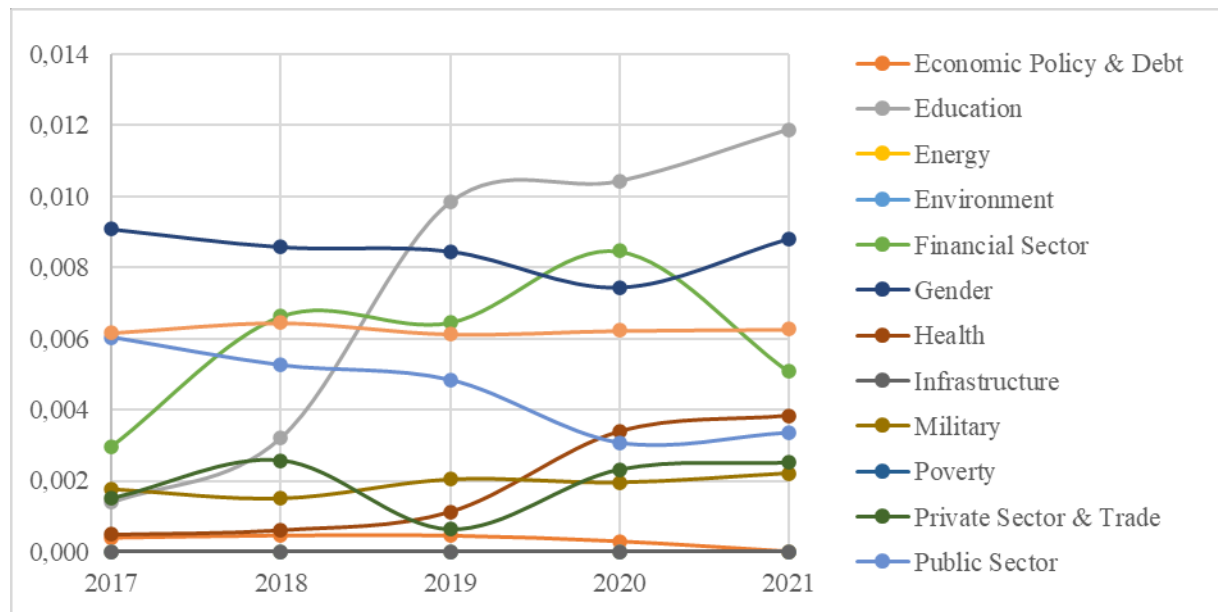


Figure 3: Utility Degrees for Cambodia During 2017-2021

In Cambodia, like Brunei, the most substantial variation occurred within finance. Following an upsurge in the financial industry in 2017, a significant downturn occurred in 2021, plausibly attributable to the COVID-19 pandemic. In Cambodia, the financial sector was the only negatively impacted factor in 2021, with no other discernible adverse effects. Despite the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, the upward trend in 2017, particularly in Education, has persisted. Furthermore, noteworthy advancements have been achieved in health during this timeframe. Due to these factors mentioned above and others alike, Cambodia experienced a gradual ascent from the 10th to the seventh position within the AMSs rankings during the period spanning from 2017 to 2021. Figure 4 displays the rankings of ASEAN member countries.

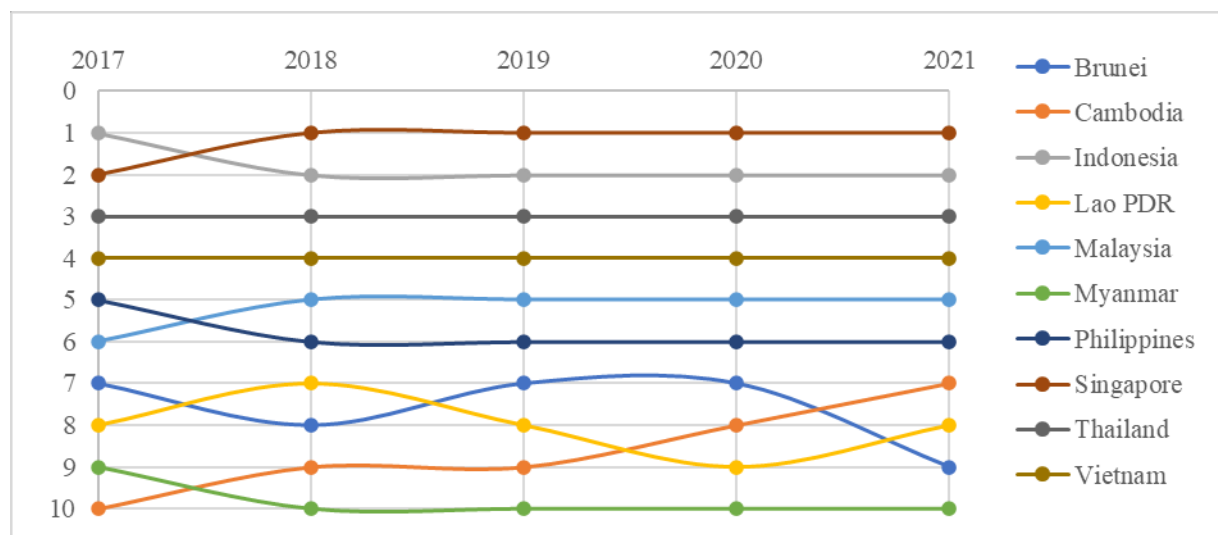


Figure 4: Ranking of AMSs for the Period 2017-2021

In academic literature, there is limited number of comparative studies conducted on ASEAN countries where the comparisons have focused solely on only a single factor. Moreover, the literature does not contain any comparative analyses of ASEAN countries in terms of national power. This research constitutes pioneering research of the National Power of the ASEAN countries. Furthermore, it adds significant value to the existing body of literature

by conducting a comprehensive analysis of 1586 indicators segmented into thirteen principal factors. This research inquiry delves into the ASM's assessment in the discourse on National Power by leveraging the regional and national factors of internal dynamics while utilizing many relevant indicators.

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Korean Wave TV Dramas and Turkish Remakes of K-Dramas: The Politics of Intercultural Communication and Cultural Meanings of Modernization

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Abstract

Television, through drama and series, is the most powerful and pervasive storyteller and culture producer of our time. The culture-producing function of television and the culture constructed by TV are most clearly visible in national adaptations of globally produced programs and formats. For more than a century, Korea and Turkey have been trying to modernize and integrate into contemporary civilization while preserving their own culture. In recent years, Korea has succeeded in producing its popular culture within the national culture industry and spreading it around the world, and this popularity has been called the Korean Wave. In Turkey, there is a high interest in K-Dramas, one of the cultural products of the Korean Wave. The reason for this interest is that the modernization efforts and cultural characteristics of the two countries are similar. The basis of this similarity is the social desire to preserve its culture while modernizing. The subjects of K-dramas are mainly family and romantic relationships, and identity problems of the youth. These are cultural manifestations of the process of social modernization and are addressed in television dramas. In this article, Dr. Romantic, the most popular K-Drama of recent years both at national and global level, and its Turkish remake Town Doctor (Kasaba Doktoru) are analyzed from the perspective of cross-cultural comparison. This analysis is done around the strategies of cultural adaptation. The analysis with these strategies shows how these nations interpret their idiosyncrasies, interculturality and modernization. As a result of the analysis, it is argued that Korean drama portrays scientific, professional, ethical and personal conflicts without taking a clear stand in favor of any of them, while Turkish remake emphasizes romance and melodrama and advocates a conservative modernizationist policy of interculturality.

Keywords: Inntercultural Communication, TV Series Remake, TV Adaptation, Multimodel Analysis of TV Dramas

1. Introduction

Television, since its emergence as a technology and mass media, has been the most powerful and pervasive means of producing culture. This power of television is based on its unrivaled position in storytelling in modern times. With the support of digital technology, television is experiencing a golden age of storytelling, even as its traditional practices of production, distribution and viewing are changing. Television owes its position as the fundamental ground of culture in terms of the production and sharing of meaning to dramatic narratives. With this storytelling, television, as Albert Moran says, television has been the means by which a nation has been able to communicate with itself about itself. With globalization, the scope of television's storytelling has expanded, but culture is still

produced and disseminated through television narratives, both for the nation and for other nations. The international trade in television dramas and other formats enables this production and distribution.

When the contents of television are transferred from one country to another, they need to be culturally adapted for commercial success. This process is generally referred to as adaptation. Adaptation is a commercial necessity, but it also provides us with important information about the culture's character, features, and boundaries. In short, the cross-cultural adaptation of television's cultural products embodies and makes visible the culture itself. Through the international circulation of television's cultural products, there is, in fact, a mediated intercultural communication taking place.

In this article, I consider television drama remakes as a form of adaptation of television dramas from one national context to another, as a case of intercultural exchange. In this way, I examine the character and boundaries of a national culture and try to reveal the dominant culture and intercultural communication policies of countries. The case I have chosen for this is the adaptations and remakes of Korean TV Dramas in Turkey, which are an important part of the Korean Wave, which refers to the global diffusion of South Korean popular culture. A intercultural comparative analysis of the original K-Dramas and their Turkish adaptations and remakes allows for the development of important arguments about Korean and Turkish national cultures, cultural policies and especially ongoing modernization paradigms. These arguments include findings both on Turkey's experience of modernization as a frontier between Western and Eastern cultures and on the cultural politics of modernization in non-Western and especially Asian countries.

2. The Korean Wave as a Culture Industry

South Korea's cultural and entertainment products have increasingly gained global popularity since the early 2000s. This popularity, which first started to rise in China, was labeled as Hallyu or the Korean Wave by the Chinese media. Following this success in China, Hallyu's fan or follower base grew rapidly in many countries as the South Korean government created an effective cultural policy with a global vision around the Korean Wave. Supported by the dizzying development of new communication technologies in the last decade, Hallyu has become the founding phenomenon of both a cultural diplomacy and a cultural industry under the leadership of the South Korean state (Binark, 2019). As a cultural industry and cultural diplomacy tool, Hallyu has enabled Korean TV series, movies, pop music (K-Pop), digital games, fashion, cosmetics (K-Beauty) and culinary culture, in short, Korean popular culture to circulate globally and gain new markets and followers.

Turkey is also a country where Hallyu is strong as a popular culture. In Turkey, Hallyu has been most accepted and popularized as an addition to TV series culture, which is an important part of traditional media culture. In fact, as in Turkey, Hallyu has been popularized primarily through TV dramas in China and Asia, the birthplace of its popularity (D. K. Kim & Kim, 2011).

The word Hallyu is a combination of two ideograms in classical Chinese meaning "Korea" and "current" or "wave". The first Korean drama popularized in China, *Sarang-I Mwojille* (What is Love All about), reached high ratings in China in the late 90s. Subsequently, the series *Gyeongju* and *Daejanggum* (Jewel in the Palace) were a great success in Japan (D. K. Kim & Kim, 2011) This commercial success in television culture was the first steps towards Hallyu becoming a global industry and cultural movement rather than a temporary trend.

The first Hallyu TV series, *Emperor of the Seas*, which became popular in Turkey, especially among young people, first with Korean TV series and then with the interest in K-pop music, was broadcast on TRT in 2005. Following this beginning, not only original Korean TV series was shown on Turkish television, but also their Turkish adaptations or remakes. Mutlu Binark (2018) argues that the Korean Wave has gained popularity in Turkey through adaptations rather than original Korean dramas. In this context, more than 20 Korean TV series have been adapted and broadcasted on Turkish television in the last 15 years. In fact, we can talk about an industrial dimension of the Korean Wave phenomenon and a Korean popular culture developed and disseminated by organized groups of followers or fans, especially through social media. So much so that, as Binark points out, in online environments,

fans of Far Eastern and Korean culture in Turkey can broadcast a series broadcasted by the Korean TV channel KBS with Turkish subtitles in Turkey within a few days (Binark, 2018, p. 75).

Television series are one of the main types of programs such as news, sports matches, competition programs, talk shows, commercials, documentaries. Television series are also divided into sub-genres such as detective series, situation comedy, science fiction and fantasy. Arthur A. Berger categorizes popular genres within this diversity under four main headings: current affairs, competitions, persuasive programs and dramas (İnal, 2001, p. 262). Just like sports matches, competitions or reality shows, documentaries, commercials and talk shows are quite similar to each other in terms of some of their characteristics. Since it is difficult to make categorical distinctions about genres and formats that are intertwined due to their narrative features, for a more inclusive classification, a distinction has been made based on narratology by calling narratives that claim referential truthfulness factual and narratives without such a claim fiction (Genette, 1993, pp. 78–88). However, those, such as John Ellis (1992), who look at television from a broader perspective as a holistic medium in which aesthetic, commercial and narrative forms are intertwined, argue that the distinction between fiction and factual cannot be valid for analyzing TV narratives. The distinctions between genres, formats, or sub-genres of genres such as series in television have been problematized not only by the holistic analysis of sociological approaches and the deconstructive analysis of poststructuralist approaches, but also by industrial and global developments. In the global conditions of contemporary national competition, television is no longer just an information and entertainment medium or form. Factual genres are not only produced for informational purposes or drama and fiction are not only produced for entertainment purposes but are also instrumentalized for certain goals and struggles in terms of international relations. Recently, TV productions have become an instrument of soft power for nation-states as global cultural products.

In the field of international relations, the cultural exchanges of countries on a global scale have begun to be evaluated around the concept of soft power as a tool of diplomacy. Joseph Nye (2006) argues that soft power is cultural power. Unlike military power, soft power is fueled by admiration and respect for a country's culture, political and moral values (J. Nye & Kim, 2013). Soft power has been used by developing nation-states, especially from Asia, to increase their competitiveness in the global power struggle. Tery Flew (2016) notes that the soft power phenomenon and debate emerging from China has become an increasingly important topic for popular literature. The topic has become so popular that think tanks operating in the field of international relations have started ranking countries in soft power indices according to the criteria they set.

3. A Brief History of the Korean Television Drama Industry

The first TV broadcasting channel in Korea was established in the 1950s. To understand South Korean TV dramas, it is first necessary to consider the contemporary history of South Korea. After independence from 35 years of Japanese imperialism between 1910 and 1945, Korea was divided into two parts under the control of the Soviet Union and the United States, but in the summer of 1950, the state of war between north and south resumed. In South Korea, the television station was established and broadcasting began in the late 1950s. The period 1962–1964 is referred to as the period of disciplinary control in Korea (Shin, 2007) and it was during this period that the first public broadcaster KBS-TV (Korean Broadcasting System) went on air. Until 1964, dramas were broadcast as single episodes, and from this year onwards, they became long daily dramas and started to become popular. Initially, television dramas were used to inform and enlighten people and to morally educate the society coming out of the war. In addition, the content of the series in this period was aimed at anti-communist propaganda and sociocultural enlightenment due to the current state of war.

In the 1960s and 1970s, in addition to KBS, TBS (Tong-yang Broadcasting Company) and MBC (Mun-Hwa Broadcasting Corporation) started broadcasting in the 1960s and 1970s and generally focused on anti-communist and family-themed dramas. When this anti-communist propaganda broadcasting became too controversial, the government reduced these broadcasts. Between 1975 and 1980, state control in broadcasting increased, the private broadcaster TBS was nationalized by being incorporated into KBS, and TV series concentrated on entertainment content that dealt with anti-communism. During this period, drama content was expanded to include political, institutional and literary dramas, and state-run channels aired many government-run dramas aimed at strengthening

historical awareness, unity and solidarity rather than daily dramas. At the end of the 80s, long-running dramas gave way to dramas with fewer episodes. These dramas dealt with the concepts of social conflict and injustice, as well as scenes from daily life and love-themed issues. In 1991, the private broadcasting organization SBS started broadcasting. In the 90s, historical dramas centered around love relationships and situation comedies that appealed to the younger generation of viewers began to be broadcast. In this period, in parallel with the approach to culture as an industry within the framework of the logic of economic development, fashion, style, clothing style and hobbies started to take precedence over traditional themes in TV series. Since the early 2000s, dramas focusing on historical themes and romantic relationships have become popular in Korea and have been exported extensively (Jung, 2005). Since the 2000s, dramas dealing with love relationships in the romantic comedy genre have started to increase. For example, dramas such as "Autumn in My Heart" and "Winter Sonata" dealt with conflicts that were not emotionally and socially heavy and easily resolved (B. Kim et al., 2011).

4. Korean Wave TV Series K-Dramas

Today, Hallyu has spread around the world not only through TV series, but also in various fields such as music, games and even cosmetics, but Korean TV series are at the center of the emergence and spread of Hallyu (Joo, 2011, p. 492). Hallyu first gained great popularity in China with the drama "What is Love?" and in Japan with the drama "Winter Sonata" in 2003. It spread to the world thanks to the series "Dae Jang Geum" (Yoon & Jin, 2017). From the late 1990s onwards, the popularity of Korean dramas is considered to be the first wave of Hallyu, and from the 2010s onwards, it is argued that K-pop has become more prominent, and after that, with Korean animations and digital games, the second wave of Hallyu (2.0) has begun (Jin, 2017, p. 45).

Shim traces the success of the Korean Wave to the liberalization of the media sector in Korea in the early 90s. The cultural industry started to develop, especially with US and Japanese productions. Ryoo, on the other hand, emphasizes the Korean government's support for the media industry as an area of high national value-added and development. Lee Jong-mim emphasizes the powerful role of users or viewers, supported by new communication technologies, in the global wave of Korean popular culture produced and disseminated through the media. This is indicative not only of an increase in distribution channels, but also an expansion of strategic channels to communicate with foreign consumers (Lee, 2006).

Kang (2014) attributes the success of Hallyu dramas to five factors. First, Hallyu dramas are popular in Northeast Asian countries, especially China, because of their common cultural heritage based on Confucian culture. Secondly, Hallyu dramas have tried to combine Confucian culture with Western modern culture, in short, to create an East-West synthesis. The third factor is the appeal of the actors and the stories. Fourth, Korean dramas are easy to understand and short in duration. Each episode of a Korean drama is at most one hour long and a season is at most 16 to 20 episodes. The last and perhaps the most powerful factor is government support for the drama industry. The drama industry in Korea was created with the political support of the Korean government. With the changing regime in the 1990s, the cultural sector was privatized and the popular culture market experienced rapid growth. Since the 2000s, when Hallyu started to develop, direct support has been provided. In addition, in countries where Hallyu is not well known, such as Central and South America, Korean culture is promoted through private institutions such as the Korean Cultural Center and the International Exchange Foundation. The Korea Foundation for International Exchange supports the free broadcasting of Korean dramas by checking the suitability of dramas on the broadcast channels of countries (Kang, 2014, pp. 20–25).

Hallyu's K-dramas were primarily produced with the domestic market in mind, but it was their success in the Asian market that led them to become a global popular culture trend. Binark quotes Lee Yong-Suk, one of the producers and directors he interviewed during his extensive cultural industry field research in Korea, on the appeal of K-dramas. Lee Yong-Suk attributes the popularity of Korean dramas to the imitation of Japanese dramas that had previously won over Asian audiences. As the prices of Japanese productions increased in proportion to their success, K-dramas modeled on them began to replace them at lower prices. Yong-Suk also points to the negative legacy of Japanese imperialism in the eyes of the audience as another reason. Accordingly, while Asian audiences may have an "emotional" problem with Japan, Korea is a country that has no historical problems with any other country except Vietnam. The third factor is the state investment in the internet and digital sectors in the last 90s (Binark, 2019, p. 121)orean Wave Dramas and K-Drama Remakes in Turkey.

Hallyu TV Dramas have been broadcast in Turkey in limited numbers. As mentioned earlier, the first TV series broadcast was Emperor of the Seas, which was broadcast on the public broadcaster Turkish Radio and Television 1 (TRT1) in 2005. Binark (2019, p. 118) argues that it is not the original Korean TV dramas but their adaptations that have created a Hallyu effect in Turkey. Jung Suk Yoo (Yoo, 2019) states that Korean TV dramas are the products that initiated interest in Korean culture in Turkey, followed by the Hallyu drama adaptation trend and interest in Korean beauty/cosmetics culture and industry. Yoo also cites the "2018 Research Report on the Influence of the Korean Movement Abroad-Turkey" published by the Korean Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism and the Korea foundation for international cultural exchange as an example of the popularity of Hallyu in Turkey. According to the data obtained through an online survey conducted on a sample group of 1000 people, seven symbols that evoke Korea in Turkey are listed. The first one is the Korean War with 17.5 percent, the second is TV series with 8.4 percent, followed by high technology with the same percentage, the fourth is the North Korea - South Korea conflict, the fifth is K-Pop, then movies and economic development with about 5 percent.¹

Table 1: Turkish Remakes of Korean TV Dramas²

	Original Name	Original Release	No. of Seasons	No. of Episodes	Original Network	Genre	Turkish Remake Name		Original network	Release	No. of seasons	No. of episodes	Running time
1	Temptation of an Angel	2009	1	21	SBS	Family Drama, Romance	Beni Affet	Focus Film	Show Tv-Star Tv	2011-2018	8	60	
2	Rooftop Prince	2012	1	20	SBS	Historical Drama	Osmanlı Tokadı	Duka Film	TRT1	2013-2014	2	37	120
3	I'm Sorry, I love You	2004	1	16	KBS2	Romance	Bir Aşk Hikâyesi	MF yapım	Fox Tv	2013-2014	2	36	120
4	Boys Over Flowers	2009	1	25	KBS2	Youth Drama	Güneşi Beklerken	D Productions	Kanal D	2013-2014	2	54	120
5	Bread Love and Dreams	2010	1	30	KBS2	Romance, Melodrama	Aşk, Ekmek, Hayaller	ANS Productions	Show Tv	2013-2014	1	10	120
6	My Husband Got a Family	2012	1	58	KBS2	Family Drama, Romantic Comedy	Kocaman Ailesi	Mia Yapım	Fox Tv	2014-2015	2	57	120
7	Autumn in My Heart	2000	1	16	KBS2	Family Drama	Paramparça	Endemol Shine Turkey	Star Tv	2014	3	97	130
8	Nice Guy	2012	1	20	KBS2	Romance, Romantic Comedy	Günahkâr	MF yapım	Fox Tv	2014	1	7	120
9	A Gentleman's Dignity	2012	1	20	SBS	Youth Drama, Romantic Comedy	Kiraz Mevsimi	Süreç Film	Fox Tv	2014	2	59	115
10	Bride of the Century	2014	1	20	TV Chosun	Romantic Comedy	Beyaz Yalan	NTC Medya	Show Tv	2015	1	6	120
11	Panda And Hedgehog	2012	1	16	Channel A	Romance, Melodrama	Maral: En Güzel Hikâye	Acun Medya	Tv8	2015	1	17	120
12	Cruel (Bad) Love	2007-2008	1	20	KBS	Romance	Acı Aşk	TMC Yapım	Show Tv	2015-2016	1	13	120
13	May Queen	2012	1	38	MBC	Romance, Melodrama	Mayıs Kraliçesi	Mint Production	Show Tv	2015-2016	1	11	120
14	The Heirs	2013	1	20	SBS	Romance, Melodrama	Çilek Kokusu	Gold Film	Star Tv	2015	1	23	120
15	What Happens To My Family	2014-2015	1	53	KBS2	Family Drama, Comedy	Baba Can'dır	MF Yapım	TRT 1	2015-2017	2	66	120

¹ For details of the study see: http://kofice.or.kr/b20industry/b20_industry_01_view.asp?seq=978&page=1&find=&search=

² The information in this table was collected from the following sources: Official websites of Korean TV production and broadcasting companies, research reports of official cultural theor institutions, newspapers, TV series fan pages, and Wikipedia.

16	Full House	2004	1	16	KBS2		İlişki Durumu: Karışık	MF Yapım	Show Tv	2015-2016	2	40	125
17	Can Love Become Money	2012	1	20	MBN	Romantic Comedy	Kiralık Aşk	Ortaks Yapım	Star Tv	2015-2017	2	68	120
18	Get Karl! Oh Soo-jung	2007	1	16	Sego-Seoul Broadcasting	Romantic Comedy	Tatlı İntikam	D Productions	Kanal D	2016	1	30	120
19	Flames Of Desire (Ambition)	2010-2011	1	50	MBC	Family Drama, Romance	Hayat Şarkısı	Most Production	Kanal D	2016	2	57	120
20	Doctors	2016	1	20	SBS	Romance, Medical Drama	Kalp Atışı	MF yapım	Show Tv	2017	1	28	120
21	She Was Pretty	2015	1	16	MBC	Youth Drama, Romantic Comedy	Seviyor Sevmiyor	MF yapım	Atv	2016-2017	1	28	120
22	High Society	2015	1	16	SBS	Romantic Comedy	Yüksek Sosyete	Bi Yapım	Star Tv	2016	1	26	120
23	Smile, You	2009-2010	1	45	SBS	Family Drama, Comedy	Gülümse Yeter	MF Yapım	Show Tv	2016-2017	1	24	120
24	Summer Scent	2003	1	20	KBS2	Romance, Melodrama	Rüzgarın Kalbi	Filmevi	Fox Tv	2016	1	9	120
25	Fated To Love You (You Are My Destiny)	2017	1	20	Munhwa Broadcasting	Romance, Comedy	No 309	Gold Film	Fox Tv	2016-2017	2	65	150
26	Glass Mask	2012-2013	1	122	MBC C&I-TvN	Melodrama, Revenge,	İçimdeki Fırtına	Aslan Yapım	Star Tv	2017	1	6	120
27	Tears of Tears of Heaven	2014-2015	1	25	Neo Ent.-Maeil Broadcasting	Family,Romance,Revenge	Cennet'in Gözyaşları	Süreç Film	Atv	2017-2018	1	36	120
28	Secret Love	2013	1	16	KBS2	Romance, Melodrama	Meryem	TMC Yapım	Kanal D	2017-2018	1	30	130
29	Ojakgo Brothers (Family)	2011-2012	2	58	Chorokbaem Media KBS2	Romantic Comedy,Family Drama	Aslan Ailem	Es Film	TRT1	2017-2018	1	31	120
30	Innocent Defendant	2017	1	18	SBS	Crime Drama	Mahkum	MF yapım	Fox Tv	2021-2022	2	31	130
31	Oasis	2013	1	16	KBS2	Romance, Melodrama	Rüzgarın Kalbi	Med Yapım	Fox Tv	2021	1	5 (End)	135
32	Dr. Romantic	2016	3 (devam ediyor)	50	Samhwa Networks	Medical Drama, Romance	Kasaba Doktoru	ARC Film	TRT1	2022-2023	2	32 (End)	135
33	Temptation	2014	1	20	Victory Content s-KST	Romance, Melodrama	EGO	Pastel Film	Fox Tv	2023	1	13 (End)	130

In the media industry, the term adaptation was used to refer to works of classic literature such as plays, novels and short stories that were transferred to radio, movies and television. With the rapid growth and digitalization of the television industry worldwide, the need for content has increased. Therefore, transfers between formats and genres have multiplied and old productions have been renewed. All these transfers and reproductions have been called adaptations and have become a new field of study in media and communication studies (Griggs, 2018, pp. 1–2). Linda Hutcheon (2013, pp. 7–8) argues that adaptation in a broad sense can be defined in three interrelated senses: first, it is the transfer of work or product. Transference is a kind of code transfer between mediums or genres (e.g. from novel to film). Secondly adaptation always involves both (re-)interpretation and then (re-)creation; this has been called both appropriation and salvaging, depending on your perspective. Thirdly, adaptation is a form of intertextuality. Accordingly, we experience adaptation as rewriting a text through repetition.

In the television industry, remaking a production produced in the national context of one country in the cultural context of another is also a form of adaptation, but the appropriate technical term to describe it is remake. Albert Moran argues that the international trade in television program formats such as drama, quiz shows or reality shows amounts to the buying and selling of franchise rights to television content. Format trading has been an important part of the television industry between countries since the 1990s. According to Moran, "remakes of program formats are based on the expectation of producers and broadcasters to replicate the success achieved in the first market in another market (Moran, 2009a, p. 9).

5. Remakes of Korean TV Series in Turkey: From Intercultural Communication Politics to Culture Industry

5.1. Method

In this article, I make a cross-cultural comparison through textual analysis of the South Korean television series *Dr. Romantic*, which began airing in November 2016 and has been running for three seasons, and its Turkish remake *Town Doctor*, which began airing in April 2022. For this cross-cultural comparative analysis, I draw on the theoretical model of adaptation studies and the method of multimodal analysis.

Richard J. Hand suggests "five creative of adaptation strategies" to critical analysis: omission, addition, expansion, alteration, and marginalization. In "Omission," narrative or textual material is removed when a source text is dramatized. In "Addition," narrative or textual material not in the source text is introduced in the adaptation. In "Marginalization," thematic issues are given less prominence in the dramatization. In "Expansion," thematic issues suggested in the source text are given more prominence in the dramatization. In "Alteration," themes, textual style, narrative events, and details are modified (Hand, 2010, p. 17).

Albert Moran points out that television programs do not operate solely on linguistic codes as literary texts do. Television language and aesthetics are based on form and style, consisting of staging, shooting, or filming, editing and sound. An adaptation of a program format will include one or more of these television codes through a relatively simple process of subtraction, inclusion, modification, or permutation. These categories are complex and contain many singular/specific elements that can be manipulated (Moran, 2009b, p. 46).

A mode is a socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resource for creating meaning. Image, text, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack and 3D objects are examples of modes used in representation and communication. Phenomena and objects that are products of social work and labor have meanings in their cultural environment. Gunther Kress, (2010, p. 155) refers to mode simply as "the material substance of signs".

'Modality' refers to the way we communicate how true or how real a representation should be. It is a linguistic term, in which modal verbs and adjectives are used to express types of truth, such as certain, probable and impossible... The measure of modality should be seen as a continuum. At one end there is reduced reality, like cartoons or pencil drawings. At the other end, details appear, as when close-ups, lighting and contrasts are used. This is also used to create a documentary effect, creating a strong sense or effect of realism (Hansen & Machin, 2019, p. 255).

Hansen and Machin define multimodality as follows: "In linguistics in the 1990s there was a concern that analysis had been focused on one mode: language, whereas much of the meaning-making in many of the texts analysed was done so by images and visual communication. Theorists began to apply linguistic models to visual communication in order to provide some kind of equivalent systematic analysis. This analysis was therefore 'multimodal' rather than 'monomodal'. However, what constitutes a 'mode' is difficult to establish". (Hansen & Machin, 2019, p. 387) Visual communication, in itself, cannot be reduced to a single mode. In audiovisual communication, we can think of every material element that creates meaning as a mode.

For a number of reasons, a semiotically oriented conception of multimodality is a suitable method for cross-culturally assessing television format adaptations (Larkey, 2020, p. 219). Television formats include a variety of

communication channels as well as semiotic resources that have been shaped by culture and society. By highlighting that modes emerge from the social and historical molding of materials that vary from one society to another, multimodal scholars like Gunther Kress draw attention to the multicultural aspect of multimodality (Kress, 2010, p. 11) Jewitt (Jewitt, 2009, p. 13) emphasizes the potential parity among all modes as well as the diversity of intricate interactions and connections between various modes of communication, coming to the conclusion that "the interaction between image and writing in a text" has served as the driving force behind most of the currently conducted multimodal research. The idea put forth by Jewitt that humans "orchestrate meaning through their selection and configuration of modes" also offers an approach to international and cross-cultural multimodality. (Jewitt, 2009, p. 15). It is possible to hypothesize that the ensemble of modes is displayed in global television drama remakes in inter- and cross-culturally conspicuous and distinctive combinations. This method, known as multimodal analysis, enables us to dissect compositions into their simplest elements before understanding how these combine to produce meaning.

In comparing the original *Dr. Romantic* and the Turkish remake *Kasaba Doktoru* (Town Doctor) from the perspective of intercultural communication, I identify five adaptation strategies in accordance with Hand and Moran's analysis scheme: omission, inclusion, substitution, permutation and marginalization. In line with a multimodal analysis, I use these operations to examine the shots, scenes and sequences of the pilot (first) episodes of the television series I have selected for analysis. In shots, scenes and sequences of the first episode, I analyze by identifying the following modes: 1. Camera Composition: framing/shot size (long shot, medium shot, close up), angles (eye level, low angle, high angle), movement (zoom, pan-tilt, dolly-crane), 2. Lighting (high-low key lighting) and Colour: Illumination and colours often convey certain emotions and themes in a moving images and a television production. 3. Sound: dialogues, music, sound effects, 4. Setting: space, decor and props 5. Video/Film transition: cut, dissolve, fade in- fade out. (Deacon et al., 2021, pp. 235–242) In a television drama, a shot is the smallest unit in the narrative, what is shown between the camera running once and stopping. A scene is a collection of shots, what is shown in the same time and in the same space. Sequence is a separate narrative unit with a beginning and an end that takes place in a certain period of time, although the locations change. The main events in a film take place in certain sequences. According to the semiotic analysis model, it can be argued that shots, scenes and sequences constitute the syntagmatic dimension in a film, while modes constitute the paradigmatic dimension (Fiske & Hartley, 2001, pp. 50-52). The main purpose of analyzing events and developments in the syntagmatic dimension and modes in the paradigmatic dimension in TV dramas is to determine the meanings produced. By identifying these meanings, I aim to clarify cultural differences and what constitutes a constructed culture.

Dr. Romantic has been airing on Korean SBS television for the 3 season and has reached a total of 50 episodes of 60-70 minutes each. The Turkish remake *Town Doctor*, which was aired on TRT1, ended with a total of 32 episodes of 135 minutes each in 2 seasons. For the multimodal analysis, the first (pilot) episodes of both series are analyzed.

6. Intercultural Comparison of Production Features, Storylines and Characters of TV Series

The South Korean TV drama *Dr. Romantic* was produced by Samhwa Networks and started to be broadcast by SBS TV in November 2016 and is still ongoing. The series aired 50 episodes in 3 seasons. The genre of television series is medical romance. According to Nielsen Korea rating company³, *Dr. Romantic* has a high rating of 3.8 (13%) on average each season, making it the first and second most watched television series nationally with each episode. Every year since the series started broadcasting, it has received awards such as best drama, best actor, best screenplay, etc. from festivals such as Asian Television Awards, Baeksang Art Awards, Korea Drama Awards and SBS Drama Awards⁴.

The first episode of *Dr. Romantic* is called: "How to Put an Elephant in a Refrigerator". When Kang Dong-joo (portrayed by Yoo Yeon-seok) was a child, his sick father went to the emergency room of a major hospital and died

³https://www.nielsenkorea.co.kr/tv_terrestrial_day.asp?menu=Tit_1&sub_menu=1_1&area=00&begin_date=20230428 accessed on website: 5 June 2023

⁴ See the official website of the series for the list of awards: <https://programs.sbs.co.kr/drama/doctorromantic/about/51940>

due to lack of care. Because Kang Dong-joo thinks that his father was kept waiting, that an influential (parliamentarian) patient was taken care of instead, and that his father died because of discrimination, Kang Dong-joo throws a fit and attacks the equipment and objects in the emergency room. A doctor who calms, treats and consoles him advises him that he must be more skillful than his enemies to take revenge. Decades later, Kang Dong-joo is assigned to the same hospital as an intern doctor. While working in the emergency room, Yoon Seo-jung (portrayed by Seo Hyun-jin), a young female the assistant doctor in charge, effectively but incompetently intervenes and saves the life of a severely injured worker brought to the emergency room. Meanwhile, Kang Dong-joo prioritizes and treats another patient who arrives at the emergency room. The hospital's chief physician sternly admonishes the young female doctor, Yoon Seo-jung, for overstepping her authority and disregarding emergency room priorities. Witnessing this warning, Kang Dong-joo goes to comfort the young female doctor Yoon Seo-jung, who is crying in a lonely corner, and kisses her lustfully. The female doctor does not refuse at first, but then tells him that she is in a serious relationship with another person in her life. As the young female doctor Yoon Seo-jung leaves the hospital, she runs into Kang Dong-joo, but he tells her that the person she is in a relationship with will pick her up by car. The person who picks Yoon Seo-jung up is Dr. Moon, the hospital's experienced general surgeon, and on the way, he puts a ring on Yoon Seo-jung's finger and asks her to marry him, but she declines. Meanwhile, the car is hit by a truck and the female doctor is brought to the hospital with serious injuries, but Dr. Moon is slightly injured. While Yoon Seo-jung is being operated on, Kang Dong-joo asks her to take care of Dr. Moon, who has hit his head hard. Kang Dong-joo goes to take care of Dr. Moon and sees that Dr. Moon is having a frank discussion with a nurse. The nurse has a love affair with Dr. Moon, and the female the assistant who came to the hospital injured saw the proposal ring on the doctor's finger. Dr. Moon realizes that Kang Dong-joo saw the argument and follows behind him, but suddenly collapses. He suffered a brain hemorrhage and cannot be saved. Yoon Seo-jung thinks that she caused Dr. Moon's death and resigns from her position at the hospital. One night, while hiking in the forest with her arm bandaged, Yoon Seo-jung falls and rolls and injures her foot. A mysterious middle-aged man finds her and gives her professional first aid, but we think he is probably a doctor. As the helping man carries the female doctor, Yoon Seo-jung, on his back, the first episode ends and the end credits roll.

The Turkish remake of *Dr. Romantic* was produced by a private production company under the name *Town Doctor* (in Turkish: *Kasaba Doktoru*) and aired on public television TRT 1 (Turkey Radio Television channel 1). The series, the first episode of which began airing on April 8, 2022, is in the medical and romantic drama genre and after airing 32 episodes over 2 seasons, it ended with the final episode on January 18, 2023. While the original *Dr. Romantik* lasted 60 minutes, each episode of the Turkish remake is 135 minutes long. The Turkish remake, *Town Doctor*, averaged a 3.1 rating (approximately 4 million viewers) for its 13 episodes in Season 1, making it the 7th most watched television program nationally on the night of its broadcast. The series ranked 3rd most watched among upper socio-economic status EU viewers. In Season 2, *Town Doctor's* ratings started to drop considerably. Its total rating dropped to an average of 2 (about 2.5 million viewers) and as the episodes progressed, it dropped to 35th place in the most watched television programs. As the ratings fall to these levels, the series is canceled after the series finale. The success and continuity of series on Turkish television is entirely dependent on ratings. On public television, ratings performance is monitored throughout the season. However, private commercial television channels are not as patient as public broadcasters. When the ratings of a series are not as expected, the series can be canceled even when it is only in its 4th or 5th episode.

Years ago, Ömer, a little boy, enters the emergency room with his father. His father is in a bad condition but no one takes care of him. The boy runs around asking for help from the doctors, but they don't prioritize his father even though he came first. Ömer's father dies in the emergency room. The boy comes back to the hospital and smashes everything with a crowbar. A middle-aged male doctor named Hakan stops him, calms him down and stitches his cut hand. Ömer is very impressed by the doctor's speech. Ömer starts working in the same hospital years later, this time as an intern doctor candidate. He clashes with an assistant named Leyla for not prioritizing a case similar to his father's in the emergency room. He and the girl, who is brave and successful like him, become a good duo after a while. They perform a procedure together that he should not have done as an authorized person. The managing doctor of the hospital is a close friend of Leyla's father, but he scolds the young doctor for exceeding his authority in the emergency room. Ömer supports her and confesses his love. But Leyla rejects him, saying that she is with someone else. Leyla, a young female the assistant doctor, is with Cenk, one of the successful and promising surgeons of the hospital. That evening, Cenk picks Leyla up from the hospital, proposes to the young

doctor and puts a ring on her finger. When she refuses and says she is in love with someone else, Cenk gets angry and drives the car into the intersection before the light and crashes. Leyla is unconscious when they are brought to the hospital. While Ömer takes her to the operating room, he calls Cenk, who had hit his head badly in the accident with her warning. He hears the surgeon talking to another female doctor. It is mentioned in the conversation that the two have been in a relationship for 2 years. Ömer overhears Cenk saying that he proposed to Leyla for his career. Meanwhile, general surgeon Dr. Cenk collapses and dies. Leyla blames herself for his death with the bad words of the hospital administrator and leaves the hospital room in a hurry. 5 years pass. For 5 years, Ömer and his 2 coworkers, who could not find a trace of Leyla, continued to search for the female doctor. In the meantime, Ömer became very successful and earned his specialization in surgery with a high degree. At the same time, the president's son reaches the same level. At the ceremony, no one paid any attention to Omer, so he gets angry and leaves. On the same day, a case similar to Dr. Omer's own father's case comes to the emergency room. While Ömer is going to operate on him, the President, who is looking for a scapegoat, forces him to perform a very risky operation on a member of the hospital board of directors. While Ömer loses the patient in the operation, his own patient dies because of the delay. Upon this failure, the hospital management terminates Ömer's position and transfers him to another hospital in the countryside. They tell him to stay there for a while and then come back. Omer goes to this provincial hospital and is bewildered. It is like a horror movie, an old and neglected town hospital. The night before Ömer leaves for his new assignment in the town, he meets the chief physician of the town hospital, Surgeon Dr. Hakan, in a hotel bar in an unpleasant coincidence. The man makes fun of Omer for pretending to be a doctor. When Dr. Ömer sees that this man (Dr. Hakan), whom he met the night before, is a surgeon at the hospital in the town and performs interventions under primitive conditions, he confronts him. However, here is the man who gave him advice and stitched his hand years ago when he made a scene in the emergency room after the death of his father. Of course, Ömer is not yet aware of this. When Dr. Ömer starts his shift at the town hospital, he sees that Dr. Leyla, the woman he declared his love to and has been looking for for years, is working there. However, Dr. Leyla is not the same as before. She blames herself for Cenk's death and hallucinates about him. At the end of the episode, she has a breakdown and cuts her own wrist.

As can be seen, the main storylines of the episodes are largely similar. However, the episodes of the original *Dr. Romantik* are 60 minutes long, while the Turkish remake is 135 minutes long. Therefore, in the Turkish remake *Town Doctor*, the stories from the second episode of the original were added. In short, the first episode of the Turkish remake is like a combination of the first two episodes of the original. However, 5 adaptation strategies were also applied between the original *Dr. Romance* and the Turkish remake *Town Doctor* as mentioned in the methodology section: omission, addition, expansion, alteration, alteration, and marginalization. I analyze these strategies through a multimodal analysis. I consider multimodality in terms of two dimensions: syntagmatic and paradigmatic. In the syntagmatic dimension, I examine shots, scenes, and sequences. In the paradigmatic dimension, I focus on: the way the camera works, stage setting, music and sound (dialogues), lighting and colors, film transition.

Opening scene: *Dr. Romantic* opens with a boy in the hat breaking hospital windows with a baseball bat, and the sequence fades to black. A male voice says: "An era of injustice". Then a moving and shaky camera shows a teenager dressed as a student shouting: "Please help us! My father was here first!". Then the screen fades to black and a voice over says: "An era of inequality". The young man is asking his father for help, but this time his clothes have changed, and he is in the hospital with a baseball bat, smashing equipment and furniture. The camera is wide-angle, again moving and jerky. The screen goes black and the voice over says: "An era full of complaints and distrust". The screen opens and a doctor announces the time of the teenager's father's death. The teenager and his mother are crying and screaming. The camera is wide framed at the teenager's eye level to show a doctor in charge in the background telling another family: "Fortunately, the operation went well. The senator is safe". The teenager rebels: "my father came first, he should have been treated first" and tries to attack the doctor in charge, screaming. In very close and slow motion, we see a doctor's name tag fall from his lapel to the floor during the attack. The voice-over says the following about the scene in which the teenager continues to break hospital equipment and furniture: "In the flood of reckless medical technology and discriminatory patient service, even medical field is laughing and crying because of money, it's become that kind of time". The scene of the attack continues, as the hospital staff try to call the police, the teenager shouts: "A hospital! A doctor! They can't do that!". Meanwhile, a doctor grabs the teenager using Far Eastern fighting techniques and knocks him out with a tranquilizer injection.

In these shots the camera frames are very close, and the camera is moving. As the doctor treats the teenager who injured himself during the attack, he gives a moral lesson:

-“Just because you caused a ruckus, doesn't mean you've gotten your revenge... If you really want to get revenge become a better person than them. Pay them back with your skills, not with rage. If you don't change, nothing will change.”

In this teenager's treatment scene, the doctor's face is not visible, and then he quickly leaves the room, leaving the teenager unable to see his face or learn who he is. The camera angles and frames are chosen to keep the doctor's identity a mystery. In the scene, the camera rotates 180 degrees around the teenager in a mid-shot, and the doctor's words echo in the teenager's head: "If you don't change, nothing else will change". The teenager decisively opens the hospital door outwards and exits. We see the same door opening with the cut. This time a young doctor in a white coat enters. The camera shot is close again, we see the young doctor's face up close and brightly lit. At this point the credits begin. The title of the episode is shown on the page of the book, as the pages of the medical books are quickly opened and closed, and the surgical instruments are quickly shown: "CHAPTER 1: HOW TO PUT AN ELEPHANT INTO THE REFRIGERATOR".

In the Turkish remake, this opening sequence is given with substitutions and additions. First, the drama starts with the credits. There are shots of medical books, surgical instruments, emergency room activity, showing that the series is a medical drama. Close-ups of the characters' faces are shown while the names of the production team are written. They are introduced to the audience. The credits fade to black and the following text appears on the screen: "This series is dedicated to the doctors and health workers who fight hard for our health". This addition is related to the sociological issues related to health workers in Turkey. From time to time, health workers in Turkey are subjected to attacks by patients and their relatives. In addition, during the Covid-19 pandemic, doctors had to work at risk and overworked. Therefore, there has been a significant sensitization in the public opinion towards this situation of healthcare workers in Turkey.

The opening scene shows the hospital from a distance in a wide camera angle. In the Turkish remake, a teenager walks towards the emergency room wearing clothes that conceal his identity. These shots are taken from a high angle, from a security camera angle, which prepares the viewer for a security threatening situation. The camera takes a moving shot from behind the teenager. The face of the teenager is not shown, which serves to create the sense that he is an aggressor. In the meantime, the voice over speaks as follows: "in this world people are divided into two: the brave and the cowardly. Either you make the rules or you follow the rules made by others all your life. And which will you be".

The duration of the teenager's attack shots is shorter than in the original. During his attack, Ergin remembers the moments when he lost his father. The camera shows these moments with low lighting and sepia colors (nostalgic atmosphere with yellow tones). The attack ends with the skillful intervention of a mysterious doctor. However, the mysterious doctor does not display Far Eastern fighting techniques. There was also a significant subtraction in the Turkish remake. The teenager remembers certain moments of his father's neglect in the emergency room. In *Dr. Romantic*, the teenager witnesses dialogues showing that instead of his father, another person, a senator, is being treated. The teenager sees a doctor informing the senator's family that the operation was successful. In the Turkish remake, this scene of class or status discrimination was completely removed.

Furthermore, in *Dr. Romantic*, class and status discrimination is particularly emphasized by the opening sequence's voiceover. The voiceover draws attention to issues of equality and justice during the shots of patient priority in the emergency room and the fade to black of the attack shots. The opening sequence of the series is the sequence in which the viewer is introduced to the story and the character, decides whether to watch the series and become a loyal follower of the narrative. In fact, not only the opening sequence but also the first episode (pilot) is the episode where the viewer decides whether or not to buy into the story. In the opening sequence, the original series announces the promise of a story about issues of equality and justice in health care and careers as doctors, and issues of class and social status. In contrast, the voice-over in the opening sequence of the Turkish remake emphasizes that the story theme is one of personal courage and the ability to be the force that makes the rules.

Another important scene in the opening sequence is the advice given by the mysterious doctor to the teenager while treating the wounds he sustained during the attack. This dialog is important in terms of showing the morality recommended for children and teenagers and pointing to a cultural solution to violence. While close-ups and details of the medical intervention are shown, the doctor speaks as follows:

- "Did you at least let off steam! Did you let off steam? I'm telling you, hey! While you were trashing this place, maybe another child's father and mother came and those people were not taken care of just because of you. Maybe someone died because of this. The broken glass frame will be replaced. The kid! But this is a hospital, you hear me? This is a hospital, a hospital! The people you see here are trying their best to save people's lives. But what are you doing? You're blocking them. Do you know how many doctors die every year because of vandals like you who get angry and storm hospitals? You don't know. Now get it through your head. Tough guy! Just because you take it out on others doesn't mean you can get revenge. You can make as much fuss as you want. Walk on people as much as you want....this is my brother's advice to you: there is no salvation with this anger. You know, it is with knowledge. The better you do your job, the more people you can touch. You will take out your anger with your labor. But for that you have to have the courage to fight. You have to have the courage to do the right thing under any circumstances. [So tell me now. Do you have the courage to do all this? [Music]

In the scene after the opening scene, the meaning given to the audience through dialogues, events and shots is the hierarchical relations between doctors. In *Dr. Romance*, Kang Dong-joo, a new intern doctor at the hospital, is asked by a the assistant doctor to bring him coffee. Kang Dong-joo refuses, reminding him that he is there to practice medicine. The the assistant doctor says that it is a necessary tradition in the medical and military professions to have hierarchical relationships. This is how hierarchical relationships in the medical profession are shown in the original. However, in the Turkish remake, a few more shots were added to emphasize the hierarchical subordinate-superior relationships and the authoritarian attitude of the senior doctors and administrators. In this one, the intern Dr. Ömer suddenly tries to ask a question to the Chief Physician walking down the corridor. His question is about the doctor who helped him as a child during the attack after the death of his father. The Chief Physician asks the doctors around him, "Didn't you teach the new intern the hospital rules?" and walks away without answering. In these dialogues and shots, and in the Turkish re-shooting with the use of music, the dramatization was extended. On the other hand, the socio-political problems that the series refers to were changed and the problem was stated as a hero's personal courage problem. By emphasizing and adding the personal and moral, the shooting and scene durations were also extended.

The next scene is the medical intervention to the construction workers who come to the emergency room after a work accident. The medical intervention to the construction worker is shown with close-ups, eye-level angles and a moving camera. In addition, up-tempo music is used that evokes success. There is a camera work and editing that tries to create a sense of crisis and panic in the emergency room. The shots are short and transition with cuts. This serves to create a sense of speed, haste and urgency. In the Turkish re-shoot of this scene, the camera angles, movement and number of shots are more. This aims to exaggerate the sense of urgency. What is added to the Turkish remake in this scene is an interaction between Ömer, the intern, and Leyla, the young woman doctor assistant. The young man and the assistant doctor make eye contact during the emergency response. Also, intern Dr. Ömer helps Dr. Leyla by holding her hand as she intervenes in an extraordinary way to the construction worker. These added shots also turn the medical drama into a love story from the beginning and increase the melodramatic weight of the Turkish series.

In a later scene, Dr. Yoon Seo-jung, while intervening with the construction worker, dialogues about the condition of a patient he neglected. The patient Dr. Yoon Seo-jung kept waiting was taken care of by intern Kang Dong-joo, and later it became clear that the problem was serious and the patient was an influential person. That patient's life was saved by the intern doctor's attention. Because of this priority issue, an executive doctor scolds assistant Yoon Seo-jung in front of his fellow doctors. In the Turkish remake, the supervising doctor scolds Dr. Leyla not at the table with her friends, but by pulling her aside. Later, Dr. Yoon Seo-jung gets angry at intern Kang Dong-joo for complaining to the supervising doctor and overstepping his authority in the emergency room. These scenes are shown with medium shots and fixed cameras. The emotional load of the scene is light. The young male and female

protagonists are not in an emotionally difficult situation, but in a professional difficulty. However, in the Turkish re-shoot, a romantic interaction between intern Ömer and assistant dr. Leyla, the assistant, underlines a romantic interaction between them. Their conversation is shot close up and at eye level. The lighting is bright and there is a sense of emotional interaction between the two characters. All shots are staged with the use of music and facial expressions showing emotion. In the Turkish remake, the shots between Intern Ömer and Dr. Leyla have camera work, lighting and music that enhance the melodramatic effect of the narrative.

In the following scene, Dr. Yoo Seo-jung sentences intern Dr. Kang Dong-joo to take care of patients who come to the emergency room and are unofficially coded as "MA" (in Korean language: Major Asshole). These scenes are the episodes of the series that have a comedic element and provide relief to the audience in the narrative of the series. In keeping with the atmosphere of the emergency room, the camera is moving and the shots are close to give a sense of the characters' moods. In the original series, the characters chosen for comedy are a grumpy drunk, a woman acting hysterical, a mafia man who is angry about an injection attempt and comes to the emergency room with his goons. All of them act up and complicate the intern doctor's work with physical resistance. In *Dr. Romantic*, these scenes are quick and short. In Turkish Town Doctor, they are longer and the camera movement is more exaggerated. The sick people who create humor have been changed. The drunk in the original drama is replaced by an obese man who has overeaten. The hysterical professionally dressed woman is replaced by a grumpy old man who attacks the intern doctor with his cane. The mafia type is the same, but the bodyguards warn him in mafia style (in Turkish culture: racon) to be afraid of the injection. In this comic scene, the original drama has a patient trying to remove a golf ball from his large intestine, and during the intervention, feces splashes on the intern doctor's face. The scene closes with a dialogue between Dr. Yoo Seo-jung and intern Kang Dang-joo discussing the punishment duty. In this dialog, the female doctor says the following to the intern, which is also the title of the first episode of the series: "Hey intern. Do you know how to put an elephant into a refrigerator? The correct answer is, 'Make the intern do it.'". Then the female doctor assistant says the following professional and moralizing words to the intern: "Regardless of what kind of patient, horrible patient or not, he cannot discriminate or refuse. If you can't handle it, then leave. I won't stop you, you jerk.". To these words the intern doctor responds with a psychoanalytic diagnosis of the assistant doctor: "You have a big ego, and you are so thirsty to get acknowledgement and recognition from others. The medical term for that is histrionic personality disorder. Am I wrong?" These harsh, sophisticated and instructive words are omitted in the Turkish remake. Instead, they have been replaced by personal bickering lines and shots that imply romantic intimacy and fit the cliché that all love "begins with fighting and animosity".

The doctors in the hospital administration and the surgeon Dr. Moon, who we later find out is the assistant doctor's lover, walk down the corridor and meet Dr. Yoo Seo-jung in the next scene. In the original series, in this scene, the assistant doctor bows and shows respect in accordance with Korean culture. In the Turkish remake, this show of respect and appreciation of the assistant doctor's skillful intervention with the construction worker is given in speech. At the end of the episode, the surgeon Dr. Hakan, who we will see is the assistant female doctor's lover, expresses his appreciation. This scene continues with a reconciliation and rapprochement scene in which Dr. Yoo Seo-jung and intern Kang Dong-joo have a warm dialogue. There is a hint of flirtation in this scene in both dramas. In the original series, the female doctor's body language and the shots imply flirting, while in the Turkish remake, the female doctor Leyla fixes the intern doctor's collar. She also talks about this flirtatious interaction with the other female doctor in the emergency room. These conversations reinforce the flirtatious implication. In *Dr. Romantic*, meanings are shown to the audience mostly through showing, that is, through dramatization. However, in the Turkish remake, what is shown is repeated with dialogues. These inserted dialogues serve to rescue the meaning of the scene from ambiguity, to stabilize and reinforce it. The addition of speech, repetition and exaggeration brings the medical drama closer to a romance melodrama.

After this comedic and romantic scene, we return to the struggle of the heroes, young male and female doctors, to save lives in the emergency room. It is in these places and times, when the distance between life and death is extremely short, that medical dramas are suited to drama. In this scene, Dr. Yoo Seo-jung, a female the assistant, intervenes on a patient whose heart stops, with the help of the intern protagonist, in a way that exceeds her authority. This scene emphasizes a rapprochement because they work together, that the female doctor is brave and talented, and that she cares about her patients. For these meanings, camera angles and frames are close and there

is little camera movement. All this shows the sincerity and emotionality of the protagonists of the series. In the Turkish remake, these shots are longer and the camera is used in a more exaggerated way. The shots are closer, the light is brighter, the protagonists are shown more attractive.

The subsequent scene is a critical one that highlights the conflict in the story. The head physician of the hospital warns assistant Dr. Yoo Seo-jung for exceeding his medical authority in the emergency room. Dr. Romantic also gives this warning speech in the stairwell. The chief physician scolds the female doctor and kicks her in the leg. He says that he cannot take such initiatives without his specialization. In the Turkish remake, the Chief Physician scolds the female doctor in his office room. In this scene, the Chief Physician puts Dr. Leyla in her place, asks her to be careful and states that she is the daughter of his best friend and that is why he protects her. In this reprimanding scene, a conversation about favoritism of relatives or friends in working life is reenacted in Turkish re-shoots. The intern doctor secretly witnesses the heroine being scolded by the chief physician. Then, the heroine leaves the chief physician's side. Yoo Seo-jung (Dr. Leyla in the Turkish remake) and goes to her while she is crying and trying to calm down in an empty laboratory. In this scene there is a romantic intimacy. In *Dr. Romantic*, the intern doctor kisses the female doctor on the lips. This scene is shot in a very erotic way in *Dr. Romantic*. There is a soft yellow light and slow motion. In the Turkish remake, this romantic intimacy is not shown. Instead, the intern doctor expresses his love in words, that is, by speaking. In both series, the female protagonist rejects the male doctor intern a bit, but is generally shown to like him. Later on, the heroine makes it clear that there is another person in her life and that there cannot be a love relationship between them. However, Kong Dong-joo, the intern doctor, says that he is determined and willing. In *Dr. Romantic*, the intern character demonstrates his determination to succeed and get what he wants in the face of social or personal inequality. In the Turkish version, the male character is characterized as courageous. It can be argued that there is a change in cultural themes between the two series.

The ensuing sequence involves the hospital's senior surgeon Dr. Moon (Dr. Cenk in the Turkish remake) proposing to female the assistant Dr. Yoo Seo-jung (Dr. Leyla) as they drive out of the hospital together. Yoo Seo-jung (Dr. Leyla) as they are driving out of the hospital together, the car is hit by a truck, and they return to the emergency room injured. In *Dr. Romance*, the senior surgeon takes out a diamond ring and says the following words to the female the assistant: "Let's get married as soon as you're done". In the Turkish remake, the same character puts the ring on the female doctor's finger and says: "Will you marry me?". The female doctor does not respond to the proposal, but we see Dr. Moon (Dr. Cenk) sadly moving the car and at that moment a truck violently hits the car. Dr. Yoo Seo-Jung is seriously injured and Dr. Moon is on his feet and walks to the emergency room. In the emergency room, Dr. Moon is an intern Dr. Kang Dong-joo. Kang Dong-joo that the female doctor has fractures and he will perform the surgery. The intern says that he cannot operate on her because he is drunk. In the Turkish remake, the reason that he was drunk was removed. Intern Dr. Ömer refuses, telling the surgeon Dr. Cenk that he cannot operate because of the shock of the traffic accident. While Dr. Yoo Seo-jung is being taken to the operating room, Dr. Moon argues with a nurse on the fire stairs and the intern sees the argument secretly. As Dr. Moon walks behind the intern who saw the argument with the nurse, he suddenly falls to the ground. Dr. Moon has suffered a brain hemorrhage from hitting his head violently in a car accident and dies on the spot. There is an important addition to the Turkish re-shoot in this scene. In this argument, the nurse shoutingly asks Dr. Cenk, the senior surgeon, why he proposed to the assistant doctor when they have been in a relationship for two years. Dr. Cenk states that he loves the nurse but for his career he should marry the the assistant Dr. Leyla. These conversations are overheard by intern Dr. Ömer hearing these conversations is preserved in both series. Hearing the conversations secretly or unintentionally, sudden and striking events, personal discussions, and the display of intense emotions are typical of melodramas. Therefore, these scenes and the Turkish remake brought the series closer from a medical drama to a romance melodrama or even a soap opera.

In the next scene of the drama *Dr. Romantic*, assistant Dr. Yoo Seo-jung has surgery. We learn that Dr. Moo, the senior surgeon, has died from the showing of his funeral. Then we learn that the female doctor left the hospital unannounced. Kang Dong-joo sees her with an empty bed. The female doctor is seen walking in the forest with her hand bandaged. While Dr. Yoo Seo-jung is tracking in the forest, she remembers how Dr. Moon, the senior surgeon who died in a car accident, rejected her marriage proposal because of his romantic interest in the intern. Dr. Moon drove the car carelessly on this news and the accident happened. Dr. Yoo Seo-jung feels responsible for

the accident and death, so she leaves the hospital and her position. In the Turkish remake, there is an important addition. After Dr. Leyla comes out of surgery, the Chief Physician visits her in her bed and informs her that Dr. Cenk, the senior surgeon, has died. He also tells her that he knows about the proposal because Dr. Cenk had consulted him beforehand. In the dialog in this scene, the Chief Physician emphasizes that he is most upset about this sudden death because he lost a good surgeon. In the Turkish re-shoot, we learn that the Chief Physician, as the hospital administrator, approaches the death and the marriage proposal in terms of professional and institutional interests, not humanitarian ones.

In *Dr. Romantic*, the last scene of the episode, assistant Dr. Yoo Seo-jung falls and injures her leg while hiking in the forest and is rescued by a mysterious person after dark. Meanwhile, his colleagues at the hospital talk about how they haven't heard from him and that he doesn't have any relatives to ask on the phone. This conversation is overheard by intern Dr. Kang Dang-joo overhears this conversation. The heroine's loneliness and victimization emotionally stimulated the male protagonist. We cut back to the scene in the forest. The mysterious helper performs a trauma examination on Dr. Yoo Seo-jun's body and we realize that he is a doctor. In the final shot, we see that this mysterious doctor is the same doctor who helped and counseled Kang Dang-joo, the boy whose father died in the emergency room due to discrimination at the beginning of the episode. The original series ends with this shot and a dynamic soundtrack begins to flow into the end credits. In the re-shoot *Town Doctor*, we see Dr. Leyla, the female assistant, running away from the hospital in a depressed mood. The next scene shows the intert doctor's exit from the hospital stairs with the text "5 years later" and a back angle and center shot frame. This scene and events are the beginning of the second part of the original *Dr. Romantic*. The Turkish reshoot added the story of the second part to the first part. In doing so, the tracking scenes of the female assistant doctor in the forest and her injury, her depressed and anxious recollections of the past and her crying were removed. The first episode of the remake continues for another hour. This hour-long episode is the first half of the second episode of the original. In Turkey, each episode of a TV series lasts 120-130 minutes and is usually long with repetitive dialogues and pointless waiting for characters.

7. Culture Produced by Remaking and the Politics of Intercultural Communication

A general comparison of *Dr. Romantic* and its Turkish remake *Town Doctor* in terms of intercultural communication reveals certain characteristics of cultures. The elements that characterize the cultures are determined by how cultural translation is done in the remake process. It is understood that cultural translation for remakes is subject to the following strategies: omission, addition, expansion, alteration, and marginalization.

First of all, when we look at the founding and central idea of the dramas, we see a change. While *Dr. Romantic* builds the dramatic conflict on the idea of social equality and justice, *Town Doctor* builds the conflict on personal courage, ambition and passion, not the social. Whereas in *Doctor Romantic* the narrative focuses on the struggle against class and status inequalities, in the Turkish remake social issues are weakened and the love story is emphasized instead. Hospitals and emergency rooms are a highly suitable technical and social setting for the dramatization of moral issues. Doctors are constantly forced to make an accounting between their duties, their skills, their ethics, their conscience, their abilities and their careers. In this reflection, *Dr. Romantik* glorifies the doctors' preservation of moral values, their defense of duty ethics and the development of their skills. The Turkish remake, on the other hand, shows doctors emphasizing their character traits and personal morality in the face of problems and conflictual situations. The socio-political dimensions of the problems are marginalized compared to the original series.

Dr. Romantic tries to make the characters more multifaceted, the doctor refrains from judging the characters morally. In the Turkish remake, however, the moral qualities of the characters are much more evident. The good and the bad are portrayed much more clearly. For example, the careerism of the executive doctors is clearly shown and their compromise of cultural values for their careers is criticized.

Both series are in the medical drama and romance genre. However, looking at the first episodes, the Turkish remake seems to dramatize life, death and health issues more and romanticize the relationships between doctors

more. The dramatization is more dialogue-based, and the use of modes such as camera angles and movements, frames, lighting, and stage setting brings the Turkish remake closer to the melodrama genre. With melodramatization, the content of the series, such as medical technique, sociological and political issues, ethical questioning, becomes trivialized.

Both series contain allusions to the conflict between modernization and traditional cultural values of two nations - South Korea and Turkey. Medical science and techniques are indicators of modernization. Doctoring and medical practices are very modern practices. However, what is happening here, the practices in these fields are done within national and spiritual values, in short, within culture. The current dominant paradigm of Turkish modernization is based on the principle of acquiring Western science and technology but preserving national culture. It can be said that Turkey's intercultural communication policies in television remakes are also based on this understanding. The same conservative understanding of modernization seems to govern non-Western modernization policies, as in Korea. This is one of the reasons why South Korean TV series are shown and loved in Turkey, both directly and through remakes. In both series, it is shown that modern medicine and its techniques have improved, successful operations and doctors have been achieved, but cultural values should be preserved. The good characters in the series are those whose morals, conscience and character are compatible with traditional culture. The bad characters in the series, on the other hand, are mired in careerism and authoritarianism while rising in modern science and practice such as medicine.

When we look at the modes of television aesthetics of both series, it can be said that *Dr. Romantic* has a more realistic television language. The camera angles and movements, framing, lighting and staging are more realistic. The Turkish remake, on the other hand, romanticizes the narrative more through television modes. For example, it emphasizes the love story between the characters and the victimization in love relationships more. It tries to make the characters more beautiful, more aesthetic, more attractive, and removes ugly images from the narrative. This brings the genre of medical drama closer to melodrama. The Turkish remake, although the drama is set in a hospital, around technical medical practices, seems to tell a more fairy tale, more fantastical story than the original.

8. Conclusion

A television drama is a multimodal text. These multimodal television narratives both disseminate and produce culture, which means the construction and sharing of meanings in a community. Television produces culture through an intertextual process, and as these texts are received and interpreted by viewers, culture is reproduced again and again. Television operates within a particular culture, in our age the national culture. Therefore, viewers do not realize that television narratives produce culture. Viewers think that everything they see on television is natural and accept what happens as natural. However, what television constructs is a culture that belongs to a certain community and is produced by will and choice. The stories television tells and the culture it produces can best be seen from a comparative perspective. Cultures are revealed and materialized in intercultural encounters and communication.

Globalization has increased interactions, especially in the cultural field. The most popular medium of intercultural communication through mass media is television. With the global trade of television programs and formats, cultures have become informed about each other and the production and sharing of cultural meanings has increased. Especially with the rapid digitalization of media and the spread of social media, intercultural interactions have become more intense than ever before in human history.

Television dramas have become the most popular medium for the circulation of culture on a global level and thus the exposure of national and local cultures. Traditionally, the culture disseminated by television has been European and American culture. This level of diffusion has been termed cultural imperialism. In the face of this western-centered cultural production and distribution, nations have developed intercultural communication policies to protect their own cultures. One of these policies is the adoption of foreign cultural products into the local or national culture after a certain process of adaptation. The equivalent of this process called adaptation in the television production industry is the phenomenon of re-shooting. Remake is the reproduction of television programs and dramas of a foreign culture by localizing the national cultural context. The process of remaking

reveals the boundaries and character of a culture, its core cultural values, codes and norms. Remaking not only makes culture visible and embodies it, but also opens it up to interpretation and negotiation by viewers.

After the 2000s, non-Western countries have also made significant progress in their modernization processes, established their own cultural industries and started to produce and disseminate culture. South Korea has made its own culture industry to produce for the whole world with the Korean wave. Turkey has also started to export the productions of its own TV series culture and industry to many countries. In recent years, Korean Wave TV series K-Dramas have been produced and broadcasted in Turkey through remakes. This Turkish remake process can be read as a process of intercultural communication. This intercultural communication process reveals some characteristics of both Korean culture and Turkish national culture.

Dr. Romantic, which has reached the highest popularity among K-Dramas, was remade in Turkey under the name *Town Doctor* and broadcast on public television TRT1 for 2 seasons and 32 episodes. When comparing these two series cross-culturally in terms of adaptation, it can be argued that the main difference is the shift in the thematic focus of the series. While the main idea in the original was the problems of equality and justice in society, the Turkish remake emphasizes personal courage and will power. In the original series, medical drama, love affairs and problems in the medical profession are presented with a certain balance. The audiovisual and narrative modes of television do not emphasize any particular theme. In the Turkish remake, however, the focus is on the emotions generated by love relationships and problems. Rather than staging scientific, technical, socio-political and ethical problems, television aesthetics are used to reveal and convey emotions such as grief, victimization, glory, passion, revenge and jealousy.

Korea and Turkey want to succeed in the process of modernization, but they try to preserve their culture. Practices in a modern scientific and technological field such as medicine symbolize the level of modernization. Achieving scientific and professional development in this field without compromising cultural and ethical values can be seen as a success of conservative modernization. While Korean drama stages scientific, professional, ethical and personal conflicts without taking a clear stand in favor of any of them, the Turkish remake advocates a conservative modernizing policy of interculturality.

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Is Fear of Supernatural Punishment the Foundation of Religion? An Examination of Bering's Theory of Dead Agents

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Abstract

Cognitive psychologist Bering attempted to explain away religion by suggesting that the evolutionary process pre-disposed the human mind to assume a spiritual realm in which dead people continue to keep their consciousness. In Bering's study participants were asked to rate the characteristics of persons in given photos in two sittings. When the experimenter told the participants that one of the persons in the photo passed away in the second round, the average ratings for that person significantly went up. Bering concluded that higher ratings were a result of participants' fear of being punished by the dead agent. By replicating this experiment, the authors found that initially the non-religious group gave higher ratings to the dead person than the religious group in the pretest, but the order switched in the posttest. Our study suggests that there might be alternate sources of our belief system, and also there might be alternate explanations for the same phenomenon revealed by the data.

Keywords: Cognition, Evolution, Death, Fear, Religion, Moral Foundation

1. Introduction

1.1 Explaining away Religion

For the last several centuries numerous academic endeavors have attempted to explain the origins of religion and religious beliefs. However, many of these approaches seem to "explain away" rather than merely explain religion. There is a subtle difference between the two. An explanation is not necessarily exhaustive, whereas "explaining away" something is a much stronger assertion. Explaining away is to reduce X to "nothing but A," and in this way, deny or minimize the significance of the very essence of X. Using physical factors in neuroscience to explain free will away is a typical example (Lavazza, 2016). In the context of this article, certain psychological theories of religion reject the possibility of its divine origin so that religion is viewed as nothing but a human phenomenon. One of these academic endeavors to naturalize religion so that it is explained away is led by cognitive scientist Jesse Bering. Bering and his collaborators conducted a series of empirical studies to support his evolutionary explanation of religion, such as the interviews about the biological and psychological functioning of dead people

(Bering & Bjorklund, 2004), the experiment of puppet play (Bering, Blasi, & Bjorklund, 2005), the experiment of trait attributions by photos, the content analysis of obituaries, and the experiment of ghost story (Bering, McLeod, & Shackelford, 2005). In Bering's 2005 study (Bering, McLeod & Shackelford), participants were asked to rate the traits of three strangers displayed in photos. A week later they returned to continue the study but were told that one of the persons had died over the weekend. Afterwards, on average, participants rated the dead person more favorably than others. Bering and his colleagues (2005) hypothesized that adaptive evolutionary cognitive functions caused subjects to give the dead agent a more "positive" rating for fear of being punished through negative life events. Bering (2005) originally proposed that culturally acquired religious concepts are unimportant in how one would rank the dead agent on various traits. Following this line of reasoning, Johnson and Bering (2006) argued that fear of supernatural punishment is the foundation of our moral order, which is gradually developed through the evolutionary process. Following the same line of reasoning, Piazza, Bering, and Ingram (2013) argued that if a person believes that an invisible being is watching, it can deter immoral behaviors, such as cheating.

More specifically, humans are distinctive from other species in two areas. First, humans use "the theory of mind" to interpret other people's behaviors, assuming that they have a mind like ours (Whiten, 1998). Second, humans developed languages to convey complicated ideas. Animals can be selfish without worrying about how their behaviors would be reported, but humans are afraid of being criticized and even punished. For Bering, this fear of human punishment is extended to the fear of divine punishment. Divine punishment deters people from doing bad things to others even if nobody is around, thus increasing the survival fitness of the species.

At the functional level Bering's theory seems to be pro-religion because supernatural beliefs can serve the function of laying the moral foundation and enhancing the chances of reproductive success. However, at the ontological level this theory has a different implication. Bering (2009) states, "I reiterated my empirically based argument that belief in the afterlife is more or less an inevitable byproduct of human consciousness" (para. 5). Bering wrote the preceding sentence in the context of Israel-Arab conflict, which is referred by Bering as to "another conflict at least partially fueled by head-scratching religious ideologies" (para. 3). Bering (2009) argues that religion would have been biologically adaptive because it generates social cohesiveness, resulting in better chances of survival in a larger group. He explained this phenomenon by saying,

"It's a bit like Santa Claus knowing whether we're bad or good (but Santa doesn't cause you to suffer renal failure, kill your crops, or sentence you to everlasting torment) ... People engage in all sorts of costly religious behaviors—wasting time on rituals, wearing uncomfortable clothes, spending their hard-earned money—because, in doing so, they are advertising their commitment to the religious in-group. In other words, if you're willing to do things such as cut off your child's foreskin, pay a regular alms tax of 2.5 percent of your net worth or sit twiddling your thumbs for two hours every Sunday morning on a hard church pew, then your fellow believers will assume that you're really one of them and can therefore be trusted" (para. 6-7).

Bering went further to write, "What if ... the data suggest that God is actually just a psychological blemish etched onto the core cognitive substrate of your brain? Would you still believe if you knew God were a byproduct of your evolved mental architecture?" (para 9). The meanings of the above statements are very explicit. These statements carry several main points (1) Belief in the supernatural is natural because it is inevitable (everyone is born with this natural tendency); (2) This is a byproduct of evolution, meaning that it is an unintended side effect departed from the original purpose, just like air pollution is a side effect of driving; (3) Religious ideas are compared to legends like the fairy tale of Santa Claus, but religious beliefs stir up conflicts and cause other damages while the tale of Santa Claus is harmless; (4) The concept of God is a product of our psychological flaw, and it could be explained at a physical level (cognitive substrate); (5) All of the above claims are substantiated by empirical data.

1.2 Cognitive Science of Religion

The Cognitive Science of Religion (CSR) is an interdisciplinary field that involves evolutionary psychology, anthropology of religion, neuroscience, and cognitive psychology. Scholars within CSR have developed an impressive amount of research that also attempts to examine the origins of religious beliefs—albeit not through

cultural explanations (as mentioned above), but through identifying how certain cognitive structures of the mind lends itself to religious beliefs. Descriptions that recognize the role of cognitive functions for the formation of religious beliefs can be classified as “naturalistic” explanations. Within the field of CSR, Bering (2004, 2006a), Bloom (2004), Boyer (1994, 2001), Guthrie (1993), and Barrett (2004) adopt this naturalistic approach. In Barrett’s (2004) view, human cognition carries certain hard-wired dispositions that lead us to embrace supernatural beliefs. Barrett suggests that religious concepts and practices, which emerged from communities, strengthened moral and social order, and equipped religious people with survival advantages over non-religious people (Barrett, 2004). Bloom (2004) contends that humans are prone to be dualists because mind-body dualism is compatible with common sense. For instance, while children accept the brain as responsible for some aspects of mental life, such as solving math problems, they simultaneously deny the brain having something to do with loving one’s brother. It is natural for humans to postulate that there is some entity beyond the body, and therefore, people are receptive to supernatural beliefs. In a similar vein, Boyer (2001) asserts that our minds are well prepared for religion due to natural selection. That is, religious people perceive their god in anthropomorphic terms. In other words, humans tend to conceptualize a god that is in many aspects like us; but this deity is much more powerful than humans. We have intuitions about what gods should look like, which religious concepts are good, and we project these images onto the supernatural world. This cognitive preparedness for religion cannot be exhaustively explained by cultural diffusion. Additionally, Bering (2003) argues that the majority of people turn to religion because of subjective negative experiences—not for “cultural” reasons like objective events in a hostile environment. Bering notes: “Default inferences that are typically associated with religious thinking (e.g., belief in the continuity of personal consciousness after death; belief in an abstract intentional agency as the arbiter of life events, and the creator of species and natural inanimates) are not activated *by* culturally transmitted religious concepts, but instead give rise to religious concepts themselves” (Bering, 2003, p. 245) [emphasis in the original].

Although Bloom, Bering, Barrett, Boyer and Guthrie adopt a naturalistic approach to the origins of religious beliefs and behaviors, there are disagreements within the field concerning whether or not religious beliefs are merely “adaptations” or “byproducts” of the mind. The adaptationist-byproduct debates among those who advocate for naturalistic explanations of religion highlights an important distinction within CSR and helps situate Jesse Bering’s position within the field.

Adaptationist accounts state that religion and religious ideas are propagated because there is a direct fitness advantage to the individual who holds these beliefs. Proponents of this approach note how, over time, religious beliefs have certain capability gains like extending human co-operation, co-ordination, and other pro-social behaviors (Powell & Clarke, 2012; Sosis, 2009). Thus, religious beliefs and behaviors enhanced the formation of certain types of social groups, and these social groups developed habits and traits that enabled them to outcompete other groups—and over time, gave them an evolutionary advantage (Dunbar, 1998).

In contrast to adaptationist accounts, the byproduct account of religion is espoused by a number of leading scholars in the field (e.g. S. Atran, 2002; Barrett, 2004, 2011a, 2011b; Boyer, 1994, 2001; McCauley & Lawson, 2002; Whitehouse, 2004). These scholars argue that religion did not evolve as an adaptation, but is a result (or byproduct) that emerged from other various cognitive evolutions. Religion arose for various purposes “unrelated to the religious beliefs they now encourage” (Greenway & Barrett, 2021). Put it another way, religious beliefs evolved as an outcome of other cognitive structures that developed—not because religion simply helped humans adapt to their environment and have a fitness advantage.

For example, proponents of the byproduct view theorize that certain cognitive structures (like agency detection) helped produce religious beliefs. Cognitive scientists point to things like the Hyperactive Agency Detection Device (HADD), which most likely evolved to help our ancestors remain highly alert to anything that could be perceived as a predator or adversary. However, as a byproduct of HADD, our ancestors may have misperceived many ordinary things as a threat, and consequently, this made them receptive to invisible agents. It was this mistake “or byproduct” of HADD that may have led early hominin groups to believe in spirits or ghosts. As Sosis (2009) describes, “We are inclined to see faces in the clouds and creatures in the closet because natural selection favored a response system that actively perceives agents and agency in events” (p. 317).

While the byproduct view remains dominant within CSR, Bering and other scholars in the field have questioned byproduct accounts of religion (see also: Bulbulia, 2004; Alcorta & Sosis, 2005, 2006; Johnson & Bering, 2006; Dow, 2008; Richerson & Newson, 2008; Sanderson, 2008). Although Bering has disagreed with various aspects of the byproduct position, his view does not strictly adhere to other adaptationist accounts either (Johnson and Bering, 2006). Sosis (2009) notes that Bering's position is an adaptationist model that incorporates findings from the byproduct approach. In short, Bering argues that religious thoughts and behaviors were formed because of other psychological functions of the mind, but were then co-opted and had adaptive purposes. Bering notes, "We too argue that religion is grounded in and enabled by engineering requirements of our species' naturally designed cognitive systems. But this is where our shared opinion with most other cognitive scientists begins to diverge" (Bering et al., 2005, p.361). Bering later points out how these cognitive byproducts of the mind had adaptive properties and argues that religion "may be side effects of other design features" but these design features "had salutary effects of their own on the organism's ability to pass on its genes and, over time, were independently subjected to natural selection" (Bering, 2005, p. 361). Consequently, for Bering, religion is a byproduct of the mind, but these cognitive "byproducts" were then selected over time and had adaptive effects to help our ancestors pass their genes along. These arguments are expressed in a variety of studies that we will examine below.

In Bering's popular book, *The belief instinct: The psychology of souls, destiny and the meaning of life* (2012), Bering traces our belief in the supernatural to be an "instinct" of the mind and identifies both cognitive and evolutionary reasons why humans are inclined to believe in God. A central argument of *The belief instinct* is how and why humans find meaning in events. Bering contends that even though events in the universe are random, we tend to find a pattern or purpose in these events. This meaning or purpose served an adaptive function and was developed among our ancestors throughout the history of evolution. For Bering, our ancestors were helpless when facing unfortunate events, and used coping mechanisms to optimize negative outcomes that were out of their control, such as putting their faith on an external agent (e.g. gods or God) (Bering, 2003, 2012). Bering stresses that because our minds have an "instinct" towards supernatural beliefs—this can actually explain away religion.

Bering (2002) also hypothesized that humans have a natural tendency to perceive cognitive systems as continuing to function after death, and this disposition might be the psychological foundation of religion. The underlying mechanism of this inclination is called theory of mind (Bering, 2006b), and has been extensively studied by numerous psychologists (e.g. Avis & Harris, 1991; Flavell, Flavell, & Green, 1983; Gopnik & Astington, 1988; Richert & Barrett, 2005; Wigger, 2011; Wigger, Paxson, & Ryan, 2012). Theory of mind, according to Bering, is a consequence of evolution and a "cognitive bias" so that we see intentions and desires in things that may not have those mental capacities. Humans perceive intent in things like animals, inanimate objects, and also in other human beings—even when intent or desire is not there. In brief, humans are capable of attributing mental states to others even though these mental states are not directly observable. For the purposes of our study here, this is applicable since Bering suggests that humans' theory of mind is responsible for the "illusions" that humans have of finding meaning in life. Theory of mind also explains how people think they know what it is like to be dead or have ideas about what dead people think about us.

Two other key features that play into Bering's cognitive explanation of religion are the conceptions of "teleological reasoning" and "common-sense dualism." "Teleological reasoning" is the inclination of seeing random events as designed for a purpose by God (Bering, 2006b, p.453). This idea can be traced back to Kelemen and Rosset's (2009) notion of promiscuous teleology. Teleological reasoning also causes humans to perceive their existence as having a purpose and lends to the thinking that "humans exist for a reason" (Bering, 2006b, p. 458). Next, Bering's understanding of, "common-sense dualism" explains the innate inclination of humanity to separate body from mind/soul and have intuitive conceptions of the afterlife and souls (Bering, 2006b). According to Bering's notion of common-sense dualism, we are born with the innate idea that there is a spiritual realm in which the deceased continue to exercise their will and other cognitive functions. The belief that things do not end with this life becomes the foundation of our moral order. Bering and his colleagues conducted a series of studies to support this claim, such as those mentioned above—the experiment of puppet play (Bering, Blasi, & Bjorklund, 2005), the experiment of trait attributions by photos, the content analysis of obituaries, and the experiment of ghost story (Bering, McLeod, & Shackelford, 2005).

1.3 Religion as an Illusion?

As noted earlier, Bering's observation that religion may be an accidental byproduct has similarities to what other evolutionary psychologists and cognitive scientists have argued, while differing along the lines of how cognitive features relating to religion are byproducts that become adaptive. In addition to this, a key feature of Bering's work is his conclusion that religion is false because it is an accidental byproduct of other cognitive features. In a discussion of supernatural agents, Bering and Johnson (2005) maintained that making supernatural causal inferences enabled our ancestors to control events through "implanting false beliefs, repairing false beliefs," and "manipulating emotion" (p.119). Bering (2006a) recognized the adaptive function of supernatural fear, such as counteracting bold and dangerous miscalculations, and discouraging people from social deviance. However, his insistence that religion is an "accidental byproduct," (p.143) "a spandrel or an exaptation" (p.146) causes him to determine that religion is false and illusory. The pre-supposition that the belief of God is nothing more than an illusion is explicitly expressed in *The belief instinct* (Bering, 2012):

"So it would appear that having a theory of mind was so useful for our ancestors in explaining and predicting other people's behaviors that it has completely flooded our evolved social brains. As a result, today we overshoot our mental-state attributions to things that are, in reality, completely mindless...What if I were to tell you that God's mental states, too, were all in your mind? That God, like a tiny speck floating at the edge of your cornea producing the image of a hazy, out of reach orb accompanying your every turn, was in fact a psychological illusion, a sort of evolved blemish etched onto the core cognitive substrate of the brain? It may feel as if there is something grander out there...watching, knowing, caring. Perhaps even judging. But, in fact, that's just your overactive theory of mind. In reality, there is only the air you breathe" (p. 37).

In the passages noted above, it is obvious that religious beliefs and the supernatural are stated in a negative term and a judgmental tone (e.g. "false belief", "manipulating emotions", and "illusion"). Bering rightly notes that there must be a cognitive reason that people have an instinct towards the supernatural—while wrongly concluding that because religious beliefs are a byproduct of the mind they must be false. It is important to point out that this tone is also found in his academic book, such as calling belief in God "an adaptive illusion" (Bering, 2012, p.165). Since neutrality is a common protocol that is sought after in the social sciences, it is odd to see such conclusive evidence in his scholarship that supernatural or religious beliefs are false.

Bering's conclusion about the veracity of religion and religious beliefs can be seen as an extension of thought that cognitive scientist Pascal Boyer popularized in his book, *Religion Explained: The evolutionary origins of religious thought* (2001). Boyer concludes that the explanation for religion and religious behaviors can be found "in the way that all human minds work" (Boyer, 2001, p. 2), as he also upholds that religion is a mishap. For Boyer, "...religion emerged not to serve a purpose—not as an opiate or social glue—but by accident. It is a byproduct of biological adaptations gone awry" (Boyer, 2001, p.41). And, to understand religion as something that has gone "awry" is not too far afield from Bering's suggestion that belief in God is a "psychological illusion."

However, this is not the story in its entirety. Other cognitive scientists like Barrett (2011b) and Van Slyke (2013) point out the difficulty in this line of reasoning. In Barrett's critique (2011b) of Bering, Barrett asks: "Cognitive science can tell us why we perceive color without explaining color away, so why can it not tell us why we perceive gods or purpose in life's events, leaving metaphysical questions aside?" (p. 244). Similarly, Van Slyke (2013) notes that the cognitive sciences must be careful in distinguishing empirical results from metaphysical conclusions. Conclusions made by Bering about the viability of religious belief become "metaphysical" statements since normative judgments are added to his theory of mind (Van Slyke, 2013). Or, said another way, when statements are made about the impossibility of the supernatural agents, scientific data are being interpreted and used as a metaphysical statement rather than a scientific one (Van Slyke, 2013). Thus, Bering can safely make the assertion and present evidence for the cognitive origins for religious beliefs from his psychological research, however, to make the conclusion that religious or supernatural beliefs are "illusions" simply because they are generated from cognitive structures lies outside the realm of his research, and quickly moves into the field of philosophy.

1.4 Hypotheses and Research Question

In spite of Bering's reassertion of the empirical foundation of his theory, the authors of this paper found that there are some leaps of faith in his inferences. Simply stated, his empirical data do not firmly support his argument, and each progressive statement of his argument does not logically follow the previous statement. Examining all of Bering's claims requires a book in its own right, but due to space constraints, the authors investigated only one of Bering's empirical studies. In the study about rating the traits of the dead, the assumption by Bering et al. (2005) is that positive trait attributions are motivated by supernatural fear. However, this is not the only explanation for participants rating the dead person more favorably. For example, the works of a deceased artist may become more valuable because this artist can no longer produce any more paintings. Similarly, we may say nice things to the dead out of sympathy. Data collected in Bering et al.'s study cannot allow us to identify the cause of positive attributions, either. Thus, the authors of this paper decided to replicate the study of trait attributions by photos with a different sample and with two additional components in the research design: ask the participants why they gave higher ratings to the dead person and also treat religious beliefs of the participants as a covariate.

In this study it is hypothesized that the belief of afterlife or dead agents has no relationship with ratings of human attributes. Our study shows that posthumous attribution shifts is dependent upon other factors besides fear of supernatural punishment, and at least leaves open the possibility that cultural factors may be involved. This research does not undermine Bering's assertion that there could be an adaptive function to religious beliefs—this in fact might be the case. It does, however, cast doubt on some of Bering's arguments regarding the adaptive function of religion, and, in this case, supernatural fear.

2. Method

2.1 IRB Approval

The research design and data collection method were approved by the university's IRB based on the adherence to the Ethical Code of Conduct of the American Psychological Association (American Psychological Association [APA], 2003). This Code of Conduct is composed of five basic principles: beneficence and non-maleficence, fidelity and responsibility, integrity, and respect for people's rights and dignity. The research team executed the research plan by following the preceding principles.

2.2 Population and Sample

The target population to which the inference is made consists of adolescents regardless of their religious belief, gender, and ethnic group. The accessible population, which is the sampling pool, includes youths in southern California only. Forty-one youths were recruited through SONA Management Recruitment Systems at the university as well as through Facebook invitations, afterschool clubs, and church groups.

2.3 Sampling and Screening Procedures

A convenience sampling scheme was employed for this study. The original sample size in this study was 41, but three participants were excluded from data analysis because their responses to the interview in the posttest revealed that they knew the objective of the study. Specifically, in response to Question 1: "Can you guess the objective of this study?" they stated, "To see how feelings have changed knowing the individual (sic) has passed away," "the study of whether or not someone is dead affects how we view their personality," "too (sic) see if I would rate the dead person better than the last time." It is important to point out that some participants skipped certain questions and thus the sample size varies across different analyses.

2.3.1 Sample Size, Power, and Precision

G*Power (Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf, 2010) was utilized to compute the appropriate sample size for this study. Given that the desired power level is set to .8, the alpha level is .05, and the effect size is as small as .2, 36 participants are needed for a repeated measure GLM with a 2-level between-subject factor and a 2-level within-subject factor.

2.3.2 Materials and instrument

Evaluation of Others Questionnaire (EOOQ) (Shapiro, 1988) was the primary instrument for this study. EOOQ consists of 38 traits spanning across four subscales: Achievement, kindness/morality, social skills, and subjective well-being (see Table 1). Each trait is rated on a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (“None”) to 10 (“a lot”). To maintain consistency, the scores of negatively stated items were reversed. No psychometric information about EOOQ was found in the literature; nonetheless, the authors adopted this scale used by Bering because this study is a replication of his previous research. In this data set the Cronbach Alpha was found to be as high as .9378, which is considered excellent. Further, exploratory factor analysis shows that a large portion of the eigenvalue (15.74) is attributed to a single factor. Correlational analysis and inspection by scatterplots also indicate that the scores of all four subscales are significantly correlated with each other, and therefore the average score of the whole scale was used for data analysis.

Table 1: Evaluation of Others Questionnaire

Achievement-relatedness		
Creative		
Wise		
Intelligent		
Kindness/morality		
Kind	Good-looking	Depressed
Hypocritical	Ethical	Helpful
Trustworthy	Competent	Easy to get along with
Phony	Efficient	Selfish
Sad	Conceited	Loving
Cruel	Moody	Accomplished
Snobby	Knowledgeable	Psychologically healthy
Hard-working	Dishonest	Talented
Happy with their lives	Likable	Depressed
Social skills		
Charming	Attractive	
Good sense of humor	Shy	
Friendly	Fun to work with	
Subjective well-being		
Sorrow		
Anxious		
Happy with themselves		

In addition to EOOQ, the experimenter interviewed each participant after the posttest ratings using the following questions:

1. Can you guess the purpose of this study?

2. Why do you give the dead person a more positive rating than others?
3. Do you believe in supernatural beings? Please explain.
4. Did you experience any supernatural event in the past? Please explain.
5. Are you afraid that if you didn't give positive rating to the dead person, you may face some negative consequence? Please explain.

2.3.3 Data Collection Procedures

During the recruitment the researchers concealed the real purpose of the study by telling the students that this study was about how people rated one's personality by appearance alone. In the pretest all participants were asked to give ratings of three persons on the photos using EOOQ. To avoid any order effect (e.g., contrast, assimilation) different participants viewed the photos in different sequences. A week later the same participants returned to perform the same task. During the second session of the experiment, participants were informed that one of the individuals in the photographs passed away. To keep this variable constant, the experimenter repeated the script to every subject: "This young man was driving to San Diego and his car was crashed by a truck. He died instantly." After the ratings, the participant answered the five interview questions.

2.3.4 Variables

In this study the dependent variables are the ratings of the two alive agents and the single dead agent at two time points (pretest and posttest). The primary independent variable is the self-report religious affiliation of the participants. The authors are well-aware of the existence of several validated scales of religiosity. However, some of them have not been validated for youths while some are under development and validation (Hernandez, 2011). It is noteworthy that very often religious belief of youths is heavily influenced by parents or/and peers. However, a thorough literature review of religiosity and spirituality scales indicates that most of these scales were not specifically adapted for adolescents, such as omitting the preceding social influences (Cotton, McGrady, & Rosenthal, 2011). Given the fact the psychometric soundness of these scales for this population is in question, the authors would rather use self-report religious affiliation. Although by doing so the inference of this study is limited, the interpretation is straight-forward because self-report religious affiliation is an objective and observed measure. The authors also notice the distinction between religiosity and spirituality. One may argue that people who are not affiliated with any organized religion might still engage in private and inner-spirituality with an impersonal god or an abstract cosmic power (Bowland, Edmond, & Fallot, 2012; Hill & Pargament, 2008). However, the definitions of spirituality are inclusive and not consensual (Aten & Leach, 2009), thus resulting in "ungrounded, nebulous, imprecise, and vague" conceptualizations of the term (Milacci 2006, p.230). No doubt using spirituality as a variable would add an extra layer of complexity into this study, but the benefit is not obvious. Hence, it is the conviction of the authors that staying with an objective measure would enhance clarity of the interpretation.

Originally there are six categories in religious belief: Not religious/atheist, Islam, Hinduism, Christianity, and Buddhism. In some categories there are only two to three observations (e.g., Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism). For RM GLM the data were collapsed into two categories only: no religious affiliation (11 counts) and have religious affiliation (26). One participant did not report her religious faith, and as a result the effective sample size of this study is 37. For triangulation a question about whether the participant believes in supernatural was asked after the study was complete. It was found that religious affiliation was 100% corresponding to belief in supernatural or not. Specifically, all participants reporting no religious affiliation did not believe in supernatural (highlighted observations) whereas all participants reporting the otherwise said that they believed in supernatural.

2.3.4 Research Design and Data Analysis

In this study methodological triangulation was utilized to analyze the same data set in order to internal validity. To be more specific, both the frequency and Bayesian approaches were employed. If different approaches based on different paradigms lead to a converged conclusion, it is less likely that the finding is obscured by statistical artifacts. Using the analogy that voting by a panel is better than decision-making by a single individual, Heesen et al. (2016) argued that triangulation is preferable to methodological purism.

Both JMP Pro 17 (SAS Institute, 2022) and JASP (JASP Team, 2023) were utilized for data analysis. In this study repeated measures (RM) ANOVA, also known as repeated measures generalized linear model (GLM), was employed for primary data analysis. For analyzing temporal data, mixed modeling is considered superior to RM ANOVA because the latter must assume compound symmetry whereas mixed modeling allows the analyst specify different forms of covariance structure. In addition, mixed modeling is robust against missing data (Littell, Milliken, Stroup, Wolfinger, & Schabenberger, 2006). However, mixed modeling is more demanding in sample size than RM ANOVA. In this study ANOVA has no issue in the covariance matrix structure because there are only two time points (pretest and posttest), and also there are no missing values in this data set. Other viable alternatives are treating the pretest as the covariate or using the change score as the dependent variable, but these approaches do not allow the analyst viewing the two time points. Conversely, the least square mean plot output by RM GLM can be used to visualize the trends of different groups.

The research team is well-aware that the sample size of this study is small. To rectify the situation, Bayesian t -tests using the change scores (the difference between the pretest and the posttest scores) were employed to verify RM ANOVA, which is based upon the classical frequency approach to probability. It is crucial to point out that the foundational philosophies of the frequency and Bayesian schools are vastly different. The former interprets probability in terms of the frequency of the observed events relative to many cases, and therefore the p value is treated as an indicator for the chance of observing the test statistics in the long run. This is expressed by sampling distributions, which are normal and asymptotic. On the contrary, the Bayesian School treats probability as the degree of belief informed by the evidence. Specifically, Bayesian methods evaluate the strength of evidence given the data at hand, rather than relying on asymptotics and p values. Thus, the Bayesian approach is very useful for modeling small sample data (Baldwin & Fellingham, 2013; Van de Schoot, Broere, Perryck, Zondervan-Zwijnenburg, & Van Loey, 2015). In addition, in the Frequency School the p value shows the chance of the event given the null hypothesis is true, and thus at most the p value, if significant, can be used to reject the null only. If it is not significant, one can say it fails to reject the null hypothesis, but it does not necessarily mean that the alternate is true. In contrast, the Bayes factor in the Bayesian School directly compares the evidence for the null and alternate hypotheses (Hojtink, Mulder, van Lissa, & Gu, 2019; Schönbrodt, & Wagenmakers, 2018). Further, unlike the p value that leads to a dichotomous conclusion (reject or not to reject the null), the Bayes factor presents evidence on a continuous scale. This orientation is an alignment with the philosophy of Lindsey (1956): “the object of experimentation is not to reach decisions but rather to gain knowledge about the world” (Lindley, 1956, p. 986). However, unlike its classic counterparts the Bayesian approach does not control the Type I and Type II errors (Hojtink, Mulder, van Lissa, & Gu, 2019). Because both schools of thought have merits and limitations, both were utilized in this study for triangulation so that a holistic picture can be obtained.

For further triangulation other data visualization methods, such as linking and brushing, was also employed. The open-ended responses collected from the posttest interview were classified into fewer categories for either Chi-square analysis or t -test.

3. Results

3.1 Demographics information

The demographic information of this sample is presented in Table 2. There are missing data because some participants did not disclose their demographic information (e.g., gender). The authors of this paper are well-aware that the gender composition of this sample is highly asymmetrical (32 males, 2 females). This will be discussed in the limitation section. Nonetheless, both religious affiliation and racial composition are very diverse, which strengthens external validity and generalization of this study.

Table 2: Demographic information.

Gender		
Female	2	5.90%
Male	32	94.12%
Belief		
Buddhism	2	5.41%
Christianity	16	43.24%
Christianity (Catholic)	3	8.11%
Hinduism	2	5.41%
Islam	3	8.11%
Not Religious and atheist	11	29.73%
Education		
High School	35	92.11%
College Freshman	2	5.26%
College Sophomore	1	2.63%
Ethnic group		
Arab	1	2.70%
Asian	5	13.51%
Bi-racial	1	2.70%
Black	8	21.62%
Egyptian	1	2.70%
Indian	1	2.70%
Latino/Hispanic	10	27.03%
Native American	1	2.70%
Persian	1	2.70%
White	8	21.62%
Age		
Mean	16.61	
SD	1.38	
Median	16.5	

3.2 Repeated measures GLM

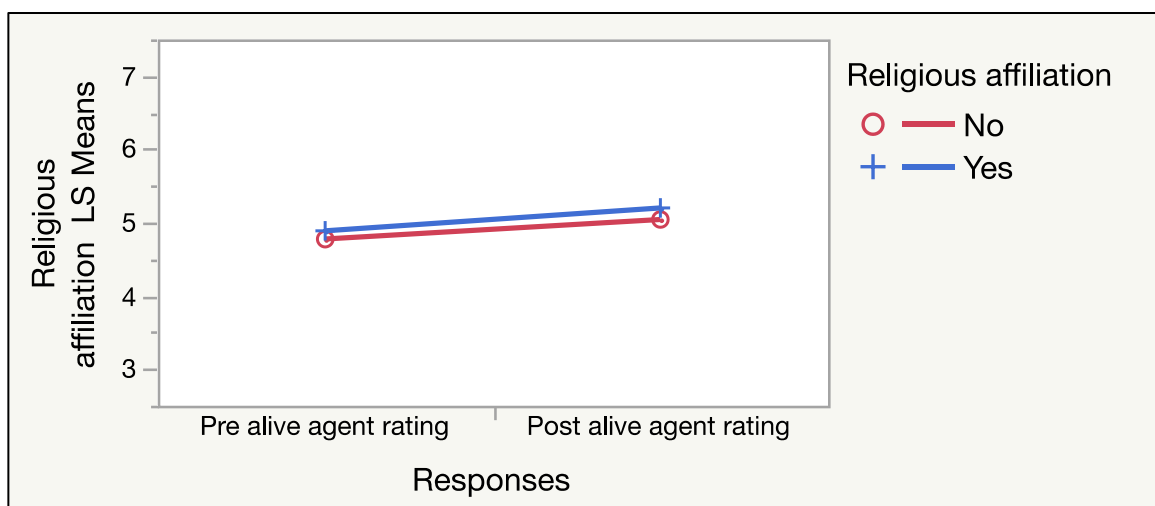


Figure 1: Least square means of ratings of alive agent across pretest and posttest.

Inspection of data structure was performed and no significant deviation from parametric assumptions, such as normality and homogeneity of variance, was found in the data. No main effect of belief ($F(1, 35) = 0.26, p = .6101$) or time ($F(1, 35) = 3.448, p = 0.0718$) was found in the ratings of alive agents by RM GLM. The interaction effect was also absent ($F(1, 35) = 0.0192, p = .8906$). As shown in Figure 1, the two groups had almost the same scores in both the pretest and the posttest. Although there was a slight increase of their ratings in both groups, this change was not found to be significant.



Figure 2: Least square means of ratings of dead agent across pretest and posttest.

The result of the ratings of the dead agent was vastly different. Although no main effect was found, there was a significant religious affiliation X time interaction effect ($F(1, 35) = 4.54, p = 0.0401$). As indicated by Figure 2, initially the non-religious group gave higher ratings to the dead person in the pretest, but the order switched in the posttest. Specifically, religious participants gave much higher ratings to the dead agent in the posttest than what they gave in the pretest. On the other hand, the non-religious group dropped their ratings slightly.

The preceding result is corroborated with data visualization. Figure 3 shows the linking and brushing result of two graphical panels. On the left panel the darkened observations are participants who are affiliated with a particular religion. Obviously, their change scores (post – pre) spread across the spectrum. On the right panel the observations who have no religious affiliation are highlighted, and it is clear that they tended to decrease their ratings from pretest to posttest.



Figure 3: Linking and brushing of religious affiliation and change score of dead agents.

3.3 Bayesian analysis

To some certain extent the result of the Bayesian 2-independent-sample t-tests concur with that of RM AMOVA. In the t-test comparing the religious and non-religious groups in terms of the change score of their perception of

alive agents, the Bayes Factor favoring the alternative hypothesis (BF10) is 0.34 whereas the Bayes Factor favoring the null hypothesis (BF01) is 2.915. In other words, the null hypothesis can fit the data 2.915 times better than the alternative hypothesis, implying that there is no meaningful difference between the two groups.

Conversely, BF10 of the 2-sample independent t-test for the change score of their perception of dead agents is 1.825, meaning that the alternate hypothesis can fit the data 1.825 times better than the null hypothesis. The error rate of the BF is 2.104×10^{-5} , which is small enough to be ignored. The 95% credible interval of the difference between two groups is between -1.328 and 0.048. Figure 4 shows the prior and the posterior distributions. In the prior distribution the mean of the effect size is 0, but obviously the posterior shifts to the left, favoring the alternate hypothesis.

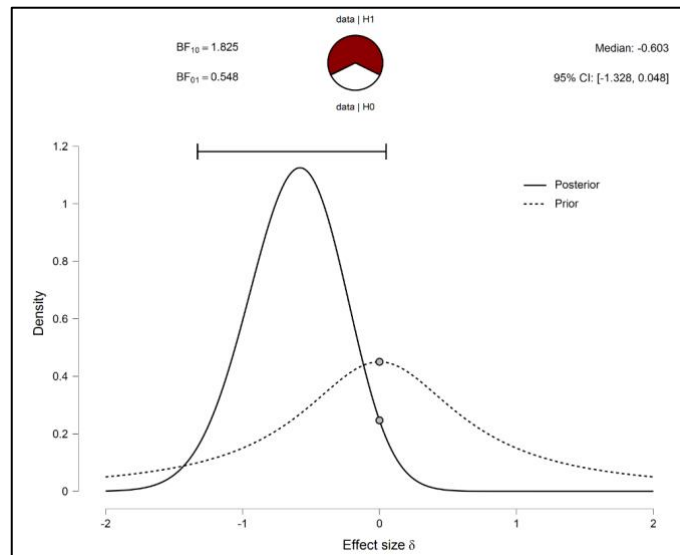


Figure 4: Prior and posterior distributions of the difference between religious and non-religious groups in terms of change score of dead agents.

In order to maintain our neutrality and avoid controversial subjectivity, the research team did not specify any prior for the Bayesian analysis. Rather, following the tradition set by Jeffreys (1961) default values of for the variance (width) of the prior distribution was adopted so that sensitivity analysis could be conducted to check how the outcomes were influenced by different priors. Figure 5 indicates that as the prior increases from 0 to 0.4, the strength of evidence or the degree of conviction favoring the alternate hypothesis increases, but between 0.4 and 0.5 the growth is flattened. After 0.5 it even goes down. More importantly, the strength of evidence is considered anecdotal only.

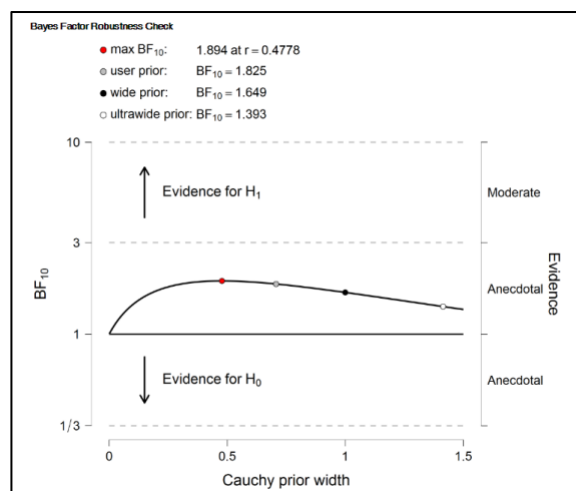


Figure 5: Sensitivity analysis showing the change of the Bayes Factor by prior width.

Figure 6 shows the result of sequential analysis, a process of updating the strength of evidence as more data are taken in account. When only eight observations are included into the computation, the evidence favoring the alternate hypothesis (H1) seems to be very strong. However, as more data are input into the equation, the strength of evidence goes down. When the sample size is 25, the null hypothesis seems to be more plausible. Nonetheless, BF increases again when more observations are included. But at most the strength of evidence is only anecdotal.

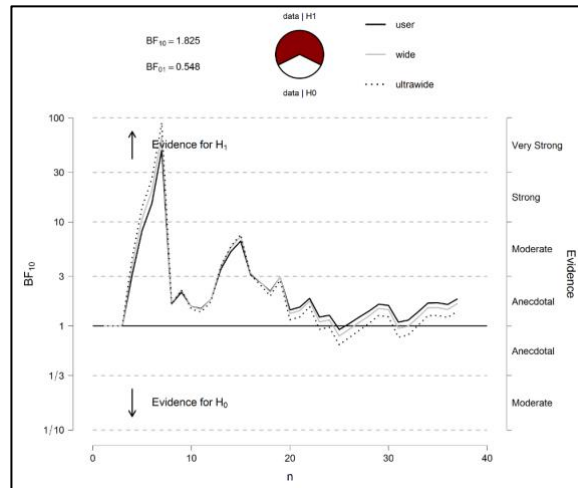


Figure 6: Sequential analysis of the strength of evidence as the sample size increases.

3.4 Chi-Square Analysis and Fisher’s Exact Test

Based on the wording used by the participants, the responses to the question “Why do you give the dead person a more positive rating than others?” were classified into two categories: “Be nice and sympathetic” and “didn’t give more positive rating.” Chi-square analysis of religious affiliation by this response category didn’t yield a significant association ($\chi^2 = 0.032, p = 8583$). Among the participants who reported they didn’t give a higher rating, 72% are people who are affiliated with a religion while only 28% are not. Among the participants who reported their reasons of higher ratings are “be nice and be sympathetic,” 69.23% of them are affiliated with a religion whereas 30.77% are not (see Table 3). The Bayesian test of contingency indicates that the BF favoring the null hypothesis is 2.461, which is six times stronger than the BF favoring the alternate (0.406).

Table 3: Crosstab of religious affiliation and “Why do you give the dead person a more positive rating than others?”

Religious affiliation	Be nice and sympathetic	Didn't give more positive rating
No	4(30.77%)	7(28.00%)
Yes	9 (69.23%)	18(72.00%)

Answers to Question 3 concurs with what they reported in the question regarding their religious affiliation and thus additional analysis is not necessary. In Question 4 the participants reported various kinds of supernatural experiences, such as “I’ve seen a cripple man walk,” “My aunt was sick and got better all of sudden (sic).” The responses were classified into two categories, “Yes” (6) and “No” (33). A t-test of dead agent change score by supernatural experience was performed. Interestingly, there is no significant difference between people who had supernatural experiences and those who didn’t in terms of their change score of dead agent ($t(1, 37) = 0.71, p = 0.5, 95\% \text{ CI}[0.25, 0.75]$). Similarly, in the Bayesian t-test the Bayes Factor favoring the null hypothesis is 1.862, and the 95% credible interval is between -10.08 and 0.432. However, it is important to point out that only six participants had supernatural experiences and thus it is an asymmetrical comparison.

Question 5 is: “Are you afraid that if you didn’t give positive rating to the dead person, you may face some negative consequence? Please explain.” Thirty-six participants reported “No” (90%), one response was ambiguous, only four said “yes” (10%). Those who said “yes” reported the following: “Yes because you can get haunted,” “Karma,

do good and it will come back,” and “I do, they might think I am cruel.” The vague response is: “I did actually yhink (sic) about this, but I figured we were told this so that we would give him positive rattings (sic).” Table 4 illustrates how their responses are related to their religious affiliation. Because of low cell counts, the Fisher’s exact test instead of Chi-square analysis was utilized. The exact test showed that there is no significant association between being afraid of haunting and religious affiliation ($p = .8134$). Similarly, the Bayesian test of the independence of contingency table yielded a BF01 of 3.923, implying strong evidence for lack of association between religious affiliation and answer choice.

Table 4: Crosstab of religious affiliation and “Are you afraid that if you didn’t give positive rating to the dead person, you may face some negative consequence?”

Religious affiliation	Answer: No	Yes
No	10(27.77%)	1(33.33%)
Yes	26 (72.22%)	2(66.66%)

4. Discussion

There are several limitations in this study. First, the gender composition of the sample is asymmetrical and thus it obscures the generalizability of the conclusion. Second, an objective measure regarding religion (religious affiliation) was used as the grouping factor while spirituality and the subjective dimension of religiosity was not included into the study. Nonetheless, certain findings of this study can shed some light on this controversial problem of psychology of religion. Third, the sample size is small and therefore the analytical result based on the frequency approach might not be replicable. Nonetheless, this limitation is rectified by the Bayesian analysis, which can model small sample data at hand instead of computing the probability in the long run.

RM GLM indicates that people who are affiliated with a religion increased their scores accordingly. On the other hand, people who are not affiliated with a religion were not influenced by the tragic stories told by the experimenter. While Bering attributed higher ratings to fear of supernatural, our qualitative data collected from Question 2 shows that religiously affiliated people tended to be nicer to the deceased; responses from Question 5 suggests that being afraid of haunting is not the primary reason for giving better ratings. Although the Bayesian statistics provide only anecdotal evidence supporting the notion that there is a meaningful difference between religious and non-religious participants in terms of their perception of dead agents, the Bayer factor, as mentioned in the method section, presents evidence on a continuous scale rather than leading to an all-or-none decision. Even though the strength of evidence is anecdotal, it is not the same as the evidence of absence, and therefore further investigation is still worthwhile. Taking the results of both classical and Bayesian statistical analyses into consideration, the authors suggest a second thought be given to Bering’s psychological theory of religion. This theory is built upon the assertion that the perception of active dead agents is a built-in component of human cognitive functionality, which is said to be an inevitable byproduct of evolution. Nonetheless, this exploratory and triangulated study suggested the verdict awaits further examination.

The authors are well-aware that Bering acknowledges the role of cultural factors in religious belief. Moreover, the thesis of this paper is not to assert that belief in ghosts or supernatural beings is totally cultural. Rather, the authors side with Barrett’s (2011) position that nature vs. nurture is a false dichotomy. Every human phenomenon can be interpreted as a result of both nature and nurture. For example, every normal human being is born with certain musical intelligence, such as a sense of rhythm. However, it takes training to be a pianist. As Fromm (1956) said, everyone has the innate ability of love, but love is a form of art that requires practice to be good at that.

In Bering’s approach, the belief in ghosts and religious beliefs are treated equally. As a result, data that indicated the tendency to believe in ghosts was used to make inferences about religious ideas. However, the idea that we can make conclusions about religious belief based on supernatural fear (as Bering does) ends up being a non-sequitur argument. For example, for two thousand years the Chinese culture had been dominated by Confucianism, which is highly secular and humanist (Lai, 2010), yet the Chinese literature is flooded with ghost stories. Based

on her anthropologic studies, Luhrmann (2012, 2016) asserted that faith (religious belief) is effortful because we have many intuitions that contradict basic ideas about deity.

The main question is the reductionist character of Bering's theory. Based on his empirical studies (e.g., ghost story, obituary, puppet play, ratings of the dead...etc.), Bering attempted to use the naturalistic origin of supernatural belief to ascertain that God exists in the human mind only. As mentioned before, it takes a bold leap of faith to reach his conclusion. First, it is a bold conjecture for him to assume that his theory of evolutionary psychology in the present time can be applied to what our ancestors did in prehistory societies. Second, whether his empirical studies can be replicated across different groups is questionable (Yu, 2015). Data collected in our study suggest that there might be alternate sources of our belief system, and also there might be alternate explanations to the same phenomenon revealed by the data. Thus, a reductionist approach to religion, as Bering presents, is highly questionable.

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Enhancement of Polri's Role in Dealing with Disinformation and Radicalism Extremism Terrorism and Separatism Propaganda in Cyberspace

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Abstract

In the pursuit of eudaimonia, which encompasses well-being, prosperity, and happiness, war has historically been paradoxically utilized to promote economic growth, political dominance, and religious aspirations. War arises from failed attempts to establish mutually beneficial relationships, leading to heightened competition and eventual conflicts. The influence of past wars continues to shape future conflicts, exposing vulnerabilities that adversaries exploit through evolving methods of warfare, influenced by global geopolitics, international agreements, and advancements in science and technology. With the end of the Cold War, the world has moved beyond the division between the Western and Eastern blocs. Rapid advancements in science and technology have fostered increased interconnectedness among nations, blurring geographical boundaries and giving rise to the multidimensional VUCA (volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity) phenomenon. As a result, global geopolitics and warfare strategies have evolved towards interconnectedness and hybrid warfare, with an emphasis on targeting societies. In response to these transformations, governments and societies must adapt by disseminating the Pancasila ideology, embracing the Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Tanhana Dharma Mangrva motto, cultivating noble character and morality, and establishing innovative synergistic work patterns. By embracing these changes, Indonesia can effectively navigate the dynamics of the global environment and work towards achieving a Golden Indonesia by 2045.

Keywords: Counter Propaganda, Radicalism, Extremism, Terrorism, Separatism

1. Introduction

1.1 Backgrounds

The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany marked the conclusion of the international communist organization and the Cold War, signaling the advent of globalization and a new phase in geopolitics.

Alongside considerations of national identity, a country's pursuit of its national interests through geopolitics, geostrategy, geoeconomics, and geo-culture is significantly influenced by its position, location, and geographic conditions within the dynamic global strategic landscape. As a result, all nations are adapting and revising their geopolitical perspectives, strategies, and objectives in response to these profound changes.

Globalization has fostered increased global interconnectedness and heightened international collaboration across a range of areas including trade, culture, education, economy, politics, technology, defense, and security. However, as globalization has progressed, it has seemingly been exploited by developed nations and powerful elites to the detriment of developing countries, particularly those lacking domestic and international competitiveness. Globalization, which has transformed the world into a "global village" (McLuhan, 1962), a borderless realm (Ohmae, 1942), and characterized by the compression of space (Harvey, 1990), encompasses a multitude of defining features.

These features encompass the erosion of national borders, the dilution of local identity and culture, the diminishing of nationalism and patriotism, the rise of identity politics, the widening of socioeconomic disparities, economic crises fueled by the expansion of global capital flows, the escalating ramifications of international migration, intensified competition in trade, protectionist measures, monetary crises, currency unification, and the regionalization of economies.

Moreover, as noted by Lee and Vivarelli (2006), the democratization of technology in the era of globalization has brought about a range of negative consequences, particularly in sectors that were once tightly controlled by the state, such as the possession and production of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) or Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs). These once highly restricted tools have now become easily obtainable by the general public and terrorist organizations, presenting a significant challenge. This shift has created opportunities for terrorist groups to acquire weapons of mass destruction and advanced technologies that rival those of nation-states. As a result, non-state actors including terrorists, separatists, mercenaries, and private military companies (PMCs) have emerged, capable of exerting influence on the global stage through political activities, covert operations, and armed interventions.

These actors have expanded their reach worldwide, infiltrating various realms such as ideologies, politics, economies, and militaries. According to a 2018 report by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Salafi-Jihadist groups boasted an estimated 200,000 fighters dispersed across multiple regions including Europe, East Asia and the Pacific, the Middle East, North Africa, Central Asia, South Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Numerous terrorist organizations in the Middle East, Central Africa, North Africa, Central Asia, and South Asia have aligned themselves with Al-Qaeda, while ISIS has formed alliances with its affiliates in Southern Africa, North Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia.

These extremist groups exhibit significant operational capabilities on a global scale, with their networks extending their influence to Indonesia. This is evident through the presence of organizations like Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MII), which are affiliated with the Al-Qaeda network, as well as Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT) and Front Pembela Islam (FPI), which have ties to ISIS. These groups operate beyond the confines of formal territorial politics and state sovereignty, showing little regard for traditional boundaries.

The widespread dissemination of jihad ideology is facilitated by modern information and communication technologies, enabling its reach to a global audience and contributing to the rise of lone wolf terrorism. These acts pose a significant challenge in terms of detection, as they exhibit random patterns and operate independently of centralized groups or alliances. Consequently, their actions disregard established laws such as territorial politics and national sovereignty, operating without boundaries. This reality emphasizes the threat faced by state actors from terrorist groups determined to establish a "khilafah" and dismantle the modern state system.

Furthermore, the postmodern culture presents an inherent incompatibility with the socio-cultural fabric of Indonesian society and the world as a whole. This incongruity arises from disillusionment with the promises of modernism, which once held the belief in human reason's ability to construct a more equitable society and foster

global progress. Postmodern culture tends to foster the emergence of subjective subsystems (subcultures) that are contingent upon individual preferences within society. Consequently, social and cultural cohesion diminishes, and the task of uniting communities becomes increasingly challenging.

Within this postmodern paradigm, absolute truths are dismissed, and everything, including empirical sciences and religion, is considered relative to the beliefs and desires of each individual. This is evident in the promotion of hedonistic and consumerist cultures championed by plutocratic forces, which contribute to societal crises and heightened competition in meeting communal needs. The resulting disparities lead to disillusionment among the population, resulting in a decline in nationalism, patriotism, tolerance, and the culture of dialogue and cooperative collaboration. These essential values have been overshadowed by individualistic tendencies and a plutocratic ethos that deviate from the core principles of Pancasila. The proliferation of social media platforms further exacerbates this predicament, as they encourage the expression of anonymous individual preferences, further eroding the prominence of Pancasila values in community, national, and state life.

The advancement of Industry 4.0 technology has given rise to the concept of the Internet of Things (IoT), which involves the interconnection of diverse devices and their ability to exchange data. This connectivity allows for control, communication, and collaboration between different hardware components through internet networks, with the ultimate aim of achieving Society 5.0—a society that effectively utilizes IoT technology to address everyday challenges. However, the progress of globalization, democratization, resource competition, and Industry 4.0 technology has resulted in a complex and uncertain environment characterized by volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity (VUCA), both in the physical world and in cyberspace.

The internet and social media platforms have granted various entities, including individuals, terrorist groups, separatist organizations, non-state actors like multinational companies, and state actors, the freedom to engage in activities such as disseminating disinformation, propaganda, and indoctrination to gain support. Cyberspace has become a new frontier for the expansion and development of terrorist and separatist networks, capitalizing on the challenges associated with promptly identifying perpetrators within this domain. Exploiting this gap to the fullest extent, terrorists and separatists can carry out their activities while evading swift identification and capture.

Multiple pieces of evidence demonstrate how the phenomena of globalization and the democratization of technology have contributed to the growth of terrorism and separatist movements in Indonesia:

1. According to the Global Terrorism Index 2022, a report published by the Institute for Economics & Peace, Indonesia has experienced a significant rise in its ranking compared to the 2019 index. Previously ranked 35th out of 162 countries, Indonesia has now moved up to the 24th position out of the same 162 countries in 2022. In contrast, neighboring countries like Malaysia are ranked 63rd, while Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, Timor-Leste, and Papua New Guinea hold the 93rd position. These statistics indicate that Indonesia is facing a higher vulnerability to terrorist attacks compared to its neighboring countries.

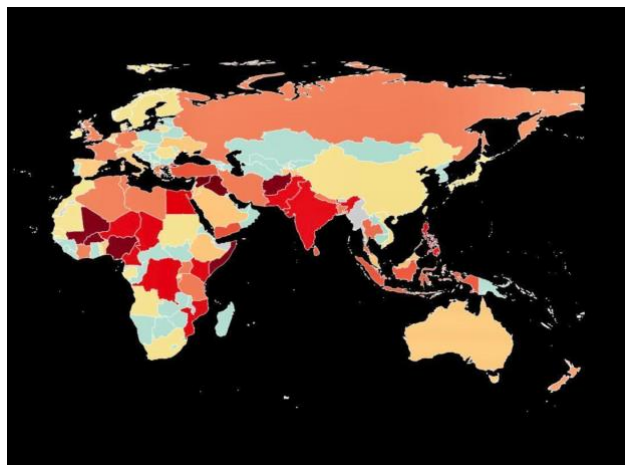


Figure 1: Global Terrorism Index map

RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE
1	Afghanistan	9.109	↔	28	United States of America	4.961	↑ 2	56	Ecuador	2.766	↑ 2
2	Iraq	8.511	↔	29	Greece	4.849	↓ 10	57	Argentina	2.657	↓ 9
3	Somalia	8.398	↔	30	Israel	4.778	↓ 4	58	Jordan	2.594	↑ 5
4	Burkina Faso	8.270	↓ 2	31	United Kingdom	4.770	↔	59	Switzerland	2.522	↓ 3
5	Syria	8.250	↔	32	Palestine	4.736	↓ 1	60	Australia	2.438	↑ 2
6	Nigeria	8.233	↑ 2	33	Germany	4.729	↑ 1	61	Mexico	2.428	↑ 4
7	Mali	8.152	↔	34	Nepal	4.693	↑ 4	62	Ukraine	2.304	↑ 3
8	Niger	7.856	↓ 4	35	France	4.562	↑ 6	63	Malaysia	2.247	↑ 2
10	Pakistan	7.825	↑ 2	36	Tanzania	4.530	↔	64	Paraguay	2.194	↑ 4
11	Cameroon	7.432	↔	37	Peru	4.471	↓ 18	65	Bahrain	2.145	↑ 2
12	India	7.432	↑ 2	38	Tunisia	4.447	↑ 1	66	Netherlands	2.077	↓ 7
13	Mozambique	7.432	↑ 4	39	Algeria	4.432	↓ 4	67	China	1.863	↑ 3
14	Colombia	7.068	↔	40	Bangladesh	4.411	↓ 1	68	Belgium	1.745	↑ 17
15	Egypt	6.932	↑ 2	41	New Zealand	4.376	↑ 6	69	Sweden	1.660	↑ 2
16	Philippines	6.790	↑ 1	42	Cote d' Ivoire	4.310	↓ 2	70	Senegal	1.580	↑ 2
17	Democratic Republic of the Congo	6.733	↓ 5	43	Burundi	4.271	↓ 13	71	Japan	1.460	↑ 1
18	Chile	6.496	↓ 5	44	Russia	4.219	↑ 6	72	Uruguay	1.322	↓ 1
19	Chad	6.379	↑ 3	45	Uganda	4.106	↓ 59	73	Rwanda	1.243	↓ 3
20	Kenya	6.166	↑ 2	46	Venezuela	4.005	↔	73	South Africa	1.243	↓ 3
21	Yemen	5.870	↑ 1	47	Tajikistan	3.988	↑ 7	73	Togo	1.243	↓ 31
22	Thailand	5.723	↑ 3	48	Canada	3.882	↔	76	Morocco	1.156	↓ 2
23	Turkey	5.651	↑ 6	49	Ethiopia	3.759	↑ 7	77	Norway	1.109	↓ 2
24	Indonesia	5.500	↓ 4	50	Italy	3.687	↑ 3	78	Ireland	1.060	↓ 2
25	Sri Lanka	5.445	↑ 4	51	Lebanon	3.566	↑ 6	78	Romania	1.060	↓ 3
26	Libya	5.100	↑ 1	52	Austria	3.261	↑ 2	80	Finland	1.007	↓ 2
27	Iran	5.015	↔	53	Benin	3.164	↓ 19	81	Brazil	0.951	↓ 2
				54	Saudi Arabia	3.110	↑ 5	82	Cyprus	0.922	↓ 2
				55	Spain	2.861	↑ 3				

Figure 2: The ranking of countries based on the Global Terrorism Index

- Based on data provided by the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), a total of 550 individuals were brought back to Indonesia from Syria, but three of them were rearrested due to their involvement in terrorist activities. The bombings of three churches in Surabaya in 2018, claimed by ISIS, serve as evidence of the significant impact of terrorism propaganda spread through social media. Messaging applications such as WhatsApp and Telegram were utilized for recruitment, dissemination of pro-terrorist propaganda, and planning of terrorist actions, taking advantage of their advanced encryption systems that make detection difficult.
- In 2022, the BNPT identified over 600 websites in Indonesia disseminating anti-NKRI (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia) and intolerant propaganda, operated by influencers or automated accounts. This situation reveals the susceptibility of the Indonesian population to both state and non-state propaganda aimed at dividing the nation. ISIS propaganda, for example, has successfully influenced 2,157 Indonesian citizens to join their cause.
- The Wahhabi ideology received significant media attention in 2022, leading the Nahdlatul Ulama Central Board (PBBNU) to call for a government ban due to its contradictions with the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. This ideology is widely viewed by society as a radical or extremist form of Islam that undermines local customs and traditions deemed inconsistent with Islamic teachings.
- Separatist groups have utilized social media to amplify their concerns and advocate for social and separatist issues, targeting both Indonesian and English-speaking audiences to gather support locally and internationally. Social media serves as a platform for propaganda and international diplomacy for these groups to shape public opinion and gain backing from the global community, as highlighted by Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto, former Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian National Armed Forces.
- The Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kemkominfo) has blocked 20,453 pieces of content related to radical terrorism spread on websites and various social media platforms, according to data from April 3, 2021.
- Indonesian netizens rank the lowest (most brutal) in the Digital Civility Index (DCI) among Southeast Asian countries, attributed to factors such as low digital literacy and inadequate education levels in the population.

Moreover, the internet infrastructure, including facilities, infrastructure, and IoT technology, is insufficient and unevenly distributed across the country. Although the 4G network infrastructure coverage in Indonesia is still at 49.33% (Indonesia Political School, 2020), in 2021, mobile connectivity and active social media usage accounted for 125.6% and 61.8% of the population, respectively. Subsequently, in 2022, there was a notable and substantial increase in mobile connections and online engagements, resulting in 133.3% mobile connections and 68.9% active social media users among the Indonesian population. Indonesians spend an average of 8 hours per day on the

internet and 3 hours per day on social media. Popular applications include WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, TikTok, and YouTube. These statistics highlight the potential threats posed by the advancement of information and communication technology and the use of social media to the security and public order of Indonesian society. It is crucial to adopt an integrated and comprehensive approach to proactively address these challenges.



Figure 3: Internet and social media user data in Indonesia

In the realm of Geopolitics V, social media has emerged as a potent instrument for spreading threats and propaganda, even within Indonesia. With Indonesia approaching its centenary of independence, the subsystems within its society have multiplied and become more intricate, reflecting the growing demand for personal freedom. This proliferation of diverse and complex subsystems has increased the potential for conflicts and challenges to societal integration. Consequently, sociologists have been actively discussing security issues and the sense of safety within society, with a particular focus on establishing social order.

The rise of social media has played a significant role in driving these changes in societal behavior and has brought about cultural, ethical, and normative shifts. Virtually all segments and age groups of society now employ social media as a means of accessing and sharing information. However, this progress in information technology has also given rise to new forms of criminal activity. For instance, the dissemination of disinformation, fueled by ethnic, religious, and racial biases, has seen an increase, as has the spread of hate speech in the digital domain. These factors have the potential to spark conflicts along various lines, contributing to the fragmentation of the nation. The combination of high cyber threats and low levels of digital literacy has created vulnerabilities in cybersecurity within Indonesia.

Similar phenomena can be observed in other parts of the world. During the 2017 French presidential elections, a suspected counterfeit version of the renowned Belgian newspaper *Le Soir* was produced, featuring a fabricated article alleging that Emmanuel Macron had received financial support from Saudi Arabia. President Macron expressed concerns about the threats faced by democracies and proposed measures like emergency website blocks. He emphasized the need for clear rules and resilience to safeguard liberal democracies, specifically targeting the propaganda disseminated through numerous social media accounts. Macron's opponent, Marine Le Pen, criticized his plan to ban such news, arguing that it amounted to suppressing citizens' voices. She questioned who should determine the authenticity of news, suggesting whether it should be left to judges or the government. Additionally, the intelligence community conducted an assessment of foreign threats to the 2020 U.S. federal elections, with a specific focus on Russian involvement. Russia was accused of aiming to undermine President Biden and the Democratic Party, supporting former President Trump, eroding public trust in the electoral process, and exacerbating divisions within the States.

Over the past decade, there has been a noticeable increase in the use of digital information and communication technologies by foreign governments, including authoritarian regimes and declining democracies, to suppress and

control their populations. These governments employ these technologies as tools to monitor and suppress political opposition within their own societies, as well as among expatriate and diaspora communities abroad. The rise of digital repression can be attributed to governments' growing concerns about the expanded accessibility of information through online platforms, which they perceive as a potential threat to their authority. Regimes like China and Russia, in particular, have expressed apprehension that open discussions on political and social matters facilitated by social media and other communication technologies could ultimately undermine their grip on power. Consequently, these governments have integrated digital technologies as integral instruments for repressive state practices and overall statecraft, alongside more traditional methods such as media censorship or resorting to physical violence against dissidents.

As the advent of globalization, democracy, and rapid advancements in information and communication technology continue to profoundly reshape societal behavior, transcending regional, cultural, and national boundaries, conventional notions of state boundaries, authority, and power are gradually being undermined. As a result, countries must develop robust strategies and foster cooperation to effectively address emerging non-state actors. Several countries have already enacted regulations related to cyber defense and security in anticipation of future modern threats. for example:

1. Russia's strategy for cyber defense is centered around protecting critical information infrastructure and enhancing digital sovereignty by strengthening the ability to disconnect the Russian Internet segment from the global Internet. The country's approach to cyber deterrence involves a combination of proactive cyber defense measures and offensive operations. Russia's offensive cyber capabilities encompass distributed denial of service (DDoS) attacks and advanced persistent threats (APT). The credibility of Russia's cyber deterrence is derived from its demonstrated capabilities and the messages it has conveyed to adversaries, as evidenced by incidents such as the 2007 attacks on Estonia and the 2008 actions against Georgia.
2. In the States, the States Cyber Command was established in 2009 under the States Strategic Command, serving as a dedicated entity responsible for cyber defense. In 2011, the States Department of Defense officially recognized cyberspace as a distinct domain of warfare, alongside land, sea, and air.
3. The Netherlands has developed the National Cyber Security Strategy, a comprehensive regulatory framework aimed at addressing cyber threats. Since 2011, the country has also appointed a dedicated Minister for Cyber Security to oversee relevant initiatives.
4. China implemented the Cyber Security Law (CSL) in 2016 through the National People's Congress Standing Committee. This law is part of a broader legislative series aimed at strengthening national security in the cyber domain.
5. Singapore took a significant step in 2022 by establishing the world's first cyber warfare branch, known as the "Digital and Intelligence Service." This branch operates at the same level as the army, navy, and air force, focusing on developing capabilities in areas such as command, control, communications, computers, and intelligence.

Recognizing the urgent nature and scale of cyber threats, the Indonesian government has acknowledged the need to address both cyber and space threats by considering the establishment of the fourth branch of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI). In 2017, the government established the National Cyber and Crypto Agency (BSSN), operating directly under the President's supervision. The BSSN is responsible for implementing cybersecurity measures and regularly reporting their progress to the President. It plays a crucial role in coordinating and promoting cooperation among stakeholders in the national cybersecurity domain.

The establishment mentioned earlier received additional support through the implementation of Presidential Regulation Number 8 of 2021, which focuses on the General Policy of State Defense (Jakum Hanneg) for the period of 2020-2024. This regulation categorizes national threats into three distinct categories: military threats, non-military threats, and hybrid threats, which involve a combination of military, non-military, and cyber attacks. The regulation provides a detailed explanation of the provisions outlined in Law Number 3 of 2002 on State Defense, where Article 1, paragraph (2) defines the national defense system as a comprehensive defense system that involves all citizens, territories, and national resources. The system aims to be preemptive, implemented in a

comprehensive, integrated, directed, and continuous manner to protect national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation against all forms of threats. The Total People's Defense and Security System, based on the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, serves as the strategic framework employed to address threats originating from both domestic and foreign sources.

In 2019, the National Resilience Measurement Laboratory (Labkurtannas) of the National Resilience Institute of Indonesia (Lemhannas RI) conducted a comprehensive study to assess Indonesia's national resilience index. This index, measured on a scale from 1 to 5, revealed that the country demonstrated a relatively strong level of resilience in most areas, except for the ideological, political, and socio-cultural domains. However, the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic in mid-2020 had a significant impact on the national resilience index, leading to a gradual decline. By July 2021, the index had dropped from 2.82 to 2.70, indicating an ongoing downward trend and resembling the level of resilience observed in 2015 when the index stood at a modest 2.55, indicating a less robust state of resilience. This downward trend is expected to continue in the upcoming political years, particularly in 2024.

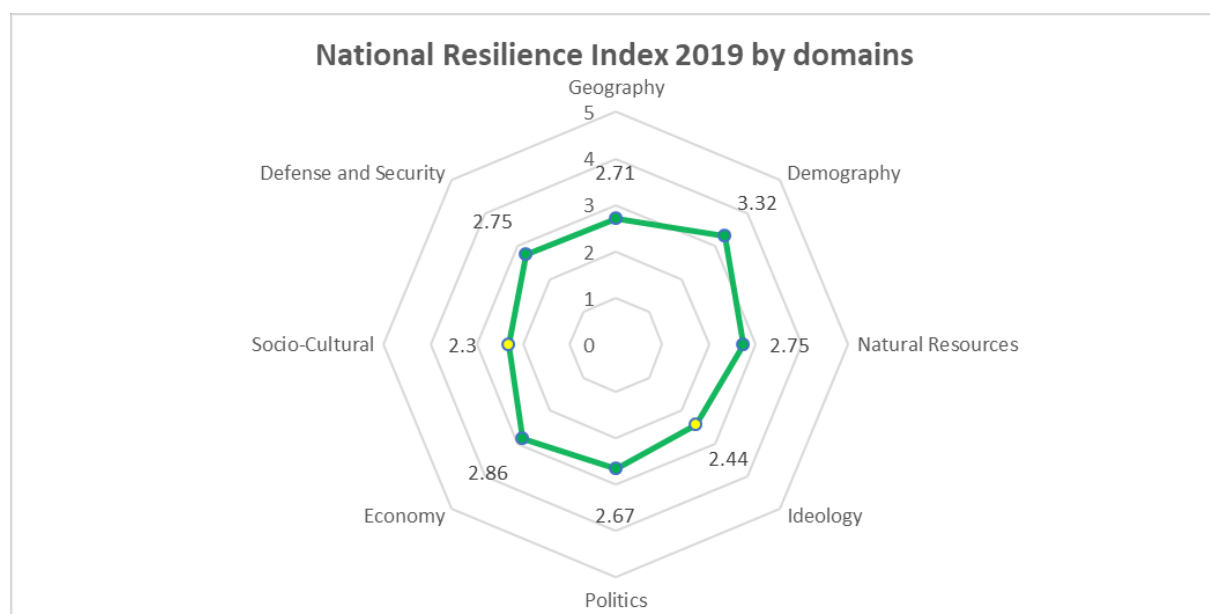


Figure 4: National resilience index

In the context of a declining national resilience index, particularly in the domains of ideology, politics, and socio-culture, the Indonesian National Police (Polri) plays a crucial role in maintaining security and public order to support national development efforts. However, Polri faces challenges in adapting to the social and cultural changes brought about by the digital era, which have introduced a new paradigm of utilizing advancements in science and information technology. In this evolving landscape of criminal activities, the existing legal framework in Indonesia remains relatively static, making it increasingly difficult to effectively address modern forms of crime. Therefore, intelligence becomes essential in identifying threats, enhancing preparedness, anticipating strategic surprises, and other relevant aspects. It is vital that intelligence operations are not hindered by outdated laws or regulations, as the outcomes of these operations serve as the basis for formulating new legislation.

According to Law Number 2 of 2002, specifically Article 5, Paragraph (1), the Indonesian Polri is entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining security and public order, enforcing the law, and providing protection, guidance, and services to the community to uphold domestic security. Additionally, Article 9, Paragraph (1), states that the Chief of Polri is responsible for establishing, organizing, and overseeing police technical policies. Operating within the framework of fulfilling its main tasks, functions, and roles, the current Chief of the Polri, Police General Listyo Sigit Prabowo, has introduced the tagline "*Transformasi Polri yang PRESISI*" (PRECISE Polri Transformation). This tagline emphasizes the importance of adopting predictive, responsive, and transparent approaches, along with a commitment to justice. The concept of PRECISE highlights the significance of utilizing predictive policing methods, enabling Polri to assess the level of disturbances to security and public order.

Predictive policing involves conducting analyses based on relevant knowledge, data, and methodologies to proactively prevent potential disruptions to security and public order at the earliest stages possible. The implementation of predictive policing in Indonesia involves optimizing technology and leveraging advancements in Artificial Intelligence (AI), Internet of Things (IoT), Big Data Analysis, and other technological innovations. This approach aligns with the Polri Strategic Plan (RENSTRA POLRI) for the period 2020-2024, which aims to address challenges such as hoaxes, cybercrime, separatist movements, radicalism, corruption, and terrorism that pose threats to community well-being by harnessing Industry 4.0 technology.

The rapid advancement of technology has brought about a shift in criminal activities, with cybercrime emerging as a significant threat that exploits electronic instruments. This transition has had a detrimental impact on the national defense and security resilience index. The virtual realm has become a breeding ground for transnational crimes, as well as volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous phenomena, including multidimensional hybrid warfare targeting communities. In response, the Indonesian Polri must swiftly adopt new approaches that involve all stakeholders in a holistic, integrated, comprehensive, and forward-looking manner to ensure security and public order. Therefore, the aim of this research is to analyze vulnerabilities in the nation's history, the development of the strategic environment, the influence of disinformation and propaganda on radicalism, extremism, separatism, and terrorism in the virtual world, as well as efforts to enhance the role of Polri.

This study draws on several theories to provide a comprehensive understanding of the research topic. The Geopolitics theory, introduced by Bert Chapman in 2011, emphasizes the dynamic nature of geopolitics and its manifestation in the global context. It recognizes the intricate relationship among geography, power dynamics, technology, politics, and economics, acknowledging their collective influence on shaping international affairs. The National Resilience theory, as defined by Lemhannas RI in 2021, focuses on the dynamic condition of the Indonesian nation, aiming to confront threats, disruptions, and challenges to protect the nation and achieve national goals. The Hybrid Warfare theory, described by Hoffman in 2007, highlights the combination of political warfare, conventional warfare, and unconventional warfare. The Counterinsurgency (COIN) theory, developed by David Galula in 1964, emphasizes the importance of winning the hearts and minds of the population as a key aspect of COIN strategy. The Psychological Warfare theory, explained by Baev in 2011, underscores the role of psychological operations and media interventions in shaping public opinion and garnering support. The Propaganda theory, formulated by Harold Lasswell in 1948, centers on the study of the communication process and its constituent elements, examining communication through the lens of five fundamental questions: "Who?", "Says What?", "In What Channel?", "To Whom?", and "With What Effect?". Juri Lina's theory in 2004 discusses strategies to weaken or destroy a nation, including distorting history and severing connections to ancestors. The Cybersecurity theory, adopting the UK and US government's definitions, recognizes cyberspace as a new domain of warfare, highlighting the potential impact of cyber-attacks on various critical systems. According to Fairtlough (2005), organization theory encompasses a range of models and structures that can be employed within an organization. When considering alternatives to the traditional hierarchical structure, two other options emerge: heterarchy and responsible autonomy. These alternatives provide different approaches to organizing and distributing authority and decision-making within an organization. The Pentahelix theory, proposed by Freeman in 1984, emphasizes the collaborative relationship among government entities, media, business actors, academics, and society for effective governance. Lastly, intelligence theory involves activities related to investigation, security, and information gathering, contributing to situational awareness and proactive measures.

1.2 Problem Formulation

Drawing on the core functions and obligations of Polri, which involve conducting early detection, prevention and intervention activities, as well as collaborating with other law enforcement agencies, Polri is well-positioned to address the challenges posed by cybercrime. It bears the responsibility of effectively implementing and overseeing Polri's cyber force to safeguard national cybersecurity with precision, foresight, and proactive measures. In light of these responsibilities, the following problem statements are posed:

1. What would be the ramifications if radical, extremist, terrorist, and separatist organizations were to exploit the strategic vulnerabilities of the nation within the cyber domain?
2. How can Polri strengthen its role in countering the dissemination of deceptive information and propaganda associated with radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism within the cyber realm?

2. Research Methods

This study adopts a descriptive qualitative approach, which aims to thoroughly explore and depict the social situation under investigation. According to Bogdan and Taylor (2010) as cited by Lexy J. Moleong (1989), the qualitative approach involves collecting descriptive data in the form of written or oral words from individuals and observing their behaviors. It focuses on social phenomena and gives voice to the feelings and perceptions of the participants. The descriptive research design employed in this study seeks to answer specific questions regarding the who, what, when, where, and how of the research topic. Additionally, it aims to gather information about the status or situational conditions of the variable phenomenon. As observed in the work of Wakefield et al., descriptive studies follow a sequence that includes conceptual construction, theory usage, purpose, methodology, and findings to explain the phenomena (Wakefield, Talbert, & Pense, 2006).

The combination of the descriptive research design and historical analysis falls within the realm of qualitative research, allowing researchers ample opportunity to delve deeper into the collected information (Black & Ubbes, 2009). Given that this study focuses on the history and diplomatic challenges faced by the Indonesian government, including the theory of people's war in the people's security defense system, it aligns with this research methodology. Overall, the research methodology employed in this study is a systematic literature review (SLR), which involves summarizing primary research to provide a comprehensive and balanced body of evidence (Siswanto, 2010). The data collection process involves extensive literature review, including books, scientific journals, research papers from Lemhannas, and media articles.

3. Analysis

3.1 Study I

3.1.1 The Evolution of Geopolitics and the Development of Generations of Warfare.

War has become an inherent phenomenon in human society, driven by the pursuit of perceived security, prosperity, and happiness, giving rise to a paradoxical and distinctive occurrence. Aristotle, a renowned Greek philosopher, acknowledged humans as inherently political beings (*zoon politicon*) due to their capacity for speech and moral reasoning. As social creatures, humans coexist in communities governed by laws and customs, striving for ultimate well-being and happiness (*eudaimonia*), despite encountering challenges in their pursuit. Another perspective complements Aristotle's notion, encapsulated in the ancient Roman proverb "man is a wolf to his fellow man" (*Homo homini lupus*), highlighting humans' inclination to exhibit predatory, cruel, and inhumane behavior akin to that of wolves. This perspective suggests that humans possess both animalistic qualities and civilized attributes.

Thomas Hobbes, an English philosopher, portrayed this state as a "war of all against all," where animalistic instincts prevail, necessitating the establishment of a civil society. In his influential work *Leviathan*, Hobbes describes this state as an outcome of a perpetual state of warfare, where individuals perceive each other as enemies, resulting in a condition marked by fear, death, and a solitary existence devoid of security. This condition further manifests backwardness, poverty, malevolence, brutality, and a fleeting existence.

During the 5th century BC, Thucydides, in his historical account of the Peloponnesian War, expressed the notion that "the strong do what they can, and the weak suffer what they must." This concept found concrete expression during the war when Athens issued an ultimatum, known as The Melian Dialogue, to the people of Melos, an ally of Sparta. Athens demanded their surrender and tribute, disregarding moral considerations. In practice, it is evident that the powerful often exert their authority while the vulnerable bear the consequences.

The Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) was a conflict between Athens and Sparta, along with their respective alliances, as they competed for supremacy in ancient Greece. Motivated by a desire for dominance, Athens sought to establish its hegemony over Greece after years of rivalry with Sparta. Athens' rapid military expansion, particularly in its naval fleet, and its flourishing economy unsettled Sparta. Fearing that an alliance between Athens and Corinth would create an insurmountable force, Sparta deemed it necessary to conquer Athens before it became invincible, igniting this brutal war. The conflict remained evenly matched for a significant period until the Persian Empire, a longstanding adversary of Athens, intervened, tipping the balance in favor of Sparta.

This marked the beginning of a period of Spartan hegemony that reshaped the power dynamics in ancient Greece. Athens, once the preeminent city-state in Greece, experienced a substantial decline in power and became subservient to Sparta, never reclaiming its former prosperity. As a result, poverty permeated ancient Greece.

The downfall of Athens can be attributed to its failure to effectively utilize its naval superiority, which was a cornerstone of its culture, economy, and military strategy centered around maritime dominance, beside the city-state's geographical vulnerabilities and dependence on land-based resources. Additionally, Athens' leadership was divided, its resources were mismanaged, and its navy proved inadequate in facing the growing strength of its adversaries. These factors ultimately contributed to Athens' defeat.

In his acclaimed work "On War," composed during the period of the European Enlightenment, Carl von Clausewitz, a Prussian military theorist and general, expounded on the concept that war represents an extension of politics through alternative means. According to Clausewitz, war should not be regarded solely as a political occurrence, but rather as a legitimate tool of politics utilized to accomplish political goals. Conflict does not arise haphazardly; it emerges from intense competition among entities within a community, resulting from the breakdown of mutually beneficial cooperation and motivations for engaging in warfare typically revolve around the pursuit of dominance, economic gain and religious beliefs.

Within the context of warfare, the concept of Means, Ways, and Ends becomes relevant. Means represent the political objectives pursued through war, serving as the tools and instruments of power and transformation. Ways refer to the strategies employed to achieve victory in war, whether through diminishing the enemy's capabilities and strengths or deterring their intent to wage war. Ends signify the desired political outcome of a war, the realization of a specific political state. Even in warfare without conventional military conflict, the ultimate success of warfare must be evaluated within the framework of the desired political condition.

War strategies and tactics, or Ways, evolve over time. In ancient times, prior to the establishment of nation-states, wars between city-states relied on weapons such as spears, swords, shields, and arrows, along with large armies. The introduction of gunpowder revolutionized the dynamics of warfare, rendering many fundamental elements, including tactics and equipment, obsolete. The use of cannons and firearms became pivotal factors. Revolutionary conquests, such as the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Empire, which was previously considered impregnable, led to countermeasures such as the construction of new types of castles and fortresses equipped with archers and cannons. Simultaneously, attackers developed new strategies and techniques in weapons technology and assault equipment. In the 14th century, both China and Spain began employing cannons on their ships, transforming the seas into a significant theater of warfare, and the increasing range of rifles in the 18th century prompted the renewal of tactics and battle command. This evolution of "ways" persisted until the present era of warfare, commonly referred to as hybrid warfare, as described by Carl von Clausewitz in "On War." Clausewitz emphasized that each era has its unique form of war, distinct limitations, and specific preconceptions.

Understanding the present geopolitical dynamics is crucial for ensuring national resilience, as a fundamental and continually evolving analytical, reflects the global reality and the power dynamics that arise from the interplay of geography, technology, politics, and economics. By comprehending and anticipating future geopolitical trends, we can enhance our awareness and preparedness in the face of a wide range of threats, disruptions, obstacles, and challenges (referred to as TDOC) stemming from power struggles and resource competitions among both state and non-state actors. Thus, geopolitics can be defined as the competition or rivalry between dominant powers

(incumbents) and aspiring great powers (challengers) for control over territories, resources, and influence, as stated by Michael Klare in 2003.

Over time, both geopolitics and warfare have undergone significant transformations. The initial stage, Geopolitics I, primarily focused on the influence of land and sea power. Following World War I, the discipline further evolved, leading to the current era, Geopolitics V, often referred to as the connectivity era. Although contextual variations exist across these different stages, consistent patterns can be observed, highlighting the expansionist strategies pursued by major powers to assert control over global resources and establish hegemonic dominance. This pursuit frequently involves military power struggles that have the potential to escalate into full-fledged wars between nations.

The concept of warfare has also evolved through different generations since the introduction of firearms and gunpowder in the 16th century, culminating in the current era of hybrid warfare. Hybrid warfare employs a combination of conventional warfare, unconventional warfare, and cyber warfare tactics, utilized by both state and non-state actors. This approach employs innovative strategies to exploit vulnerabilities within society, which can be considered the first line of defense, encompassing political, military, economic, social, informational, and infrastructure (PMESII) attacks. Detection of hybrid warfare becomes feasible when large-scale attacks are carried out, leading to the emergence of potential dangers. Effective strategies to counter hybrid warfare include early detection, prevention, and intervention; and the implementation of intelligent approaches to thwart the exploitation of national vulnerabilities by hostile entities.

3.1.2 Before examining the national strategic vulnerabilities in detail, it is important to provide a summary of the extensive history of the Indonesian nation, which encompasses four distinct periods: Nusantara I (Sriwijaya), Nusantara II (Majapahit), the colonial era, and Nusantara III (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia)

Nusantara I

The historical period known as Nusantara I commenced in the 6th century with the establishment of the influential Sriwijaya kingdom. Situated strategically at the crossroads of maritime trade routes, the Sriwijaya kingdom was able to assert its dominance over a vast expanse of territories, extending its control from the island of Java in the west to Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and even parts of mainland Southeast Asia, including Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and the Philippines. This expansive reach was facilitated by the kingdom's maritime prowess, flourishing trade networks, and robust naval forces.

However, despite its initial success and territorial supremacy, the Sriwijaya kingdom faced a series of challenges that contributed to its gradual decline. One significant factor was the prolonged conflicts it encountered with neighboring kingdoms during the expeditions of the emerging Singhasari kingdom in the late 12th century. These military campaigns, led by the ambitious Kertanegara, not only strained the resources and military strength of the Sriwijaya kingdom but also resulted in territorial losses and weakened its political authority in the region.

In addition to external pressures, the Sriwijaya kingdom experienced significant socio-cultural transformations that further impacted its stability and influence. The growing influence of Muslim colonies in the Sriwijaya region, particularly in the 11th century, introduced new religious and cultural dynamics which brought changes in the socio-political landscape, as well as alterations in trade patterns and diplomatic relationships. These transformations, while contributing to the richness and diversity of the region, also created internal tensions and potentially weakened the kingdom's cohesiveness.

Furthermore, the economic weakening of Sriwijaya played a crucial role in its decline. Indian merchants had been actively expanding their influence in Southeast Asia since the 10th century, establishing trade networks and monopolizing key routes. This Indian expansion disrupted the Sriwijaya kingdom's control over lucrative trade routes and diminished its economic prosperity. As a result, Sriwijaya gradually lost its economic dominance and faced challenges in maintaining its position as a regional trade hub.

Ultimately, the fall of the Sriwijaya kingdom was sealed by the devastating attack launched by the emerging Majapahit kingdom in the 14th century. Under the leadership of Gajah Mada, the Majapahit forces overran the Sriwijaya kingdom, leading to its subjugation and the end of Nusantara I. The Majapahit kingdom, with its military might and strategic alliances, emerged as the new dominant power in the Indonesian archipelago, marking the beginning of Nusantara II.

The transition from Nusantara I to Nusantara II represented a significant turning point in the region's history. It signaled the shift in political alliances, territorial control, and cultural dynamics. The Majapahit kingdom would go on to establish its hegemony over the Indonesian archipelago, leaving a lasting impact on the subsequent development of Indonesian history and civilization. The study of Nusantara I and its decline provides valuable insights into the complexities of Southeast Asian history, shedding light on the interplay of political, economic, and cultural factors that shaped the region. It also highlights the intricate relationships between maritime trade, political power, and cultural interactions, offering a deeper understanding of the historical forces that have influenced the formation of contemporary Southeast Asian societies.

Nusantara II

During the period when Patih Gajah Mada served as Patih Amangkubumi, he made a significant declaration known as the "Sumpah Amukti Palapa" to unite the Nusantara region, which encompassed almost all of Southeast Asia, under the rule of the Majapahit kingdom. However, the approach taken by Patih Gajah Mada, which focused primarily on military, economic, and religious strategies, was met with criticism by the renowned sage Mpu Tantular. In his book *Sutasoma*, Mpu Tantular expressed his concerns and proposed a socio-cultural approach to address the multidimensional crisis faced by the Majapahit kingdom at that time.

Mpu Tantular argued that relying solely on military might, economic prowess, and religious strategies was a fragile foundation for unifying Nusantara, instead, he emphasized the importance of a socio-cultural perspective that would address the deep-rooted issues and foster a sense of unity and shared purpose. This perspective is reflected in the famous phrase found in the *Sutasoma* book, "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Tanhana Dharma Mangrva," which highlights the significance of unity in overcoming the decline of the Majapahit kingdom. According to the phrase, although the people are diverse, they are ultimately one, and unity is paramount in practicing dharma, as harmony alone without dharma is meaningless.

The principle of harmony, as advocated by Mpu Tantular, played a crucial role in the success of the Majapahit kingdom. It served as a fundamental pillar in achieving unity among diverse religious communities and contributed to the kingdom's pinnacle of greatness. During this era, the influence and power of the Majapahit kingdom extended across various regions, including Java, Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Papua, and the Philippines.

However, the continuous internal power struggles within the royal family gradually weakened the Majapahit kingdom. These internal conflicts eroded the stability and cohesion of the kingdom, ultimately leading to its collapse.

The downfall of both the Sriwijaya and Majapahit kingdoms, as noted by the Indonesian Ministry of Defense in 2015, can be attributed not to external invasions or attacks but to prolonged internal conflicts. This observation aligns with the analysis presented by Paul M. Kennedy in his book "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers" (1987), a British historian, who examines the rise and fall of various countries on a global scale, including the Ottoman Empire, Mughal Empire (Afghanistan), and Ming Dynasty (China). He emphasizes that the competition among major powers since the 15th century has had a significant impact on the fate of nations. In addition to analyzing political, economic, and military factors, Kennedy highlights the intrinsic aspects of a nation, such as leadership, character, and behavior, as determinants of success or failure in achieving the goals of an organization or state. His analysis emphasizes the necessity for leaders with statesmanship and a deep sense of national nobility to unify the diverse Indonesian nation and adopt a holistic, integrated, forward-thinking, and comprehensive approach in fostering national resilience.

Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of historical periods like Nusantara I and II, including the rise and fall of kingdoms such as Sriwijaya and Majapahit, provides valuable insights into the complexities of Indonesian history. It underscores the importance of addressing internal conflicts, fostering unity through socio-cultural approaches, and cultivating leadership qualities that promote the well-being and resilience of the nation. Such knowledge is essential in guiding contemporary efforts to build a strong and cohesive Indonesia capable of navigating the challenges and opportunities of the present and future.

Colonialism

The decline of Nusantara's glory marked the beginning of a tumultuous period characterized by the arrival of foreign powers. The Portuguese were the first to set foot in the region in 1511, followed by the Spanish in 1521, English in 1579, Dutch in 1596, and finally the Japanese in 1942. The colonial era officially commenced with the Dutch in 1596, who established the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to monopolize the lucrative spice trade and assert their colonial dominance and during this period, the Dutch employed a strategy of divide and conquer to gain control over the Nusantara region.

Various conflicts and wars against the Dutch took place from 1800 to 1900, including the Pattimura War, Diponegoro War, Bali War, Aceh War, and others. Despite the valiant efforts of local resistance movements, mostly the Dutch emerged victorious in these conflicts due to several factors. The resistance movements frequently operated on a regional or local level, lacking coordination with other regions, which undermined their overall efficacy. Additionally, the absence of a leadership regeneration system meant that the death or capture of charismatic leaders often led to the dissolution or fragmentation of the resistance movements. Furthermore, the resistance heavily relied on the use of hard power, such as armed struggle, rather than utilizing soft power approaches like diplomacy, making them susceptible to manipulation and suppression by the Dutch authorities.

However, in the early 19th century, the Bung Tomo organization emerged as a precursor to the use of diplomacy (soft power) in the fight against Dutch colonialism. This organization played a pioneering role in promoting unity in societal, national, and state life; while its efforts culminated in the historic proclamation of the Youth Pledge in 1928, which served as a significant milestone in the establishment of the Indonesian nation. The Youth Pledge symbolized the commitment of Indonesian youth to unify the diverse archipelago into a single independent nation.

The Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia came to an abrupt end in 1942 when Japan assumed control through the Kalijati agreement, which mandated the unconditional surrender of the Dutch to Japan. This transition led to the establishment of various organizations, including PUTERA, which eventually paved the way for the formation of the influential "big four" comprising Ir. Soekarno, Drs. Moh. Hatta, K.H Mansyur, and Ki Hajar Dewantara. While initially created to support Japan in its conflict against the Allies, these organizations also served as platforms to cultivate nationalist sentiments among Indonesians. Over time, the "big four" began advocating for military training, which further bolstered the nationalist spirit within the Indonesian population.

As events unfolded, the original organization was dissolved, and Jawa Hokokai (People's Devotion) took its place, with Ir. Soekarno and Hasyim Ashari assuming key advisory roles. With a strong nationalist spirit and military capability, Soekarno seized the opportunity to consolidate his leadership position. In 1945, as Japan's influence waned, a "Vacuum of Power" emerged, providing the Indonesian people with a chance to assert their authority and establish an independent nation, free from foreign colonial rule. This momentous period marked the birth of Indonesia as a sovereign state, with its people striving for self-governance and the realization of their national aspirations.

This historical context underscores the complex and multifaceted struggle for independence in Indonesia. It highlights the resilience of the Indonesian people against foreign dominance and the strategic importance of utilizing both hard power and soft power approaches in the pursuit of national liberation. The struggle against colonial powers played a significant role in shaping the national identity of Indonesia and serves as a testament to the determination and unity of the Indonesian people in their pursuit of independence.

Since gaining independence in 1945, Indonesia has faced significant challenges posed by separatist and terrorist movements, which have persisted to the present day. These incidents have involved a wide range of rebellious and extremist organizations, each with their own distinct goals and ideologies. Understanding these movements is essential to comprehending the complexities of Indonesia's sociopolitical landscape.

Rebellion in the post-independence

One notable uprising occurred in 1948 with the Madiun Rebellion. This rebellion, led by the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), aimed to establish a communist government in Indonesia. The rebellion was swiftly suppressed by government forces, but it revealed the presence of communist sympathizers and highlighted the ideological divide within the country.

Another movement that emerged in 1948 was the Darul Islam movement. Rooted in Islamic fundamentalism, this movement sought to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia. It was driven by a desire to implement strict interpretations of Islamic law and reject secular governance. Although the movement faced significant military opposition, it continued to pose a threat throughout the Nusantara III era.

In 1950, the Republic of South Maluku (RMS) was established, with the aim of seceding from Indonesia and forming an independent nation. The RMS's aspirations were fueled by a sense of cultural and regional identity and a desire for self-determination. The Indonesian government responded with military force, leading to protracted conflicts in the Maluku Islands.

Another pivotal event in Indonesian history was the failed coup attempt that may be orchestrated by the 30 September Movement/PKI in 1965. This coup attempt resulted in political turmoil and triggered a violent anti-communist backlash, leading to the mass killing of suspected communists and the subsequent suppression of the PKI. The events of the G30S/PKI coup attempt had profound and lasting effects on Indonesian society and politics.

It marked a significant turning point in the country's history, leading to the downfall of President Sukarno and the rise of General Suharto's New Order regime. The PKI, once a powerful political force in Indonesia, was banned and demonized, with its members being persecuted and its influence greatly diminished. The aftermath of the coup attempt also saw a shift in Indonesia's political ideology, with the country adopting an anti-communist stance and aligning itself with the Western bloc during the Cold War. The events further entrenched the perception of communism as a threat to the nation's stability and led to the marginalization of leftist and progressive political movements in Indonesia for decades to come, leaving a lasting impact on the country's historical narrative and collective memory.

In addition to these movements, separatist aspirations have emerged in various regions of Indonesia. The Papua Separatist Movement (PSM), established in 1965, has been a prominent advocate for the independence of Papua from Indonesian rule. The PSM's struggle for self-determination is rooted in historical grievances, demands for indigenous rights, and aspirations for greater political autonomy.

Similarly, the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) emerged in 1976, seeking to establish an independent state in the Aceh region. The GAM's struggle was primarily driven by a desire to preserve Acehnese identity, protect local resources, and address perceived injustices under Indonesian rule. The conflict between the Indonesian government and GAM lasted for decades before a peace agreement was finally reached in 2005.

East Timor also experienced significant conflicts in its quest for independence from Indonesian rule. The Indonesian government's occupation of East Timor, which began in 1975, was marked by widespread human rights abuses and resistance from pro-independence groups. Following a Nations-sponsored referendum in 1999, East Timor gained independence, but the path to nation-building and reconciliation has been challenging.

These separatist and terrorist movements reflect the diverse socio political landscape of Indonesia and the complex dynamics at play. They are a testament to the ongoing struggle for autonomy, identity, and self-determination within various regions of the country. Addressing the root causes of these movements requires a multifaceted approach that encompasses political, social, and economic dimensions, while respecting the principles of human rights and inclusive governance.

Communal conflicts in the Reform Era

During the reform era refers to the conflicts that took place in Indonesia during the period of political reform and democratization, which began in 1998. These conflicts involved tensions, confrontations, and acts of violence between distinct communal or social groups within the nation. While the reform era brought significant political transformations and increased freedom of expression, it also revealed deep-seated social and cultural divisions that had been suppressed during the previous regime.

Several factors contributed to the emergence of communal conflicts during this period. Socio-economic disparities, resulting from uneven development and distribution of resources, created grievances and feelings of marginalization among different communities. Political rivalries and power struggles at the regional and local levels also exacerbated tensions and contributed to the conflicts. Cultural disparities, including differences in traditions, customs, and identities, further fueled communal tensions. Additionally, religious tensions emerged as religious identities and beliefs played a significant role in shaping social and political dynamics.

One notable instance of communal conflict during the reform era occurred in Poso, Central Sulawesi, in the early 2000s. The conflict in Poso involved clashes between Muslim and Christian communities, leading to significant casualties and the displacement of thousands of individuals. The conflict was triggered by historical grievances, such as unresolved land disputes and past intercommunal violence, which fueled animosities between the communities. Economic competition, including competition for economic opportunities and resources, also played a role. Furthermore, the influence of radical ideologies from both sides contributed to the escalation of violence.

Similar communal conflicts unfolded in various parts of Indonesia during the reform era. For example, inter-ethnic conflicts between the Dayak and Madurese communities in Kalimantan and conflicts between Acehese and non-Acehese communities in Aceh demonstrated the complex interplay of historical animosities, competition for resources, and perceived socio-political inequalities in driving communal tensions.

In response to these challenges, the Indonesian government, civil society organizations, and communities have undertaken efforts to address and resolve communal conflicts. Interfaith dialogues have been promoted as a means to foster understanding and tolerance among different religious communities. Conflict resolution programs have been implemented to facilitate peaceful negotiations and reconciliation. Additionally, socio-economic development projects have been initiated to address underlying grievances related to economic disparities and resource allocation. However, effectively managing and preventing communal conflicts remains an ongoing and complex challenge in the reform era.

It is essential for stakeholders to continue their collaborative efforts in promoting dialogue, understanding, and social cohesion, while addressing the underlying structural and socio-economic issues that contribute to communal conflicts. By addressing the root causes and promoting inclusivity and equitable development, Indonesia can strive towards a more harmonious and peaceful society.

Recent Terrorism Acts

Terrorism has posed a significant challenge to Indonesia's peace, security, and national unity. Various radical and terrorist movements have emerged, each with its own specific ideologies and objectives. Among these groups are the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), East Indonesia Mujahideen in Poso, Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT), Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD), and Jemaah

Islamiyah (JI), among others. These groups have been involved in carrying out bombing attacks between 2000 and 2021, posing an ongoing threat to the nation's security and stability.

The emergence of these extremist organizations can be attributed to various factors. One factor is the perception among certain segments of society that the government is corrupt and has failed to effectively address social and economic issues, leading to widespread dissatisfaction and grievances. High levels of inequality, poverty, and unemployment contribute to a sense of frustration and disillusionment, making individuals more susceptible to extremist ideologies that promise radical solutions.

Furthermore, Indonesia's multidimensional crises, such as social, political, economic, and cultural challenges, have created fertile ground for the growth of terrorist movements. In particular, the marginalization of certain groups, the erosion of cultural identity, and the perception of religious discrimination have fueled feelings of exclusion and injustice, which can be exploited by extremist organizations to recruit members.

The geographical and demographic diversity of Indonesia also plays a role in the proliferation of terrorism. The vast archipelago and porous borders provide opportunities for the movement of individuals, weapons, and resources, making it difficult for authorities to monitor and control extremist activities. Moreover, the existence of local conflicts, such as communal tensions and separatist movements, creates an environment conducive to the emergence of violent extremist groups seeking to exploit existing grievances.

To address these challenges, the Indonesian government has implemented a range of counterterrorism measures. These include strengthening intelligence capabilities, enhancing law enforcement efforts, promoting interagency cooperation, and fostering international collaboration in intelligence sharing and capacity-building. Additionally, efforts have been made to address the root causes of terrorism through community engagement, promoting religious tolerance, and socioeconomic development programs aimed at addressing inequality and marginalization.

Furthermore, the Indonesian government has actively encouraged dialogue and reconciliation, seeking to address grievances and promote social harmony. This includes initiatives to foster interfaith dialogue, strengthen civil society, and promote religious moderation as a counter-narrative to extremist ideologies. Efforts to enhance education and raise awareness about the dangers of radicalization have also been undertaken to prevent the recruitment of individuals into terrorist organizations.

Despite these efforts, the challenges of countering terrorism in Indonesia remain complex and multifaceted. The persistence of extremist ideologies, the evolving nature of terrorist tactics, and the influence of global jihadist networks necessitate continuous vigilance and adaptive strategies. It requires a comprehensive approach that combines effective law enforcement measures with efforts to address root causes, promote social cohesion, and build resilient communities that reject violence and extremism.

A report published by liputan6.com in 2019 drew attention to a Facebook post that went viral under the title "Rectifying the History of Majapahit." The post put forward the claim that Gajah Mada, a prominent historical figure, had converted to Islam, implying that the Majapahit Empire was an Islamic kingdom. This assertion was based on the discovery of gold coins with inscriptions containing Islamic phrases. The post, shared by the Facebook account Sri Suparwati Khanzaru, garnered 6,200 shares and 2,700 comments. Although the content has since been removed from various online platforms, it has already reached a large number of Indonesians, propagating its message.

Furthermore, as reported by kompas.com in 2022, a viral video circulated on social media showing an individual disrespecting and discarding spiritual offerings placed by local residents around Mount Semeru. This tradition, known as "*sesajen*" (spiritual offerings) is performed to appease the volcano. The person in the video claimed that this offering tradition conflicted with their beliefs. It is important to note that the spiritual offerings tradition predates the arrival of Islam in Indonesia and even the existence of Hinduism and Buddhism in the region.

These instances serve to illustrate the objective of radical teachings to undermine the cultural heritage of the nation by promoting intolerance towards ancestral traditions. This aligns with Juri Lina's theory, which posits that the weakening of a nation's civilization occurs through three stages: distorting its history, eliminating or destroying evidence related to its history to hinder examination and verification, and severing the connection with ancestors by labeling them as primitive and foolish. These activities run counter to the government's efforts to safeguard and preserve the nation's history and culture.

Such extremist actions are contrary to the principles enshrined in the Second Amendment to the 1945 Constitution. Article 18B, paragraph (2), underscores the state's recognition and respect for legal communities and their traditional rights, as long as they are in harmony with societal development and the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as regulated by law. Article 28I, paragraph (3), emphasizes the importance of respecting cultural identity and the rights of traditional communities in line with the progress of time and civilization. Additionally, Article 32 (1) upholds society's freedom to preserve and develop cultural values, thereby promoting Indonesian national culture amidst global civilization. Finally, Article 32 (2) highlights the state's commitment to respecting and preserving regional languages as invaluable national cultural assets.

Moreover, a religious paradox and the concept of jihad come into play in the context of suicide bombings, raising questions about the willingness of individuals to sacrifice their lives and sever ties with their loved ones. These actions stem from the noble ideals that these individuals believe in and fight for. Indoctrination plays a significant role in leading them to resort to violence and suicide bombings as a means to counter modernization and civilization.

Addressing the religious paradox and the concept of jihad necessitates a focus on moral and ethical education, alongside character education. Character education is a fundamental objective of the national education system in Indonesia. The 2003 National Education System Law states that the aim of education is to develop learners' potential in terms of intelligence, personality, and noble character. This mandate seeks to cultivate individuals who not only possess intelligence but also exhibit a strong personality and character, while respecting the values of the nation and religion. Al-Ghazali's book "Ayyuha al-Walad" presents various character education values, including religious character, tolerance character, hard working character, creative character, inquisitive character, and responsible character.

Prof. Azyumardi Azra, an esteemed academic and Muslim intellectual, proposes an Islamic education approach that produces graduates capable of becoming agents of change in a global society. His approach to Islamic education emphasizes three crucial roles: unifying religion, science, and technology; transforming Islamic education; and democratizing Islamic education. Furthermore, Prof. Azyumardi Azra highlights the significance of Islam Wasatiyyah, which characterizes Indonesia. This unique aspect has attracted the attention of many countries in the Middle East towards Islam in Indonesia, known for its diversity while maintaining unity within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). The substantial role of Islam in Indonesia is widely acknowledged.

According to Prof. Azyumardi Azra, it is crucial to address Islamophobia among people and foster unity through the cultivation of good behavior, known as *Akhlakul Karimah* or virtuous and noble character. The ultimate goal is to manifest *Rahmatan Lil Alamin*, where Islam is perceived as a source of mercy for all beings in the universe. Unfortunately, character education has been largely overlooked in the national curriculum, despite Islamic education being an integral part of education at all levels, ranging from primary to higher education. In Indonesia, where the majority of the population is Muslim, character education heavily relies on Islamic teachings. If Islamic education successfully instills noble character in Indonesian Muslims, it will significantly contribute to the development of a strong national character.

Recent Separatist Acts

Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto has identified three main elements involved in the utilization of social media as a propaganda tool by separatists: the political front, clandestine front, and armed front. The political front,

represented by the Papua Separatist Movement (PSM), disseminates false information that accuses the Indonesian government of neglecting the well-being of Indigenous Papuans (OAP) and engaging in severe human rights violations. The objective of this narrative is to generate discontent among the OAP population and garner support from foreign nations, organizations, and the global community to facilitate the separation of Papua from the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Simultaneously, the armed force associated with the PSM consistently provokes the Indonesian government through various acts of human rights violations, targeting civilians, security officers, and even the military.

Upon closer analysis, it becomes apparent that foreign nations and international organizations utilize strategies of "divide and conquer" motivated by their own interests in accessing Papua's plentiful natural resources and its advantageous geographical position. This external involvement has intensified the sentiment of Papua nationalism, which aims for independence through political means, covert activities, and armed opposition. These endeavors encompass diplomatic maneuvers, the refusal to acknowledge international agreements like UN Resolution No. 2504, and the deliberate spread of misinformation consistently portraying the Indonesian government in an unfavorable manner.

The primary goal is to garner international backing for a "referendum" option akin to the one that took place in East Timor in 1999 and undermine the legitimacy of the Pepera 1969 (Act of Free Choice). However, the Indonesian government has effectively eliminated the possibility of conducting a referendum by revoking Tap MPR number 4 of 1993, which pertains to referendums, through Tap MPR number 8 of 1998. Additionally, Law number 5 of 1985, which addressed referendums, has been repealed by Law number 6 of 1999. As a result, the legal framework for holding a referendum in Indonesia is no longer in existence.

The support from the international community during that era was instrumental in the successful integration of Papua into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This underscores the significance of effectively managing and carefully considering foreign intervention and international backing, as even minor shifts in circumstances can benefit the diplomatic endeavors of the Papua Separatist Movement, which seeks independence from Indonesia. However, starting from 1972, the central government's inability to recognize the capacities of armed and political rebel factions connected to the Papua Separatist Movement has led to a gradual decrease in international support for the Indonesian government.

Therefore, it is crucial for Indonesia to actively work towards maintaining support from international organizations, countries, and communities through diplomatic channels and political advocacy to mitigate the impact of the Papua Separatist Movement's initiatives. Additionally, the government should take measures to restrict political support, funding, and the supply of logistics to the Papua Separatist Movement. Authorities and security defense actors, including security defense experts, community leaders, religious leaders, and traditional leaders, should engage in dialogue with key figures within the Papua Separatist Movement, notably Benny Wenda (leader of the political front) and Goliath Tabuni (commander of the armed front). These engagements should aim to foster understanding, reach agreements, and establish cooperation that promotes reconciliation, integration, and unity within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The issues of racial equality and religious solidarity are continually exploited to gain sympathy from member states of the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) and Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) by seeking their support through the foreign policies of their respective governments. The MSG and their sympathizers abroad primarily focus on the self-determination rights of the indigenous people of Papua following the 1969 Act of Free Choice, using legal means to influence public opinion. This situation has led to an increase in actions by the Papua Separatist Movement (PSM) that distort facts and provoke indigenous Papuans through various activities such as press conferences, discussions, closed meetings, book launches, leaflet distribution, text messages, and the use of print and electronic media, as well as religious activities. The narratives constructed by these groups are highly exaggerated, to the extent that even the abduction of a New Zealand pilot by the OPM is attributed to the Indonesian government. If allowed to continue, these acts of ambush, attacks, and shootings targeting members of TNI, Polri, community members, civilians and foreigners can disrupt security and public order in Papua.

All the data indicates that terrorist and separatist movements have resulted in substantial loss of life for several reasons:

1. The desire to establish Islamic Shariah law and secede from the government due to dissatisfaction, as seen in movements like DI/TII, PRRI, and GAM.
2. The aspiration to replace the Pancasila ideology with an alternative ideology, which is the objective of terrorist organizations such as JAT, JAD, MMI, and JI.
3. The desire to secede from the government, driven by discontent and supported by foreign entities, is evident in movements like RMS and OPM.

Throughout Indonesia's extensive history as a nation, the theme of vulnerability has recurred, driven by the **diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural composition** of the country. This diversity has presented **challenges to achieving social cohesion and national unity**, often resulting in tensions, conflicts, and movements advocating for terrorism and separatism. The nation has witnessed periods of **political instability**, spanning from the colonial era to the post-independence period, marked by **leadership transitions, regional disputes, and military interventions**. **Economic vulnerability** has also been a pressing concern, stemming from the **heavy reliance on natural resources**, which has exposed Indonesia to challenges associated with global commodity price fluctuations, **resource mismanagement, corruption, and socioeconomic inequality**.

Despite these challenges, Indonesia has demonstrated resilience and determination in surmounting obstacles, with its people striving for a stronger and more prosperous nation. However, internal conflicts, including **civil wars, terrorism, and rebellions**, expose Indonesia's vulnerability to **exploitation and division**. Learning from historical experiences is crucial in preventing the recurrence of such vulnerabilities. While diversity holds the potential to foster unity, Indonesia continues to grapple with significant horizontal (between different social groups) and vertical (between the state and society) conflicts.

Adversaries of the state actively seek to exploit these vulnerabilities by employing strategies such as religious polarization and cultural friction to sow divisions and weaken the nation. If left unaddressed, these issues can lead to political and socio-cultural instability, undermining the unity, harmony, and integrity of Indonesian society, the nation, and the state, ultimately **posing a threat to the country's existence**.

In light of these challenges, it is imperative for Indonesia to pursue comprehensive strategies to **strengthen social cohesion, promote inclusivity, and address underlying grievances**. This includes fostering dialogue and understanding among different ethnic, religious, and cultural groups, as well as implementing effective governance mechanisms to ensure **equitable distribution of resources and opportunities**. By actively addressing vulnerabilities and **promoting unity amidst diversity**, Indonesia can fortify itself against external threats and achieve **sustainable development and national resilience**.

3.1.3 Strategic Environment Development (Banglistra)

In the global context, several significant changes in the dynamics of the strategic environment have had implications for Indonesia's national resilience (Astagatra). These changes include:

1. The emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic as a strategic surprise has caught societies and the global economy off-guard, resulting in far-reaching consequences. The pandemic has affected various domains, including public health, economic stability, social dynamics, governance structures, and international relations. Its disruptive nature has necessitated rapid adaptation and response from individuals, communities, businesses, and governments worldwide.
2. The rapid advancements in information and communication technology have led to a revolution in remote activities, commonly known as "tele-everything." This transformation has had a profound impact on sectors such as business, education, and healthcare, reshaping the global landscape and altering traditional modes of operation.

3. The environmental consequences of global climate change, including the occurrence of natural disasters in multiple countries, directly impact Indonesia's environmental and disaster management policies. As an archipelagic nation vulnerable to climate-related risks, Indonesia must enhance its resilience through mitigation efforts and adaptation strategies to mitigate the adverse effects of climate change on its economy, environment, and communities. The escalating global climate change has resulted in an increased frequency and severity of natural disasters, such as hurricanes, droughts, and floods, posing significant challenges to Indonesia's national resilience. It is essential to implement adaptive measures and comprehensive disaster management strategies to address these challenges effectively.
4. The reconfiguration of the strategic environment is evident in the emergence of non-state actors, which present a significant challenge to national sovereignty. Transnational terrorist organizations, extremist groups, and cybercriminal networks have demonstrated their capacity to disrupt stability and security at both the national and global levels. Consequently, it is imperative for Indonesia to strengthen its counterterrorism and cybersecurity measures in response to these threats. The proliferation of non-state actors globally, encroaching upon national sovereignty, poses formidable obstacles for Indonesia. Addressing transnational terrorism, cyber threats, and other forms of non-state aggression requires the implementation of robust security measures and international collaboration. Active participation in regional and global initiatives aimed at countering these threats is crucial to safeguard Indonesia's national security.
5. The rise of the Islamic State (ISIS) as a consequence of the Arab Spring has had global implications. This extremist group aims to establish a global Islamic State (Khilafah) and has engaged in acts of terrorism and violence, posing a significant challenge to regional and international security.
6. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has triggered a global recession and geopolitical tensions, highlighting the complex dynamics of power struggles and territorial disputes. These tensions have had implications for regional stability and economic relations.

At the international level, there are several significant developments that have notable implications for Indonesia. These include:

1. The US-Taliban peace agreement in February 2020 and the subsequent takeover of Afghanistan by the Taliban. Given Indonesia's status as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, it closely monitors the situation in Afghanistan. The resurgence of the Taliban may serve as an inspiration to fundamentalist terrorist groups and potentially impact regional security. Therefore, Indonesia needs to carefully assess the potential effects on its own domestic security and take appropriate measures to counter any emerging threats.
2. The "America First" policy pursued by former US President Trump has had wide-ranging implications for global trade, alliances, and security arrangements. As an open economy with extensive international trade relations, Indonesia must adapt to changes in global trade dynamics and navigate the evolving international political landscape. It is crucial for Indonesia to ensure that its national interests are protected and its economy remains resilient amid shifting global dynamics.

In summary, Indonesia faces significant implications from these global developments. It is imperative for the country to thoroughly assess the consequences of the US-Taliban peace agreement and the situation in Afghanistan, while also adjusting to evolving dynamics in global trade as a result of the "America First" policy. By understanding and responding effectively to these global dynamics, Indonesia can navigate the international landscape and safeguard its national interests, security, and economic stability.

At the regional level, Indonesia is significantly affected by the dynamics of the strategic environment.

1. Projections indicate that by 2040, Asia will become the focal point of the global economy, with Asian consumption comprising 40 percent of the global total and Asia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) accounting for 52 percent of the global GDP. This shift is attributed to the presence of four complementary economic clusters in Asia. China plays a crucial role as an anchor and driver of trade networks, serving as a major force in the region's economy. Advanced Asian countries, including South

Korea and Japan, lead in technology and capital provision. Emerging Asia encompasses countries in Southeast Asia, such as Indonesia, with integrated economies and diverse cultures. India and neighboring countries are experiencing rapid economic growth, contributing to the region's overall dynamism.

2. As an active member of various regional and international organizations, Indonesia plays a significant role in shaping the regional landscape. It is the largest country and a founding member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the only ASEAN member in the Group of Twenty (G20). Indonesia's foreign policy projection of "Dynamic Equilibrium" emphasizes its position amidst globalization and its commitment to maintaining balance and harmony in international relations.
3. In terms of trade agreements, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) stands as the largest trade agreement outside the World Trade Organization (WTO), accounting for approximately 30 percent of global GDP. If India joins, it would encompass around 50 percent of the world's population. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) benefits Indonesia by promoting freer trade and investment in the region. It provides a platform for Indonesia to engage in multilateral trade negotiations, facilitating market access and opportunities for Indonesian businesses. APEC also fosters economic cooperation, aligning Indonesian strategies with regional priorities and promoting efficiency and competitiveness. Through platforms like the APEC Business Advisory Council (ABAC), Indonesian businesses can network, collaborate, and drive economic growth. Overall, APEC enables Indonesia to tap into regional opportunities, enhance its competitiveness, and contribute to the dynamic Asia-Pacific economy.
4. Recognizing the growing importance of cybersecurity, ASEAN has formed the Cybersecurity Working Group within the Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC) to address cybersecurity issues and facilitate the exchange of information.
5. The changing geopolitical landscape, particularly the military tensions and economic competition among major countries, has led to a shift in focus towards the Asia-Pacific region. These dynamics shape the strategic environment in which Indonesia operates, influencing its security, economic, and diplomatic considerations.

At the national level, the vulnerabilities and impacts of strategic environmental developments on Astagatra can be classified into three primary natural domains: Geography, Demography, and Natural Resource Wealth (NRW). Additionally, there are five crucial social domains that contribute to the vulnerabilities and impacts: Ideology, Politics, Economy, Socio-Cultural, and Defense-Security, as well as the influence of technology.

I. In terms of **Geography**:

The development of infrastructure and connectivity plays a crucial role in the realization of Indonesia's Centric Development, which was outlined in the Masterplan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesian Economic Development (MP3EI) during President S.B. Yudhoyono's administration. This concept was further reinforced with the introduction of the concept of Indonesia as the World's Maritime Axis during President Joko Widodo's administration in 2015. These milestones mark significant advancements in Indonesia's modern geopolitics and aim to implement the Archipelagic Outlook, which reflects Indonesia's perspective and approach to its identity and environment, with an emphasis on national unity and territorial integrity.

Geographically, Indonesia occupies a strategic position as a crucial link between the Pacific and Indian Oceans, with four out of seven world strategic choke points falling within its territory. This strategic positioning grants Indonesia a significant role in facilitating Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) and Sea Lines of Trade (SLOT), which are vital for international trade and energy supply, particularly for countries in the Southeast Asian region. Consequently, the region experiences economic, political, and military tensions due to the geopolitical significance of these routes.

However, Indonesia faces several challenges in its development journey, including persistent disparities in various areas such as the economy, education, healthcare, transportation, infrastructure, housing, and public facilities. These disparities have emerged as a result of past development planning that heavily favored Java, neglecting the

development of other regions in the country. The overemphasis on Java-centric development has contributed to regional imbalances and hindered the equitable distribution of resources and opportunities across Indonesia.

To address these challenges, it is crucial for the Indonesian government to prioritize the development of infrastructure and connectivity beyond Java. This includes improving transportation networks, such as roads, railways, ports, and airports, in other regions to enhance accessibility and facilitate economic activities. Additionally, investments in education, healthcare, housing, and public facilities in underdeveloped areas are essential to reduce disparities and promote inclusive growth throughout the country.

Furthermore, enhancing connectivity between islands and regions within Indonesia is key to realizing the vision of Indonesia as the World's Maritime Axis. This involves strengthening maritime infrastructure, such as ports and shipping routes, and promoting maritime trade and cooperation with neighboring countries. By doing so, Indonesia can maximize its strategic geographical position and leverage its role as a regional hub for trade and connectivity.

In conclusion, the development of infrastructure and connectivity is of utmost importance for Indonesia's Centric Development and the realization of the Archipelagic Outlook. By addressing disparities, promoting inclusive growth, and enhancing connectivity throughout the country, Indonesia can overcome regional imbalances, stimulate economic development, and strengthen its position as a key player in the global maritime domain.

II. In terms of **Demography**:

Indonesia is widely recognized for its distinction of having the largest Muslim population globally, with an estimated 231 million individuals identifying themselves as Muslims. This figure accounts for 86.7% of Indonesia's total population and 11.92% of the global population (Kusnandar, 2022). Currently, the country is experiencing what is often referred to as a demographic bonus or "golden era," which is projected to continue until 2045. This demographic advantage provides an opportunity for economic growth and development, as a large working-age population can contribute to increased productivity, innovation, and consumption.

However, it is imperative to address the growing disparities and inequalities that exist within Indonesian society, particularly in areas such as the economy, education, and healthcare. Failing to mitigate these issues can result in social unrest and vertical conflicts, eroding trust in the government and hindering progress. The consequences of such weaknesses include a lack of job opportunities and low wages due to inadequate human resource competencies. If these challenges are not adequately addressed, the demographic bonus could transform into a demographic disaster, characterized by a disillusioned and marginalized population unable to fully contribute to the nation's development.

Furthermore, Indonesia's substantial market potential may attract the attention of other countries, making it increasingly challenging for the Indonesian economy to thrive independently. To capitalize on the demographic bonus and ensure sustainable development, it is crucial to address these disparities and foster inclusive growth. This entails implementing policies and programs that promote equal access to quality education, healthcare, and economic opportunities for all segments of society. Additionally, investing in human capital development, vocational training, and skills enhancement is essential to equip the workforce with the necessary competencies to thrive in a competitive global economy.

By addressing these challenges and promoting inclusive development, Indonesia can maximize the benefits of its demographic bonus and pave the way for a prosperous future. It requires a comprehensive and coordinated effort from the government, private sector, civil society, and other stakeholders to ensure that all Indonesians have equal opportunities to thrive and contribute to the nation's progress. Only by doing so can Indonesia harness its demographic advantage and overcome the obstacles that may impede its path to sustainable and inclusive development.

III. In terms of **Natural Resources**:

Indonesia's strategic geographical location along the equator has endowed it with a diverse range of flora and fauna, earning it the prestigious distinction of being a "Mega Biodiversity" country. Following Brazil, Indonesia is ranked second globally in terms of its rich biodiversity. This abundance of natural resources, combined with its position within the Ring of Fire, provides fertile soil and an abundance of minerals, including rare earth metals, contributing to its significant natural resource wealth. However, despite these advantages, Indonesia faces challenges regarding food security. Heavy reliance on imported food commodities poses a threat to local farmers and raises concerns about the nation's capacity to ensure adequate food supply for its population. Insufficient measures to address this issue could result in food security failures, endangering the stability and sustainability of the country. Therefore, it is of utmost importance for Indonesia to prioritize self-sufficiency in food production to mitigate the risks of becoming a failed state.

Apart from its potential in food production, Indonesia's distinctive combination of natural resources also presents substantial opportunities in the realm of renewable energy sources. With an abundance of resources at its disposal, Indonesia possesses the necessary elements to emerge as a prominent global player in the competitive renewable energy market. Recognizing and effectively harnessing these resources can contribute to Indonesia's economic growth and enhance its standing on the international stage. It is imperative for the country to employ strategic planning and adopt sustainable practices to maximize the benefits and minimize the risks associated with its natural resource potential. By doing so, Indonesia can leverage its natural resource wealth to drive economic development while mitigating adverse environmental impacts and ensuring long-term sustainability.

IV. In terms of **Ideology**:

Pancasila plays a vital role in addressing a range of challenges, including divisive politics, identity politics, oligarchy, radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatist movements. These external ideologies and divisive political maneuvers often exploit and manipulate the common people at the grassroots level, using them as tools and shields to advance their own agendas. The erosion of Pancasila's essence within Indonesian society raises concerns about the potential for the nation to descend into a failed state. When Pancasila is reduced to a mere slogan, co-opted by political elites, foreign entities, and non-state actors, it loses its true purpose of upholding the noble spirit of the nation and becomes a means for self-serving interests. Preserving the integrity of Pancasila is crucial for national stability and unity. By adhering to its principles, Indonesia can effectively counter divisive ideologies, safeguard national identity, promote social cohesion, and remain resilient against external threats. This necessitates a concerted effort to reinforce the values and teachings of Pancasila among the population, cultivating a shared understanding and commitment to its principles.

Furthermore, addressing the root causes that allow foreign ideologies and divisive politics to thrive is essential. This involves promoting education, critical thinking, and inclusivity while actively countering radicalism and extremism through comprehensive strategies that involve law enforcement, social programs, and community engagement.

By upholding Pancasila as the guiding ideology, Indonesia can counter the forces that seek to undermine its unity and progress. It is through genuine adherence to its principles that the nation can fortify itself against external manipulation and internal division, ensuring the preservation of its noble spirit and securing a prosperous future for its people.

V. In the realm of **Politics**:

The existence of identity politics, oligarchy, corruption, and weak law enforcement can have adverse consequences that ultimately lead to prolonged political unrest. This unrest poses a significant risk to national security, territorial integrity, and sovereignty. One contributing factor to this situation is the emergence and persistence of interest groups that oppose the government, including remnants of power configurations following elections. These groups often resist and challenge the authority of the ruling party or administration, resulting in ongoing political instability and discord.

Moreover, the democratic system in Indonesia, while in place, still faces challenges in terms of its maturity and effectiveness. The quality of leaders and the level of voter maturity are areas that require further development. Strengthening democratic processes and institutions, enhancing the transparency and accountability of governance, and promoting political education and awareness among citizens are crucial steps towards a more stable and resilient political landscape.

Addressing issues such as identity politics, which can exacerbate social divisions and hinder national unity, is of paramount importance. Emphasizing inclusive policies that transcend narrow group interests and promote a sense of shared identity and common goals can help mitigate the negative impact of identity-based politics.

Equally vital is the fight against corruption and the strengthening of law enforcement to ensure political stability and uphold the rule of law. Implementing effective measures to prevent and punish corruption, coupled with robust enforcement mechanisms, will contribute to a more transparent and accountable political system.

By addressing these challenges and working towards comprehensive political reforms, Indonesia can foster a more mature, inclusive, and resilient political environment. This, in turn, will contribute to the preservation of national security, territorial integrity, and sovereignty, enabling the nation to thrive and fulfill its potential.

VI. In terms of the **Economy**:

The economic disparities observed in Indonesia can be attributed to the imbalance between the capitalist system and the principles of Pancasila, particularly the fifth principle, which emphasizes social justice for all Indonesian citizens. The failure to achieve this balance undermines the nation's ability to foster self-reliance and economic strength.

The Indonesian government will inevitably face numerous challenges if it fails to gain the support of the entire population, as the people are a source of strength and motivation. Neglecting the improvement of people's welfare and access to quality education indicates that the national economy will never achieve robustness and will remain trapped in a perpetual cycle of competition without significant progress.

Moreover, Indonesia has entered into various cooperative agreements with regional and international organizations to reduce or eliminate tariff and non-tariff barriers between countries. However, it is important to recognize that these agreements have both benefits and drawbacks, acting as a double-edged sword.

The underutilization of the country's natural resources for the welfare of the people can be attributed to the absence of downstream industries and a lack of coordination between the upstream and downstream sectors. Many valuable resources are exported abroad only to be re-imported as finished or semi-finished products to meet the needs of domestic downstream industries. This practice hampers the development of a self-sufficient and competitive domestic industry.

To address these issues, clear direction in national development is crucial. Harmonizing the upstream and downstream industries becomes a prerequisite for reducing dependence on imports, which have weakened the competitiveness of domestic industries. Efforts must be made to create a comprehensive and coherent strategy that prioritizes the utilization of natural resources for the welfare of the people while concurrently developing downstream industries to add value and enhance the country's economic competitiveness.

By striking a balance between economic development and social justice, Indonesia can foster a more inclusive and equitable economy, improve the welfare of its people, and reduce economic disparities. This will require coordinated efforts from the government, private sector, and society as a whole to create an environment conducive to sustainable and balanced economic growth.

VII. In terms of **Socio-Cultural** aspects:

Indonesia's strategic geographical location has positioned it as a significant hub for trade, energy supply routes, and a popular tourist destination. With increased interactions, cultural acculturation and assimilation become unavoidable. Hence, it is vital to prioritize the strengthening of local culture and wisdom and uphold the principle of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) to prevent the erosion or loss of cultural heritage.

Indonesia is characterized by a diverse range of cultural groups, communities, ethnicities, religions, races, and social classes, making the task of unification particularly challenging. The presence of differing biases and opinions among these groups often leads to dominance competition and conflicts regarding ideal conditions, welfare, and values. As a result, the existing diversity remains a burden or liability that has not yet been fully transformed into a national asset.

This is especially apparent when foreign cultures are introduced or imposed, which do not align with the local culture and social system. Certain elements intentionally propagate these foreign cultures to disrupt social cohesion and erode the noble culture of the Indonesian nation. The increasing number of new subsystems and polarities within society further exacerbate these challenges.

One manifestation of the global-local interplay is the phenomenon of "glocal" (global-local), where international events have local manifestations in Indonesia. This includes radicalism, extremism, terrorism, separatism, as well as economic and energy crises. Western cultural influences, such as hedonism, violence, and the influence of K-Pop, can pose threats to the socio-cultural fabric of Indonesia. These external cultural forces may clash with traditional values, social norms, and religious principles, potentially undermining the socio-cultural aspect of the nation.

To address these challenges, it is crucial to cultivate a strong cultural identity and promote the appreciation of local traditions, values, and customs. Empowering and preserving indigenous cultures should be a priority, ensuring that they are recognized and celebrated as valuable national assets. Education plays a critical role in fostering cultural awareness, tolerance, and respect for diversity among the younger generations. Additionally, promoting dialogue and understanding between different cultural, religious, and ethnic groups can help bridge divides and build social cohesion.

Preserving the socio-cultural aspect of Indonesia requires a comprehensive approach that balances the preservation of traditional values and cultural heritage with the integration of positive aspects of globalization. This entails discerning and selectively adopting external influences that align with the nation's values while guarding against those that threaten social stability and undermine national identity. By doing so, Indonesia can leverage its cultural richness and diversity as a source of strength and unity, contributing to the overall resilience and well-being of the nation.

VIII. In terms of **Defense and Security**:

Indonesia is confronted with the imperative of establishing a comprehensive, integrated, forward-looking defense posture that takes into account its unique characteristics. It is crucial to develop a strong and adaptable defense capability capable of generating a substantial deterrent effect. However, the existing diversity within the country has not been fully leveraged as a national asset to reinforce national defense and security.

The defense and security challenges encountered by Indonesia are marked by their intensity and complexity, encompassing power struggles, competition over natural resources, and territorial disputes. These challenges involve not only state actors but also non-state actors, further complicating the security landscape. To effectively address these challenges, Indonesia must enhance its defense and security capabilities, including military preparedness, intelligence gathering, surveillance, and response capacities.

A particular challenge for Indonesia lies in the geographical distribution of its islands and the current defense system, which primarily focuses on protecting the main islands. To ensure adequate defense coverage and surveillance across its extensive maritime domain, comprehensive and well-coordinated efforts are necessary. The Indonesian waters encompass a vast area of 6,400,000 square kilometers, with a coastline stretching over 108,000

kilometers. This vast territory holds significant potential in terms of natural resources and occupies a strategically important position in the region. Failure to effectively safeguard and responsibly exploit these resources may give rise to global and regional concerns, including transnational crimes such as illegal fishing, narcotics trafficking, terrorism, arms smuggling, and territorial violations, as indicated by future trends.

To address these challenges, Indonesia must prioritize the development of a comprehensive defense strategy that considers the diverse threats and vulnerabilities it faces. This entails bolstering maritime security capabilities, strengthening border control measures, and investing in advanced surveillance technologies. Additionally, fostering robust regional and international partnerships in defense and security cooperation is crucial to effectively counter common security threats and promote regional stability.

Furthermore, it is essential to recognize that defense and security encompass dimensions beyond traditional military aspects, including cybersecurity, intelligence gathering, counterterrorism efforts, and disaster response capabilities. A comprehensive and multidimensional approach is necessary to safeguard national security and ensure the well-being of the Indonesian people.

In conclusion, Indonesia must place the development of a holistic, integrated, and future-oriented defense and security posture at the forefront of its priorities. This involves building a robust and adaptable defense capability, harnessing the nation's diversity as a national asset, and effectively addressing challenges stemming from power struggles, territorial disputes, and non-state actors. By adopting a comprehensive and multidimensional approach, Indonesia can enhance its defense and security capacities and contribute to regional stability and prosperity.

IX. In terms of **Technology**:

Indonesia encounters numerous challenges pertaining to inadequate and unequal infrastructure for internet and IoT technology, resulting in low levels of digital literacy among the population. The limited coverage of the 4G network, which currently stands at less than 50%, hampers widespread access to communication and internet services within the country. However, efforts are being made to improve network infrastructure, which is expected to lead to an increase in internet usage.

With the growing utilization of the internet comes an elevated risk posed by cybercriminals. The heightened demand for data security creates opportunities for personal information theft and cyberattacks. As various aspects of life become increasingly digitalized, reliance on technology expands, necessitating robust cybersecurity measures.

Indonesia also grapples with challenges stemming from divergent cyber regulations across countries, resulting in complex problems. Effective cybersecurity requires international cooperation and the development of harmonized cyber policies and regulations.

Another significant concern is the low level of digital and media literacy among the population, rendering individuals more susceptible to disinformation campaigns. The dissemination of false information can have detrimental effects on public perception and behavior, underscoring the importance of promoting digital literacy and critical thinking skills.

The advancement of AI technology, exemplified by chatbots like GPT, presents both positive and negative implications. While AI systems like GPT can provide coherent responses and assist in content generation, they can also serve as tools for propaganda. The real-time and targeted nature of AI-generated content can be exploited to manipulate individuals on an individual level, raising concerns regarding the ethical considerations and potential impact on public opinion.

Furthermore, Indonesia faces challenges in the realm of remote sensing technology and satellite capabilities. The country's competitiveness in satellite remote sensing technology is relatively weak, with its satellite resources

primarily fulfilling limited surveillance functions. This limits Indonesia's capacity for digital intelligence activities and exposes it to cyberattacks.

To address these challenges, Indonesia must prioritize investments in enhancing its technology infrastructure, including network connectivity improvements, robust cybersecurity measures, and bolstering satellite capabilities. Additionally, efforts should be directed towards promoting digital and media literacy programs, fostering international collaborations to develop effective cyber regulations. These measures are crucial for leveraging the advantages of technology while minimizing associated risks.

In conclusion, Indonesia faces several technological challenges that need to be addressed in order to harness the potential of technology for socioeconomic advancement and ensure national security in an increasingly digital world. These challenges include infrastructure limitations, low levels of digital literacy, cybersecurity vulnerabilities, and constraints in satellite capabilities. Overcoming these obstacles requires comprehensive efforts such as improving infrastructure, enhancing digital literacy programs, strengthening cybersecurity defenses, and promoting international cooperation.

A thorough examination of Indonesia's historical context and vulnerabilities highlights the significant challenges posed by the dynamics of strategic environmental development. Among these concerns, the proliferation of disinformation and propaganda, particularly in the online domain, emerges as a notable threat. The dissemination of misleading information exploits the vulnerabilities of the Indonesian nation and promotes radicalism, extremism, separatism, and terrorism. If not effectively addressed, these threats can lead to multifaceted risks and societal divisions.

The consequences of uncontrolled exploitation of these vulnerabilities extend far-reaching, potentially undermining the cultural and civilizational fabric of the nation, disrupting societal well-being, and intensifying competition between the government and non-state actors. The involvement of transnational organizations driven by economic, religious, and separatist motives further complicates the situation, exacerbating the competition between cultural entities advocating for modernism and human-made governance systems and those opposing them. These dynamics carry significant implications, including the erosion of nationalism and patriotism, the breakdown of peace, unity, and national solidarity, human rights violations, loss of life, disruption of public order and security, as well as threats to national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the nation's safety.

To address these pressing challenges, it is imperative for the Polri and all stakeholders to enhance their understanding and application of nationalism, patriotism, national vigilance, national insight, and the four basic consensuses. These consensuses encompass the Pancasila ideology, the motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Tanhena Dharmma Mangrva" (unity in diversity, as there is no duality in truth except devotion to the homeland and nation), the 1945 Constitution, and the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. By prioritizing these fundamental principles and values, the nation can protect its interests and mitigate the risks posed by external threats and internal divisions.

Promoting national unity and cultivating a sense of collective responsibility are of utmost importance. Proactive measures are required to counteract disinformation, strengthen social cohesion, and foster a shared understanding of Indonesia's diverse cultural fabric. Furthermore, comprehensive efforts are needed to ensure the psychological well-being of individuals and communities, reinforce the rule of law, protect human rights, and maintain public order and security.

Thus, achieving national interests necessitates a collective effort that engages all relevant stakeholders. By aligning their actions with the principles of nationalism, patriotism, national vigilance, national insight, and the four basic consensuses, the Indonesian nation can strengthen itself against external threats, foster a robust sense of unity, and safeguard its fundamental values and principles. This concerted endeavor aims to promote security and prosperity in Indonesia, ensuring the well-being and advancement of the nation.

3.2 Study II

3.2.1 The concept of Pentahelix synergy.

The objective of the ongoing hybrid warfare in Indonesia is to attain political control and manipulate the nation's natural resources, territory, and demographic composition to serve the geopolitical, hegemonic, and economic interests of both state and non-state actors.

Within the cyber realm, a structured and systematic dissemination of disinformation is employed as a means to eventually establish such disinformation or falsehoods as widely accepted truths. Propaganda promoting radicalism and extremism is utilized to foster the development of radical ideologies, terrorism, and separatism. Additional tactics include the utilization of drugs and online gambling, as well as the polarization of society through identity politics, exacerbating divisions between Muslims and non-Muslims; Sunnis and Shiites; Javanese, Malays, and Melanesian ethnic groups; and others. These tactics aim to create cultural tensions, disrupt security, and incite societal disorder.

Once divisions have become deeply entrenched within a community, the subsequent stage entails the process of indoctrination, commonly known as "brainwashing." This stage follows earlier phases of provocation, manipulation, and infiltration. The following stage involves either an invasion or the attainment of specific objectives. In this type of warfare, puppet leaders, who essentially act as foreign agents, are created to enforce policies that serve the interests of foreign entities or covert actors operating behind the scenes of the proxy war. In hybrid warfare that employs non-state actors as proxies, it often becomes challenging to clearly differentiate between friends and foes, as the adversary exerts control over these non-state actors from a distance. The enemy state provides financial support for weaponry, economic necessities, and various requirements of the puppets or proxies, usually accompanied by certain incentives or rewards.

The actions carried out by these individuals and groups are in violation of various laws and regulations, including Law No. 12 of 2005, which ratifies the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. This law explicitly prohibits the dissemination of war propaganda and the promotion of national, racial, or religious hatred. Additionally, Government Regulation No. 7 of 2021 provides a definition of terrorism, classifying it as acts that employ violence or the threat of violence with the intention of instilling fear or terror. Moreover, Article 106 of the Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP) explicitly prohibits separatist movements and acts of rebellion.

The repercussions of this hybrid warfare have far-reaching implications. It leads to prolonged periods of political and social instability, which can escalate into civil war, terrorism, and rebellion. It undermines the values of tolerance, consensus-building, and mutual cooperation among different groups, fostering increased feelings of disappointment and animosity. The consequences include elevated levels of psychological distress, moral degradation, and mental turmoil, further polarizing society. Moreover, it weakens the foundations of nationalism, patriotism, and the Pancasila ideology. It erodes the cultural and civilizational fabric of the nation and contributes to human rights violations and loss of life. It hinders effective policy-making and impairs law enforcement, disrupts public order and security, and undermines territorial integrity and national security.

In light of the vulnerability assessment and the strategies employed by state adversaries, it is imperative for Polri to counteract the efforts of these adversaries in exploiting security vulnerabilities and maintaining public order. This can be achieved through the adoption of innovative concepts or approaches, such as the pentahelix concept, which emphasizes harnessing the full potential of national power in early detection, prevention, and preemptive actions. This concept entails the collaborative engagement of five key stakeholders: the government, academia, business sector, society, and media. Together, they can provide an adaptive, collective, and flexible response within a relatively short time frame.

The synergy among institutions in managing cybersecurity is particularly crucial to support the state in countering strategic threats in the digital era. In this era, the security of sensitive information is easily compromised by various malicious actors through cyber systems, posing risks to national security, resilience, and the overall ecosystem. Recognizing the significance of institutional synergy in cybersecurity management, multiple institutions have

implemented various policies and cooperative measures in collaboration with diverse stakeholders. However, despite these efforts, challenges and obstacles persist in achieving effective cooperation.

One of the primary obstacles lies in the insufficient collaboration among institutions responsible for cybersecurity. Challenges arise from the presence of sectoral egos and divergent orientations, visions, and missions within each sector. This situation can foster unhealthy competition among sectors, ultimately undermining the collective interests of the nation and the Indonesian state. According to the Theory of Synergy, cultivating effective synergy among institutions requires a foundation of understanding and mutual comprehension. Effective communication and coordination, both formal and informal, play crucial roles in establishing a shared perspective for managing cybersecurity.

Another facilitating factor for optimal inter-institutional cooperation in cybersecurity management is the implementation of the Whole of Government (WoG) concept as an interagency approach, involving relevant institutions in pertinent matters. The collaboration between WoG and an integrated digital system is expected to promote systematic work, align goals and objectives, and provide clarity on the capacities and authorities of each stakeholder involved in cybersecurity management, thereby mitigating sectoral egos.

Furthermore, from a regulatory perspective, Presidential Regulation No. 18 of 2020, which addresses the National Medium Term Development Plan 2020-2024, emphasizes the enhancement of political, security, and defense stability, as well as the transformation of public services. This regulation underscores the need for improvements in the judicial system, regulatory frameworks, and cybersecurity governance. Therefore, in order to mitigate sectoral egoism, foster cooperation, and promote interconnectedness in cybersecurity management, all forms of communication and coordination should be directed towards the realization of the objectives outlined in the National Medium Term Development Plan.

Furthermore, the government has the opportunity to explore the establishment of a national social media platform, leveraging the substantial number of internet users in Indonesia. This platform would enable the government to exert influence on foreign cyber service providers, urging them to comply with Indonesian regulations and thus reinforcing national cybersecurity and sovereignty. The active involvement of the cyber community should be an integral part of a government-led program that emphasizes prevention and fosters strong partnerships.

In addition, it is worth noting that international cooperation efforts at both global and regional levels have not fully addressed the concerns surrounding cybersecurity. While cybersecurity issues are consistently discussed in regional forums such as ASEANAPOL, SOMTC, and AMMTC, as well as in global frameworks like Interpol, including its annual General Assembly and Mutual Legal Assistance on Criminal Matters (MLA) agreements, there is still room for improvement in the effective implementation of these cooperative endeavors. Recognizing the significance of cybersecurity is crucial, as cyber threats can originate from any location and often transcend national boundaries. Noteworthy examples include cyber attacks like the US Gold business email compromise, which targeted US organizations and was carried out by individuals from Indonesia, as well as instances of personal data theft and trading by Iranian nationals on the Dark Web. These instances highlight the transnational nature of cyber threats. Moreover, the propagation of propaganda promoting radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism frequently occurs through narratives, films, and social media groups within the online sphere.

Furthermore, the effectiveness of communication and coordination among executive, judicial, legislative, and societal entities regarding various cybersecurity regulatory studies remains inadequate. Each party involved has its own vested interests in cybersecurity. The government aims to ensure optimal cybersecurity management for all Indonesian citizens, the legislature seeks to enact legislation aligned with political interests or constituents, and the public strives to safeguard their digital rights. For example, civil society organization SAFenet protested against the draft legislation on Cybersecurity and Defense due to concerns about provisions that could restrict freedom of expression.

Challenges also arise in the formulation of the Personal Data Protection Bill, as differences in oversight authority between the legislature and the Ministry of Communication and Informatics pose hurdles. Additionally, the

revision of the Information and Electronic Transactions Law (ITE Law) is pending inclusion in the legislative program, requiring further consideration of public aspirations. Therefore, it is crucial to establish an effective mechanism for communication and coordination to raise awareness among all stakeholders that cybersecurity should not be treated as a matter of sectoral egoism. Instead, it should be recognized as a condition that jeopardizes national resilience, necessitating a collective response from all involved parties.

In the domain of cybersecurity, synergy plays a critical role in ensuring its effectiveness. The government recognizes the importance of strengthening the judicial system, regulatory frameworks, and cyber governance, as stated in Presidential Regulation Number 18 of 2020 concerning the National Medium Term Development Plan 2020-2024. To achieve this, the government should take the lead in initiating efforts to enhance coordination with various stakeholders involved in cybersecurity. Continuous improvement in coordination and communication with the legislature and local governments is necessary to foster understanding and generate regulations that support cybersecurity management, including rules and budgeting.

Synergy among all stakeholders is paramount in effective cybersecurity management. This can be achieved through mutual understanding and consensus, clearly defining responsibilities and authorities among stakeholders. It involves building strong partnerships among government institutions, businesses, academia, media, and society within the framework of the pentahelix concept. Additionally, partnerships with international organizations and bilateral or multilateral cooperation with other countries are crucial. Effective communication among the components of the separation of powers, serving as coordinators, regulators, and controllers, is essential in formulating regulations while involving the public.

Enforcement of the law is imperative to ensure legal certainty, justice, and the efficacy of cybersecurity management. Addressing cybersecurity disruptions requires appropriate legal enforcement methods that serve not only punitive purposes but also curative and rehabilitative functions. Approaches that incorporate local customs, culture, and wisdom, contributing to the establishment of order, tranquility, stability, and security, should be supported to create a conducive, harmonious, and sustainable environment. These efforts strategically counter the development of competitive advantages by radical, extremist, terrorist, and separatist groups.

Prevention is of utmost importance in cybersecurity management to enhance national resilience. To achieve effective preventive measures, it is crucial to establish regulations that specifically address the preventive aspects within comprehensive cybersecurity and resilience frameworks. This should be accompanied by promoting a digitally aware and legally conscious society, establishing mechanisms for early detection and prevention of cybersecurity threats, and developing robust cybersecurity infrastructure capable of withstanding cyber attacks. Additionally, rapid response mechanisms should be in place to address any disruptions in cybersecurity.

One of the challenges in achieving synergy lies in the organizational structure and sectoral egoism among the responsible ministries and agencies involved in cybersecurity. There is a need for regulations that define the leading sector, delineate tasks and authorities among ministries and agencies, and establish an operational system. BSSN is expected to play a leading role in coordinating and collaborating with stakeholders in the national cyber domain, including the Indonesian National Police (cybercrime), the Indonesian National Defense Forces/Ministry of Defense (cyber defense), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (cyber diplomacy), and other relevant institutions. However, these efforts must be supported by competent law enforcement personnel, as well as adequate human resources, infrastructure, and operational budgetary resources.

The concept of Pentahelix adopts a collaborative approach by utilizing a heterarchy organizational model. In this model, Polri collaborates horizontally with various government institutions, including BSSN, the National Intelligence Agency (BIN), the Armed Forces Intelligence Agency (BAIS), TNI, and other components of the Pentahelix framework. This collaboration encompasses several areas, such as:

1. Policy Development: Jointly formulating policies and strategies to address cybersecurity challenges and ensure the security of the nation's digital infrastructure.

2. Information Sharing: Facilitating the exchange of relevant information and intelligence to enhance situational awareness and strengthen proactive measures against cyber threats.
3. Operational Coordination: Coordinating activities and operations to effectively respond to cyber incidents, investigate cybercrimes, and enforce cybersecurity regulations.
4. Capacity Building: Collaborating on the development and implementation of training programs, workshops, and exercises to enhance the skills and capabilities of personnel involved in cybersecurity.
5. Research and Development: Conducting collaborative research and development efforts to advance technological solutions, cybersecurity frameworks, and best practices.

The Pentahelix framework recognizes the importance of multi-stakeholder collaboration and cooperation among these institutions to address the complex challenges of cybersecurity effectively.

Government Institution and community.

The government institutions, leveraging their authority capital as regulators and controllers, can engage in cooperation with society for the purpose of early detection, prevention, and implementation of countermeasures, in conjunction with the other components of the pentahelix.

I. Early Detection.

1. In terms of investigation, intelligence data plays a crucial role in early detection activities. Polri collaborates with BSSN, TNI, BIN, and BAIS in detecting disinformation and propaganda related to radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. BIN, as outlined in Presidential Regulation Number 90 of 2012 concerning the State Intelligence Agency, as most recently amended by Presidential Regulation Number 79 of 2020, has the responsibility of enhancing early detection and warning systems to safeguard government administration and national security stability. Strengthening the organization of BIN as the first line of defense in the national security system is necessary. BIN takes the lead in coordinating and formulating intelligence policies together with BAIS and Polri, particularly in early detection activities related to disinformation news and extremist propaganda.
2. BAIS, in line with Law Number 34 of 2004, plays a crucial role in countering propaganda through Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW). This involves supporting governmental tasks in regions and assisting Polri in maintaining security and public order. Indonesia's experiences have revealed that border areas, such as Papua, the northern part of Sulawesi Island near Southern Philippines, and Kalimantan's border regions, can serve as havens and transit points for terrorist groups. Monitoring these remote and challenging geographical locations poses difficulties for surveillance of land and sea borders in Indonesia. Hence, the active involvement of BAIS in monitoring and screening community groups operating in these border areas would be highly beneficial in preventing the growth of terrorist activities. TNI Intelligence contributes to psychological operations aimed at influencing the emotions, attitudes, behaviors, opinions, and motivations of the target audience. The objective is to create favorable conditions for safeguarding the nation. Psychological operations employ various methods, including positive propaganda dissemination, political warfare, sabotage activities, support for resistance movements, and cultural warfare. These efforts seek to shape public perception, counter extremist narratives, and foster national unity and resilience against terrorist ideologies.
3. Polri is currently developing an open complaint service application that involves the participation of various stakeholders within the Pentahelix framework, including the public, media, business community, and academia. This application aims to enable the reporting of suspicious activities related to the creation and dissemination of disinformation, as well as propaganda promoting radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. The objective of this initiative is to enhance early detection capabilities and facilitate collaboration among stakeholders in combating these threats.

II. Early Prevention.

It is crucial to establish synergy between Polri, BSSN, and Kemkominfo. These three entities should collaborate effectively in implementing security measures, such as blocking websites, blogs, content, and social media accounts that promote disinformation and extremist propaganda related to radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism.

Presidential Regulation Number 53 of 2017 outlines the duties and functions of BSSN, which revolve around implementing cybersecurity by utilizing, developing, and consolidating all elements related to cybersecurity. BSSN can be considered the leading sector in cybersecurity and has the authority to coordinate the blocking of disinformation and extremist propaganda in collaboration with Kemenkominfo and Polri.

Kemkominfo, representing the government, holds the authority to regulate information and electronic transactions that contain negative content and violate national regulations. It is also responsible for supervising and blocking access to electronic system providers (PSE). This authority is derived from Law Number 19 of 2016 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions (ITE Law). The implementation of this law is further specified in Government Regulation (PP) Number 71 of 2019 concerning the Implementation of Electronic Systems and Transactions, which is then detailed in Ministerial Regulation (PM) Kemkominfo Number 5 of 2020 concerning Private-Scope PSE.

Polri collaborates with BSSN and Kemkominfo to take down and block websites and propaganda that disseminate disinformation and promote radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. These collaborative efforts are facilitated by Polri's coordination with BIN and BAIS in gathering information about such threats. Through their collective work, Polri, BSSN, and Kemkominfo can effectively prevent the dissemination of harmful content and mitigate the risks associated with cybersecurity threats.

III. Early Countermeasures.

The synergy between Polri, BNPT, TNI, and other elements of the pentahelix is crucial in early countermeasures against various threats. Mobilization, characterized by planned and coordinated efforts, is essential in creating favorable conditions for national interests and countering these threats. In line with the theory of hybrid warfare, where propaganda plays a significant role in influencing society, structured and systematic dissemination of positive propaganda (white propaganda) becomes necessary.

BNPT, as the leading sector in early countermeasures against disinformation news, radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism, plays a vital role supported by Law No. 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Terrorism Criminal Acts. The implementation of the pentahelix scheme is emphasized in the prevention and addressing of radicalism and terrorism. BNPT, in coordination with 48 relevant ministries and agencies, has implemented various actions as part of the National Action Plan for the Prevention and Countering of Violence-Based Extremism Leading to Terrorism (RAN PE). These actions encompass prevention, law enforcement, protection of witnesses and victims, strengthening the legislative framework, as well as partnerships and international cooperation.

BNPT recognizes that the fight against terrorist ideologies cannot be carried out by specific groups or agencies alone; it requires the involvement of society as a whole. Therefore, BNPT continues to engage with various stakeholders, both through synergy teams of ministries and agencies and broader societal cooperation, to prevent ideologies that contradict the values of the Indonesian nation. BNPT acknowledges that terrorism is not inherently linked to any specific religion, but terrorist networks often exploit religious narratives to gain sympathy. The agency is committed to eradicating all forms of terrorism, regardless of their political or ideological motivations. As the coordinator in counterterrorism efforts, BNPT prioritizes prevention and supports law enforcement in cases of politically motivated terrorism, such as the actions carried out by the Armed Criminal Group of Papua Separatist Movement. BNPT emphasizes the importance of coordination, particularly with law enforcement agencies, to effectively address terrorism-related crimes in Papua and other regions.

The synergy among Polri, BNPT, TNI, and other Pentahelix elements enables a comprehensive approach to counterterrorism, encompassing prevention, law enforcement, protection, and international cooperation. Through their collaborative efforts, these entities strive to safeguard national security and protect society from the threats posed by radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. By leveraging the capabilities and resources of the military, including intelligence and psychological operations, in conjunction with the efforts of other security and law enforcement agencies, the Indonesian government aims to effectively combat radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. These measures contribute to maintaining law and order, protecting national security, and fostering a safe and harmonious society.

Media, as a crucial element of the pentahelix framework, possesses significant network capital as disseminator and plays a fundamental role across various sectors of society. Its extensive reach and influence contribute to revitalizing the spirit of national consensus and cultural values, particularly within Indonesia's diverse society. Media serves as a critical instrument in preventing the dissemination of disinformation and propaganda associated with radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. By providing the public with accurate information and countering disinformation narratives, mass media aids in cultivating resilience among individuals, making them less susceptible to the influence of radical terrorist groups. Consequently, this reduces the maneuvering space for such groups and bolsters national security.

Additionally, mass media can contribute to enhancing cyber resilience by promoting responsible usage of social media platforms. It can play a role in combating cyberbullying and mitigating its adverse effects, as social media has been identified as a medium employed for various illicit activities, including terrorist recruitment, human trafficking, and child pornography. By raising awareness and offering guidance on safe and responsible online behavior, the media can help safeguard individuals, especially the younger generation, against online threats and foster a sense of security in the digital realm.

As the guardian of public security, Polri bears the responsibility of actively participating in counter-propaganda efforts. Polri engages directly with the community through various means such as seminars, educational initiatives, online campaigns, and community events aimed at fostering national unity. By utilizing mass media platforms, Polri can disseminate positive propaganda to all segments of society, reinforcing the values and principles embedded within the Indonesian state system (NKRI), the 1945 Constitution, Pancasila, and the principle of unity in diversity (Bhinneka Tunggal Ika). This outreach encompasses all layers of society and stakeholders, ensuring a broad and meaningful impact.

Furthermore, Polri is entrusted with enforcing the law and taking action against individuals suspected of spreading disinformation and propaganda related to radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism through mass media channels. By actively addressing these violations, Polri sends a clear message that such activities will not be tolerated, thereby promoting a safer media environment and upholding societal security.

In summary, mass media, with its substantial network capital, serves as a potent tool within the pentahelix framework, contributing to the prevention of radicalism and terrorism. Through accurate reporting, responsible social media usage, and collaboration with Polri, the media plays a pivotal role in shaping a resilient society that is well-informed, resistant to disinformation narratives, and actively engaged in promoting national unity and security.

Business entities, in their capacity as expander, possess working capital that can contribute to the security landscape. The perspective presented by Goold, Loader, and Thumala (2010) sheds light on the dynamic relationship between security and an increasingly insecure society. As societal insecurity grows, there is an increased demand for security as a commodity. The security market responds to this demand by offering a range of products and services aimed at alleviating feelings of insecurity. However, the security industry also has a role in perpetuating fears and amplifying the sense of insecurity within society.

In this context, the responsibility of security provision has shifted from the public sector to the private sector, leading to the commodification of security. State policies and actions significantly influence the behavior of

individuals and organizations in consuming security products and services. The state's provision of security services and equipment can shape the public's response to offerings from private security companies. Consequently, security is viewed as a social commodity with implications for the relationship between society and security.

Historically, the state has been directly responsible for protecting its citizens. However, the process of liberalization has resulted in the transfer of this responsibility to society itself. Society is now expected to be the primary consumer of security services and equipment provided by the private security industry. At the same time, the state also becomes a consumer of these security products, particularly in liberalized contexts. The growth of security service companies and employment in the security services sector in Indonesia is influenced by various factors, including industrial relations within security service companies, the role of community-based security groups in promoting social integration, conflicts between paramilitary/vigilante organizations in securing security contracts, the involvement of retired military personnel in the development of security service companies, and the education and training system for security personnel recruitment.

Polri can collaborate with businesses to enhance cooperation between security actors and the community, particularly in the realm of cybercrime. This collaboration can involve the provision of cyber security infrastructure for cyber units within regional police departments. In comparison to other countries, Indonesia's technological development and information technology infrastructure are relatively lagging. The prevalence of disinformation and propaganda related to radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism in digital media surpasses the available resources and infrastructure. The limited development of technological infrastructure poses a challenge for law enforcement agencies in the early detection, prevention, investigation, and apprehension of perpetrators involved in spreading disinformation news and propaganda.

Therefore, Polri can leverage collaborations with businesses to enhance resources, infrastructure, and cyber capabilities. This partnership can help address the technological limitations faced by law enforcement agencies and strengthen their ability to combat cybercrime and other security challenges. By working together, Polri and businesses can contribute to the development of ICT infrastructure, networks, access, and applications in Indonesia, ultimately improving the country's capacity to respond to security threats in the digital realm.

Academics, in their capacity as "conceivers," possess scientific capital that contributes to the comprehension and advancement of security dynamics. Within the realm of security, academics serve as agents who hold academic legitimacy and expertise, enabling them to contribute their perspectives and knowledge on security matters. Their role extends beyond theoretical discussions and encompasses the practical application of their insights and understanding.

Researchers, including both civilian and military academics specializing in security, alongside think tanks, play a crucial role in constructing and shaping the discourse surrounding security. They possess professionalism and expertise that allow them to acquire mandates and authority from society to address security issues. Initially, the focus of security actors was limited to professionals within the security sector, such as the military, police, and intelligence agencies. However, as time progressed, other actors emerged who possessed in-depth knowledge and understanding of security, despite not belonging to the traditional security apparatus.

The presence of security experts from non-security professions has led to a division of authority when discussing security matters within society. The debate on security has shifted from a professional sociology perspective, which primarily included the military, police, intelligence, and judiciary, to an expertise sociology perspective that involves experts, academics, and think tanks. Many security personnel have also transitioned into becoming security experts or have engaged in security think tanks.

The discourse on scholarly and security policy is no longer solely dominated by security institutions and actors. Academics, civil society organizations, and think tanks have become influential platforms for societal engagement in security policy. The increasing number of security professionals involved in security studies indicates that

expertise in security is not solely based on institutional doctrines but also on theoretical knowledge, often referred to as scholar-soldier or scholar-policeman.

Moreover, the discourse on security policy requires support from networks of security experts, both nationally and internationally. Collaboration and knowledge exchange among security experts contribute to a broader understanding of security dynamics and the development of effective policies and strategies. In summary, academics as "conceivers" possess intellectual capital and play a vital role in the field of security. Their expertise, legitimacy, and ability to shape the discourse on security contribute to the understanding and operationalization of security perspectives and knowledge at both theoretical and practical levels.

Society, as a catalyst, possesses social capital that contributes to diverse facets of community life. A society that enjoys a positive reputation within the community has the capacity to enhance the quality of life by actively engaging in community groups and initiatives focused on character development. While technological advancements have introduced threats in the online realm, such as the dissemination of disinformation and propaganda related to radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism, it is essential to acknowledge that these negative consequences ultimately stem from human actions rather than technological errors. Since technology is created by humans, it is crucial for humans to exercise control over technology, ensuring its responsible and ethical use.

The adverse impact of social media can be attributed to the erosion of character and values embodied in Pancasila, the Indonesian state ideology. Therefore, character building becomes imperative as it molds individuals' thoughts, actions, and responses to various situations. Sudarmanto (2011) asserts that fundamental characters that should be nurtured from an early age include honesty, citizenship, courage, fairness, respect, responsibility, perseverance, care, and self-discipline.

In the field of security, social capital refers to the influence an individual gains when they can represent a group and advocate for its interests. Social capital can be observed through various networks, both state and non-state, encompassing private and societal networks. While traditional networks like NATO and the EU have solidified their presence in the post-Cold War era, non-state networks such as banking, civil aviation, and humanitarian institutions also play significant roles, particularly in crisis situations and shaping the course of conflicts. These networks contribute to the integrative function of security actors in society.

Security actors, including traditional leaders, community leaders, and religious figures, hold crucial roles in promoting normative and functional integration within society. They engage in critical assessments of social conflicts, determine appropriate conflict resolution procedures based on cultural characteristics, employ social networking strategies to foster integration, implement models of social cohesion, manage conflicts, and strive for cooperation rather than competition. Furthermore, security actors contribute to enhancing social resilience, reducing social vulnerabilities, shaping national security policies, ensuring societal oversight of security programs, and maintaining relationships with paramilitary/vigilante organizations. In summary, society possesses social capital that influences various aspects of community life. Through active participation in initiatives focused on character development and the establishment of networks and relationships, society can foster integration, address conflicts, enhance resilience, and contribute to shaping security policies and programs.

The diversity present in Indonesian society brings forth a range of challenges and opportunities. In order to transform multiculturalism into a unifying strength for the nation, active involvement and participation from all segments of society are crucial in addressing conflicts and divisive issues. The proliferation of provocative content pertaining to ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup relations is a pressing concern that requires attention. Society plays a vital role in countering propaganda and promoting unity through collaborative projects, blogs, microblogs, crowdsourcing, and social networking sites.

In the realm of countering propaganda and mitigating the impact of disinformation news, including propaganda related to radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism, it is imperative to modernize early detection methods both domestically and internationally. Early detection efforts bolster the preparedness of the police, including

Polri, in managing domestic security and addressing these threats. Polri can establish strategic cooperation with traditional leaders, religious figures, community leaders, and the general public to prevent and counteract these issues. Community policing activities, which actively involve and empower the community to monitor and report changes and dynamics in their surroundings, enable the police to respond swiftly and effectively to threats or indicators of terrorism and separatism.

Polri's competitive advantage lies in its close connection with the community and its role in safeguarding, nurturing, and serving the community, enforcing the law, preventing legal violations, and maintaining public order and security, as stipulated in Law No. 2 of 2002. By directly engaging with the community, Polri gains valuable information that can be shared and coordinated with other relevant institutions such as BIN, BAIS, TNI, BSSN, Kemkominfo, and BNPT. Polri also serves as a judicial subsystem responsible for law enforcement in Indonesia, encompassing both prevention and enforcement. Therefore, collaboration between Polri, the Trias Politica, and all components of society is crucial in ensuring cybersecurity, upholding public order, and promoting overall security in the country.

The government's initiative to establish a fourth branch within TNI to bolster the country's cyber defense capabilities represents a significant breakthrough. In light of this development, it is proposed that Polri should adopt a similar approach. Polri, being entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining domestic security, already possesses the authority, granted by the President of Indonesia, to carry out functions related to the prevention and countermeasures against terrorism and separatism through the Directorate of Cyber Crime under the Criminal Investigation Department (Bareskrim) of the National Police Headquarters (Mabes Polri).

However, the current structure of cyber units within regional police (Polda) is relatively limited, presenting challenges for Polda in addressing cybercrime that impacts all regions of Indonesia. Commissioner of Police Alfis Suhaili, the Senior Investigator of the Cyber Crime Directorate, has emphasized the necessity of adjusting the structure of cyber units in each Polda according to geographical conditions and available resources. This is because cybercrime affects all regions equally, and it is no longer feasible to differentiate the structure based on factors such as workload indices, geographical conditions, and resource availability. The expanding nature of cyber threats necessitates the establishment of specialized divisions in each Polda to effectively combat cybercrime, as cybercriminal activities are not confined solely to major cities.

By adapting the structure of cyber units and enhancing their capabilities, Polri can more effectively address the challenges posed by cybercrime throughout Indonesia. This includes augmenting the resources and capacities of cyber units in Polda, particularly in regions that may encounter similar forms of cybercrime but have limited resources and infrastructure. The adjustment of the organizational structure within Polri would align with the government's endeavors to strengthen cyber defense and ensure comprehensive security in the digital realm.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1 Conclusions

Throughout the course of human history, war has remained an inevitable danger, and the knowledge gained from previous conflicts will provide a foundation for future confrontations. Therefore, it is of utmost importance for Polri to proactively take measures to raise awareness and preparedness, safeguarding civil order and preventing crises from escalating into civil emergencies, military emergencies, or even all-out warfare. The avoidance of social unrest is crucial, as it can potentially lead to political turmoil. The examples of Iraq and Libya, internal conflicts in African nations, and the utilization of asymmetric warfare in Angola, Tibet, Egypt, and Sri Lanka demonstrate how political and social unrest can escalate into civil or military wars. These conflicts involve diverse actors and strategies, with outcomes shaped by distinct historical and regional factors.

In the era of Geopolitics V, social media has become a powerful tool for spreading threats and propaganda, even within Indonesia. The increasing complexity of societal subsystems (subcultures), driven by the desire for personal

freedom as Indonesia approaches its centenary of independence, presents challenges to societal integration. Sociologists are actively addressing security issues and working towards establishing social order.

While social media has led to cultural and normative shifts, it has also given rise to new forms of criminal activity. The dissemination of disinformation, driven by ethnic, religious, and racial biases, and the proliferation of hate speech online pose risks of conflicts and national fragmentation. The combination of high cyber threats and low digital literacy creates vulnerabilities in cybersecurity within Indonesia.

The rich diversity within Indonesian society, intensified by the increasing individual preferences that shape various subcultures, presents an increasingly dynamic landscape with both challenges and opportunities. In order to harness the potential of multiculturalism as a unifying force for the nation, it is crucial to actively involve and engage all segments of society in addressing conflicts and divisive issues. The widespread dissemination of provocative content related to ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup relations is a pressing concern that requires immediate attention. The occurrence of various social conflicts throughout Indonesia's history, as well as in the present, creates obstacles to social integration, primarily by eroding the population's sense of security. Establishing a sense of security within society is a fundamental prerequisite for ensuring the overall cohesion of the Indonesian social system. Therefore, cultivating a sense of security in society should be a primary focus within the framework of promoting social integration, employing measures such as normative integration, functional integration, and coercive interventions (Wirutomo, 2012).

Through examining historical precedents, such as the Sriwijaya and Majapahit kingdoms, it becomes apparent that the decline of these empires was not a consequence of foreign invasions, but rather stemmed from prolonged periods of political and social unrest, ultimately culminating in internal conflict. A parallel can be drawn to the American Civil War, which resulted in staggering casualties estimated between 752,000 and 851,000, representing approximately 2% of America's population in 1860 and standing as the most devastating civil war in recorded history. Extrapolating this toll to the current population of Indonesia, it would amount to a staggering 5.4 million lives lost.

Through careful examination of recent political, social, economic, and security events, concerns have emerged among various stakeholders regarding the erosion of national ideology and its implications for the sustainability of Indonesia as a nation-state. Many Indonesians seem oblivious to the ideological warfare and conflicts of interest that turn developing countries, including Indonesia, into battlegrounds. This ideological, political, economic, and socio-cultural warfare occurs simultaneously and are interconnected. Developed nations, driven by their pursuit of economic resources, seek to impose their thinking patterns, political, social, and economic systems on developing countries under the guise of globalization.

The proliferation of globalization and the rapid advancements in IoT technology have introduced new dynamics to global geopolitics. These developments have been accompanied by the emergence of VUCA (Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, Ambiguity), which has triggered the evolution of hybrid warfare strategies and the involvement of non-state actors beyond traditional nation-states. These non-state actors have effectively exploited vulnerabilities in both the physical and cyber realms. The rapid progress of IoT technology has given rise to the virtual world, particularly through platforms such as social media, which has become a new medium for virtual interactions. Unfortunately, the misuse of social media has transformed it into a laboratory and a battleground for state adversaries in the era of hybrid warfare.

In hybrid warfare, the methods and patterns employed differ from conventional warfare, which relies on sophisticated and costly machinery for mass destruction. Hybrid warfare places greater emphasis on unconventional, non-kinetic, or soft power capabilities that can disrupt ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, and defense security stability. Psychological warfare, disinformation, and propaganda are utilized to achieve these aims. These soft power methods present inherent dangers and can have significant impacts as they operate covertly, inducing psychological disturbances, polarization, and even societal disintegration. Furthermore, these methods often do not violate the "below threshold" principle outlined in Article 2(4) of the UN Charter, which prohibits the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

Consequently, addressing hybrid warfare proves more challenging than physical warfare or hard power, as it targets the very foundation of a nation—its people and the unity of their vision.

In hybrid warfare, the use of hard power is intentionally avoided to prevent direct confrontation between major powers, as witnessed in World Wars I and II. Instead, proxy wars or insurgencies are employed to maintain conflicts on a smaller scale, limiting the potential for foreign intervention or humanitarian forces. This strategy aims to minimize the risk of extensive human rights violations and make it difficult for external actors to intervene effectively.

In the future, with the advancements brought about by Industry 4.0 and the potential emergence of Society 5.0, technologies such as Artificial Intelligence (AI), Big Data, and cloud computing are expected to play a significant role in shaping propaganda operations. It is conceivable that unfeeling automatons, possessing the capacity to operate incessantly, akin to Chat GPT, may be utilized for such intentions. These robots will exhibit a diverse range of capabilities, such as artistic drawing, comedic creation, musical composition, and involvement in intricate and manipulative propaganda dialogues with humans. This highlights the importance of cybersecurity management and building resilience as a strategic imperative to safeguard national interests amidst the multidimensional threats presented in the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

Empirically, the Fourth Industrial Revolution has had a profound impact on the resilience of national strength across multiple dimensions. This impact encompasses factors such as geography, demography, natural resources, ideology, politics, economy, socio-cultural, as well as defense and security. Therefore, it becomes crucial for nations to proactively address and adapt to these advancements to ensure the protection of their national interests in an increasingly interconnected and technologically-driven world.

4.2 Recommendations

Drawing lessons from countries that have effectively responded to hybrid warfare threats, such as Russia, the States, Singapore, the Netherlands, and China, it is imperative for Indonesia to comprehensively develop the draft of Law on Cyber Security and Resilience (RUU KKS) by engaging all relevant stakeholders. Considering the Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, and Ambiguity (VUCA) phenomenon in the hybrid warfare era; and Indonesia's commitment to the Total People's Defense and Security System, which aims to uphold national sovereignty, preserve territorial integrity, and protect the safety of the entire nation from any threats, the RUU KKS should entail the involvement of all citizens, national resources, and artificial resources. To avoid overlapping functions and tasks, the RUU KKS should possess a cross-sectoral nature in terms of both regulation and implementation.

In order to effectively address the multidimensional threats presented by the new era of hybrid warfare, it is necessary to employ a combination of soft power strategies and intelligence operations. This approach aims to weaken or eliminate the enemy's strength through attrition or annihilation, utilizing strategic surprise to prevent enemy states and their allies from establishing competitive advantages. It is favored over an approach that relies solely on numerical force. Intelligence operations, which involve studying the nature of threats, raising awareness, and contributing to the formation of legislation, should not be constrained by existing laws, however, to prevent abuses of power and human rights violations, these activities must be controlled and measured, particularly in the lead-up to the 2024 Presidential Election. Mr. Andi Widjajanto, the Governor of the National Resilience Institute of Indonesia (Lemhannas RI), emphasizes the importance of digital intelligence capabilities in effectively addressing the growing number, sophistication, and organization of digital threats from external actors.

In order to uphold security, order, and justice in society, the nation, and the state, it is crucial for the government to ensure the fairness, benefits, and predictability of law enforcement. This concept aligns with J.J. Rousseau's theory of the social contract, which suggests that individuals willingly exchange their personal freedoms for the protections and freedoms guaranteed by the state, encompassing political, economic, socio-cultural, security, and peace-related aspects. Emile Durkheim, in his work "The Rules of the Sociological Methods," emphasized the universal nature of crime across all societies. While the manifestations of crime may evolve over time and

individuals may exploit gaps in static criminal laws, it is the shared responsibility of the government and society to establish punishments that represent the moral boundaries upheld by society. These sanctions may be normative, such as imprisonment, fines, and execution, or social in nature, such as isolation or shame. Although law enforcement in Indonesia is considered a last resort when preventive measures such as socio-cultural practices, customary law, and local culture prove ineffective, it remains crucial for maintaining societal security and order, in line with the legal maxim coined by Prof. Dr. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, "law without power is merely wishful thinking, and power without law is tyranny."

The Durkheimian perspective emphasizes society's ability to respond to crime through various community efforts, which are integral to societal development. Formal law enforcement activities aim to create social conditions and engage in social engineering to maintain and preserve social control, ensuring peaceful social interaction. Therefore, actions by radical and extremist groups that attempt to obscure, distort, or eliminate historical sites or insult the ancestors of the Indonesian nation should be deemed intolerable and subject to punishment according to applicable regulations.

In the face of VUCA (Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, and Ambiguity), it is crucial to collectively adapt and respond to rapidly changing dynamics within a limited timeframe. This requires effective collaboration among stakeholders across different entities and organizational structures. To address future security threats, the Indonesian National Police (Polri) can adopt the "pentahelix" approach, which emphasizes collaboration with diverse stakeholders such as government institutions, ministries and agencies, academia, mass media, businesses, and communities. Each stakeholder should have clear motivations based on their roles and competitive advantages, enabling them to contribute solutions and knowledge.

The government can utilize its authority capital for regulation and control, while the media can leverage its network capital for information dissemination. Businesses, with their working capital, can contribute to expansion efforts, and academics, with their scientific capital, can generate innovative ideas and concepts. The community, drawing on its social capital, can accelerate progress. This approach prevents excessive concentration of power within a single institution, recognizing that absolute power tends to be ineffective and prone to corruption.

This approach aligns with the principles outlined in Law No. 7 of 2012 concerning the Handling of Social Conflicts and Presidential Instruction No. 2 of 2013, which highlight the involvement of various elements of the government and the community in addressing domestic security disruptions. These elements include religious figures, traditional figures, community leaders, peace activists, representatives of conflicting parties, and other relevant community institutions, as emphasized by the Secretariat General of the Judicial Commission, Republic of Indonesia (2019) in response to threats and disruptions.

By embracing the "pentahelix" approach, Polri can enhance collaboration with diverse stakeholders, leveraging their strengths and perspectives to effectively respond to the challenges posed by the VUCA environment and ensure security and stability. Furthermore, Polri should strengthen cooperation with other countries, international organizations, and communities to develop a comprehensive and forward-looking projection of future threats. This projection should be collaboratively formulated with all stakeholders, including the legislative, executive, and judicial components of the Trias Politica, to establish specific strategies, tools, and conditions for effectively combating potential threats. The objective is to foster consensus and evolve together at the supra structural level of the state in a balanced, harmonious, and coherent manner.

To address the paradox of religion and jihad, it is essential to strengthen moral and ethical education alongside character education. Islamic educational institutions can play a crucial role in cultivating a generation that respects national values and religion. This can be achieved through the integration of religion, science, and technology; the transformation of Islamic education; and the democratization of Islamic education. The goal is to achieve "Islam Wasathiyah" in maintaining the unity and integrity of the Indonesian Republic (NKRI) enriched with diversity, leading towards the concept of Rahmatan Lil Alamin (Islam as a blessing for the entire universe). As Islam is the majority religion in Indonesia, the successful implementation of Islamic education in fostering noble character will contribute to building the character of the nation.

In response to the separatist movement of the Papua Separatist Movement (PSM), the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo has issued directives to implement comprehensive measures aimed at addressing separatism in Papua. These measures encompass various approaches that prioritize welfare, socio-cultural aspects, and functional aspects. These measures must recognize the importance of addressing the underlying factors that contribute to the separatist movement. For instance, in the context of Papua, the government, along with all the components of the pentahelix can work synergistically to realize Papua as the center of the culture, economy, and civilization of the Melanesian race in the world. This recognition stems from the fact that in 2015, nearly 80% of the Melanesian race in the world was in Indonesia, spread across the Maluku Islands, East Nusa Tenggara, and Papua, with the remaining 20% being spread across various Asia-Pacific countries such as Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste, Fiji, New Caledonia, and the Solomon Islands.

By focusing on well-being, efforts can be made to improve the welfare and socio-economic conditions of the Papuan people. This includes initiatives aimed at enhancing access to education, healthcare, infrastructure development, economic and cultural opportunities. The socio-cultural aspect places emphasis on the importance of safeguarding and showing respect for the distinctive cultural heritage and traditions of the Papuan people. By recognizing and valuing their cultural identity, initiatives can be implemented to foster cultural exchange, promote intercultural understanding, and enhance social cohesion. This socio-cultural approach not only aligns with the principle of "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Tanhena Dharmma Mangrva", but also recognizes the intrinsic value of indigenous customs and culture, contributing to the cultivation of a strong sense of nationalism, patriotism, and the preservation of cultural richness.

Understanding and honoring the values and traditions of the Papuan people are crucial for maintaining harmony and coherence within society, which resonates with Emile Durkheim's functionalism theory. According to this theory, society functions as a social system where each element plays a vital role in maintaining balance and stability. Religion, in particular, serves as an integral component of collective strength, further reinforcing the importance of preserving cultural heritage and promoting social cohesion among diverse communities. In conclusion, the socio-cultural approach underscores the need to preserve and respect the unique cultural heritage and traditions of the Papuan people. Active involvement and participation of the Papuan community are crucial in shaping the integrated development of Papua's Astagatra, ensuring that their voices and aspirations are included in the process.

In addition, the functional aspect of these measures aims to strengthen governance and administrative structures in strengthening the integrated development of Papua's Astagatra. This involves enhancing the capacity and effectiveness of local institutions, promoting good governance practices, and ensuring the equitable provision of public services to all residents. The active involvement and participation of the Papuan people still are crucial in building an integrated Papua's Astagatra. By empowering and engaging the local community in decision-making processes and development initiatives; their voices, aspirations, and needs can be effectively addressed in fostering a sense of ownership, inclusion, and unity. By implementing these comprehensive measures, the government aims to address the root causes of separatism in an inclusive and harmonious way to promote the unity, integrity, and development of the region that benefits all its residents and contributes to the overall progress and prosperity of the Indonesian nation.

However, the diverse composition of the nation poses a formidable challenge in terms of unifying and harnessing the strengths of all its constituents. To confront this challenge, the government must assume a central role in countering propagandistic efforts and promoting the morals, ethics, character, and esteemed culture of the nation. This entails nurturing values such as tolerance, consensus-building through deliberation, mutual cooperation, patriotism, nationalism, national vigilance, national insight, and a national perspective grounded in the four fundamental consensuses: the Pancasila ideology, the motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Tanhena Dharmma Mangrva," the 1945 Constitution, and the Unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia.

Pancasila, as an open ideology, maintains its relevance and suitability in addressing the ever-evolving dynamics of Indonesian society, nation, and state for several compelling reasons:

1. As a philosophy, Pancasila embodies a comprehensive conception that places human dignity and worth at its core. It recognizes the significance of human values and their functional role across all aspects of existence.
2. As an ideology, Pancasila encompasses universal values derived from the character and spirit of Indonesia's ancestors. It serves as a moral compass, guiding the nation's future and providing norms, ethics, and a spirit of self-control. It promotes harmony, balance, and unity in communal, national, and state life, based on applicable laws.
3. As the foundation of the state, Pancasila holds a position as an objective norm, the highest norm, and the source of the basic laws of the Republic of Indonesia. Sociologically, it regulates societal life, while ethically and philosophically, it governs personal behavior and the pursuit of truth in nation-building. Pancasila, as the ideal law, encompasses three dimensions: the dimension of reality, rooted in the authentic values of our nation and perceived as the guiding principle of societal existence; the dimension of idealism, shaped by human contemplation and applied in communal life; and the dimension of flexibility, designed to adapt to the evolving dynamics of society and its environment.

Pancasila is characterized by its motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Tan hana Dharma Mangrva," which highlights the unity in diversity and the absence of dual truth except devotion to the homeland and nation. This motto reflects the versatility and adaptability of Pancasila as an ideology that promotes the respect for local customs and cultures, inclusivity, unity, and progress, while also valuing diversity. Pancasila provides a solid foundation for the Indonesian nation, emphasizing the importance of these principles in building a strong and cohesive society.

The objective of this high level propaganda is to win the hearts and minds of the people, which leads to national reconciliation, reconstruction, and integration. To effectively implement white propaganda and national algorithms during the transition from the postmodernism era to the forthcoming era of Metamodernism, the active involvement of the general public is crucial. The social capital held by the general public within their communities plays a significant role and can be harnessed through various means, including collaborative projects, blogs and microblogs, crowdsourcing, and social networking platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, TikTok, Facebook, and WhatsApp. By actively engaging the general public in these initiatives, their collective influence and participation can be utilized to shape a cohesive community and foster a sense of national identity.

Securing victory in warfare is undeniably crucial; however, it is of greater significance to attain such triumph without causing physical harm or casualties. The ultimate goal of victory should be to establish a stable and prosperous state for all members of society. This perspective emphasizes the attainment of strategic victory rather than solely focusing on physical achievements. Following each battle, the desired outcome should involve promoting national reconciliation, facilitating reconstruction efforts, and fostering integration in line with the principle of unity in diversity, as there is no duality in truth, except devotion to the homeland and nation. This approach aims to protect the entire Indonesian populace, enhance the collective well-being, enlightening the life of the nation and contribute to global peace through an approach centered on prosperity and security.

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Utilization of Social and Moral Capital by Female Legislative Candidates for East Java's Regional Legislative Assembly in the 2019 General Elections

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Abstract

This study is prompted by the election of female legislative candidates in East Java's 2019 General Elections. The notable presence of women in the East Java Regional Legislative Assembly serves as a cause for celebration, as it has observed a commendable quantitative surge from a previous count of seven individuals in the 2014 election to a noteworthy tally of 21 individuals in the 2019 election. The research aims to investigate how these four female legislative candidates utilized their social capital to secure their positions as elected members in the 2019 General Elections. The primary informants selected for the study met certain criteria, including being the incumbent legislative member of their electoral area, being the representative of their respective regions, and having a top or early sequence number in the election. This study is founded upon Robert Putnam's social capital theory and is bolstered by Claudia Derich's, Andrea Fleschenberg's, and Momoyo Hustebeck's moral capital theory. The methodology employed in this study is qualitative, employing a case study approach centered around in-depth interviews with four female legislative candidates who were successfully elected as legislative members. The primary findings of this study highlight several key factors that contributed to the election of these four female legislative candidates. These factors include significant support from their family members (spouses and parents) as well as endorsements from various colleagues representing religious organizations, social organizations, and alumni networks. Additionally, their success in the elections can be attributed to the moral capital they possess, which derived from their professional backgrounds as advocates, businesswomen, retired civil servants, and academicians. This moral capital directly resonated with the public and influenced their voting decisions.

Keywords: Social Capital, Moral Capital, Female, Representation, General Election

1. Introduction

The utilization of social capital, encompassing networks, norms, and trust, plays a pivotal role in the success of female legislative candidates in the general elections in Indonesia. Previous studies conducted in the country have consistently demonstrated that female candidates rely heavily on social capital as they actively engage in the electoral process and ultimately secure positions as legislative members. The success of female legislative candidates in the 2019 elections in West Java, West Sumatera, and East Nusa Tenggara can primarily be attributed to their moral capital, manifested through networks, norms, and the trust of constituents. Social capital, as exemplified in society, encompasses the capacity to coexist harmoniously with others, which is also reflected in the local culture upheld by the community. This culture is characterized by solidarity, cooperation, and the cultivation of social relationships within the society (Nurmalasari, 2011; Putri, 2019; and Sirait & Jovani, 2022). In West Sumatera, which follows the matrilineal system, the Bundo Kandung serves as a significant source of social capital through cultural and public figures. This social capital acts as a catalyst for collective action and cooperation among the community. Moreover, exchange of information and knowledge serves as the bedrock for establishing trust in female legislative candidates. This is contrary East Nusa Tenggara, a region adopting the patrilineal system, where entrenched patriarchy facilitates women's engagement in politics, resulting in their election as legislative members. Female candidates in these areas leverage social capital by virtue of the esteemed reputation of their husbands and fathers, who are prominent figures in the public, cultural, and political spheres.

Furthermore, moral capital is another valuable asset and strategy employed by female politicians to secure their election. Across Asia, numerous women, including Wan Azizah of Malaysia, Aung San Suu Kyi of Myanmar, Park Geun-Hye of South Korea, Tanaka Makiko of Japan, and Megawati Soekarnoputri of Indonesia, hail from political dynasties. These women skilfully utilized their moral capital to ascend to the highest echelons of politics (Derichs, Fleschenberg, & Hustebeck, 2006). Female politicians exhibit a profound sense of ethical responsibility when serving in positions that are particularly sensitive to gender issues. They are perceived as being more compassionate and dedicated to caregiving and service. This notion of care presents a potentially strategic avenue for female politicians to garner support. (Dewi, 2019). In East Nusa Tenggara, moral capital derived from professions such as teaching, advocacy, and activism assumes a significant role as these occupations are perceived as being intimately connected to society and are regarded as societal role models. (Sirait & Jovani, 2022).

In the 2019 provincial elections, six provinces achieved 100 percent female representation, namely South Sumatera, East Java, South Sulawesi, East Nusa Tenggara, and West Papua. This article aims to shed light on the factors contributing to the success of these female legislative candidates in the mentioned elections. The primary focus of this article will be on East Java, specifically examining how four female legislative candidates strategically utilized their social and moral capital to secure their positions.

2. Method

This research adopts a qualitative approach and employs case studies to examine the utilization of social and moral capital by four selected informants from the East Java regional legislative assembly, spanning the period of 2014-2019. The informants include Hari Putri Lestari from the Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Party (PDIP), Sri Hartatik from Golongan Karya Party (Golkar), Ratnadi Ismaoen from Demokrat Party, and Hikmah Bafaqih from Kebangkitan Bangsa Party (PKB). These informants were selected based on considerations such as their political party affiliation, electoral area, and voting numbers. Primary data for this study were gathered through in-depth interviews with the four informants. The collected data predominantly focus on the social and moral capital of these female legislative candidates. A descriptive analysis method was employed to analyze the gathered data (Creswell, 2014).

3. Results

3.1. Female Political Representation

Discussions pertaining to female political representation in elections revolve around two crucial aspects: firstly, women's involvement as voters; and secondly, women's participation as legislative candidates seeking parliamentary positions. According to Subono (2013), There are at least three arguments highlighting the significance of women's presence in parliament. Firstly, the absence of equal participation between men and women undermines true democracy and genuine people's engagement in governance and development. Therefore, achieving democracy necessitates the representation of women. Secondly, the objectives of development cannot be fully accomplished without the active involvement of women. Women's participation is essential in defining the purpose and direction of development. Thirdly, the inclusion of women in decision-making bodies brings forth new priorities and perspectives that are more attuned to the needs of society, particularly women and children. A notable outcome anticipated from female representation is the realization of gender equality through parliamentary processes. (Subono, 2013).

In East Java, there was a noteworthy surge in female political representation in the parliament during the 2019 elections. A total of 21 women were successfully elected, marking a substantial increase compared to the six elected during the 2014 elections. The following list presents the names of the female candidates who secured seats in East Java's Regional Legislative Assembly during the 2019 elections.

Table 1: Table 1 Women Elected during the East Java's Regional Representative Body's 2019 Election

No	Electoral Area	Name	Party	Voting No
1	Jatim 1	Agatha Retnosari	PDIP	4
2	Jatim 1	Agustin Poliana	PDIP	5
3	Jatim 2	Anik Maslachah	PKB	1
4	Jatim 3	Aida Fitriati	PKB	1
5	Jatim 4	Ma'mulah Harun	PKB	1
6	Jatim 4	Zeiniye	PPP	8
7	Jatim 5	Umi Zahrok	PKB	1
8	Jatim 5	Lailatul Qodriyah	PKB	2
9	Jatim 5	Hari Putri Lestari	PDIP	1
10	Jatim 6	Hikmah Bafaqih	PKB	1
11	Jatim 6	Khofidah	PKB	2
12	Jatim 6	Sri Untari	PDIP	4
13	Jatim 6	Jajuk Rendra Kresna	Nasdem	9
14	Jatim 7	Erma Susanti	PDIP	4
15	Jatim 8	Wara Sundari Renny Pramana	PDIP	1
16	Jatim 9	Diana Amaliyah Verawatningsih	PDIP	6
17	Jatim 9	Sri Subiati	Demokrat	1
18	Jatim 11	Aisyah Lilia Agustina	PKB	1
19	Jatim 12	Khozannah Hidayati	PKB	1
20	Jatim 13	Ufiq Zuroida	PKB	2
21	Jatim 14	Nur Fitriana	PKB	2

Source: Gathered from multiple sources

The elected women in East Java's Regional Legislative Assembly are primarily affiliated with the following political parties: 11 candidates from PKB, 7 candidates from PDIP, 1 candidate from the Demokrat Party, 1 candidate from the Nasdem Party, and 1 candidate from the PPP. Parties without female representation include the

Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, PAN, PKS, Hanura, and PBB. Among the 21 elected women, 8 were incumbent members of the parliament who secured re-election in the 2019 elections. In terms of electoral areas (dapil), only one area out of the 14 in East Java lacks female representation. Regarding sequence numbers, most female candidates were placed in early or top sequence numbers, which played a crucial role in their successful election. This study takes on a case study of four female legislative candidates that were elected during the 2019 elections. First, Hari Putri Lestari, representing PDIP, secured the leading position with a sequence number of 1. She served as the manager for PDIP's regional representative body in the East Java Province. Second, Sri Hartatik who was affiliated with the Golkar Party, replaced a male legislator who passed away in 2021. Additionally, she held a managerial role in Golkar Party's regional representative body in the East Java Province. Third, Ratnadi Ismaoen, from the Demokrat Party, attained the fourth sequence number. She took over the position of a male legislator who passed away in 2021. Ratnadi Ismaoen also served as the manager of the Demokrat Party's regional representative body in the East Java Province. Fourth, Hikmah Bafaqih, from PKB, held a sequence number of 1. She was the vice leader of PKB's East Java branch and the manager of East Java's Nahdatul Ulama Organization.

Additionally, the electoral area is a significant factor to consider, given that East Java is the province with the second highest population in Indonesia. The elected candidates and their respective electoral areas are as follows: Hari Putri Lestari from Jatim 5, encompassing Jember Regency and Lumajang Regency; Sri Hartatik from Jatim 8, which includes Kediri City and Regency; Ratna Ismaoen from Jatim 9, which covers Ngawi, Ponorogo, Trenggalek, and Magetan Regency; and Hikmah Bafaqih from Jatim 6, which consist of Malang City, Malang Regency, and Batu City. Understanding the electoral areas is crucial in comprehending how culture and society perceive the involvement of women in politics. It provides insights into the societal perspectives and cultural dynamics surrounding women's participation in the political sphere.

3.2. Social Capital: Society's Support for Female Legislative Candidates

Social capital is inherently intertwined with social relationships and is cultivated through a social network that encompasses several key elements. These elements include: 1) Trust or positive values that foster development and achievement; 2) social norms and obligations; 3) social networks that serve as a platform for social activities, especially in the form of voluntary associations (Putnam, 1993). Social capital is an invaluable resource for individual actors, gradually evolving into a collective asset. The social capital held by the four female legislative candidates in the form of networks, norms, and trust encompasses various aspects. Firstly, it includes interpersonal relations that they have cultivated within their social circles. Secondly, it encompasses the norms ingrained in East Java regarding the role of women in politics, reflecting the prevailing values and expectations within the region. Lastly, trust manifests through the relationships between these candidates and their respective networks, fostered through mutual symbiosis and shared aspirations. The social capital possessed by these legislative candidates is evident in their familial connections, as well as their affiliations with religious and social organizations.

These four female legislative candidates ventured into the realm of politics with the backing of various stakeholders. They garnered support from their husbands, parents (fathers), extended families, religious organizations, social organizations, and alumni, which played instrumental roles in their political journeys. Furthermore, the support of political parties greatly contributed to the success of these candidates, as they were granted the freedom to select their respective electoral areas. Furthermore, the support from the constituents stems from the extended families of the male figures in these candidates' lives, namely their husbands and fathers. This support is a form of social capital based on trust, as it emanates from the husbands, their extended families, and the extended families of their parents (fathers). These family networks consist of individuals who hold positions as public figures and politicians, further enhancing their influence and credibility. This sentiment is echoed in the statement made by Hari Putri Lestari from the PDIP party:

“During the initial three months, I contemplated resigning from the party due to the pressures and my lack of understanding. I expressed to my husband my reluctance to remain affiliated with the party. In response, he urged me not to withdraw and advised me to persevere with noble intentions. I have cherished his words ever since, as they have served as a constant source of inspiration, propelling me towards my present position and enabling me to thrive as an activist.” (Interview with Hari Putri Lestari, 30 March 2023)

Sri Hartatik from the Golkar Party also garnered significant support from the community, primarily comprising the extended family of her parents, who held prominent positions as politicians and public figures in Kediri City and Regency. Her involvement and active participation in the 1957 Kosgoro Entrepreneur Association further solidified her connection with society and garnered additional backing:

"The determination to pursue my position as a legislative member was primarily driven by my longstanding involvement in various organizations since my school days. Through these organizations, a sense of camaraderie and mutual support flourished, fostering a cooperative spirit within me from an early stage. Encouragement from my family led me to join the 1957 Kosgoro Entrepreneur Association, under the leadership of Agung Laksono at that time. I assumed the role of treasurer within the association for the period of 2016-2021. Through this experience, I gained invaluable knowledge, and it is worth noting that Kosgoro played a pivotal role in the founding of the Golkar Party." (Interview with Sri Hartatik, 30 March 2023)

The aforementioned circumstances also apply to Ratnadi Ismaoen from the Demokrat Party, who has a background as a retired civil servant from the East Java provincial government. Her capabilities and close relationship with the constituents were recognized by the leaders of the Demokrat Party, resulting in their unwavering support. Additionally, the backing of her alumni played a significant role in her electoral success:

"During my previous election, I leveraged my extensive network that I had cultivated during my tenure as a civil servant in the People's Welfare Bureau, particularly in election area 9. Through my role, I actively supported the governor in providing assistance to that region. Furthermore, I utilized the support of my fellow alumni from Airlangga University, as well as established connections with acquaintances in election area 9 and colleagues, including alumni who held positions within the government due to my civil service background. Additionally, I enlisted the assistance of my family members who resided in the area." (Interview with Ratnadi Ismaoen, 10 April 2023)

Hikmah Bafaqih, a scholar and dedicated social worker affiliated with PKB, has been actively involved in numerous advocacy efforts aimed at assisting vulnerable groups. Her affiliation with PKB and previous experience as a legislative member in Malang Regency's regional legislative assembly from 2004 to 2009 have endowed her with a substantial social capital. Furthermore, she has actively participated in social movements and maintained an active role in the NU Organization. In addition to these factors, the support of her extended family, who have a background in politics, has also played a significant role in her success:

"I come from a family with a strong political background. My father had a long-standing political career, serving in various parties such as the NU Party and the Kabah Party for 3.5 terms. He held the position of an incumbent in Pasuruan Regency's regional legislative assembly, which was situated in an area deeply rooted in patriarchal traditions. Consequently, I chose not to remain in Pasuruan and instead settled in Malang. In Malang, the culture is more egalitarian, where one's social status or patronage holds less significance. What matters most in Malang is our work in the field rather than our genealogical background. In Pasuruan, one's family lineage becomes a significant factor, such as being the child of a prominent figure. This is contrary to Malang, where I am considered an unknown figure. I started from the bottom alongside my friends." (Interview with Hikmah Bafaqih, 18 April 2023)

The social capital exhibited by these four female legislative candidates within society encompasses the norm of mutual symbiosis and cooperation through a network of relationships within social institutions. This article illustrates that the trust between the four candidates and their constituents is established through their husbands, parents (fathers), family members, friends (alumni), religious organizations, and social organizations. The trust bestowed upon them by the constituents is rooted in shared values or the commonalities of tribe, religious affiliations, social organizations, and alumni networks (universities). Trust, as a form of social capital, is established through the prominence of their husbands, parents (fathers), and their respective positions within organizations. Hari Putri Lestari's husband, a renowned professor in a university, and her role as an advocate and labor consultant contribute to her credibility. Sri Hartatik, an entrepreneur, and the daughter of a politician in Kediri City and Regency who has actively engaged in numerous economic empowerment initiatives within the community. Ratnadi Ismaoen, a retired civil servant, has established a network of alumni and has provided extensive assistance during her tenure in the civil service. Lastly, Hikmah Bafaqih's father, a politician, and her extensive support from her extended family, university students, as well as social and religious organizations, enhance her trustworthiness and standing.

3.3. Utilization of Social and Moral Capital by the Four Female Legislative Candidates

In addition to social capital, the individual capabilities of these four female legislative candidates as political actors play a pivotal role in their success. Through their respective professions as an advocate, entrepreneur, civil servant, and scholar, they have actively served the people. Consequently, their constituents have developed an emotional and social connection with them, leading to conscious support from the community.

Regarding the utilization of social capital, relationships and social networks serve as valuable resources that can influence one's positioning within their electoral area. These social organizations are often formed through formal or informal social interactions.

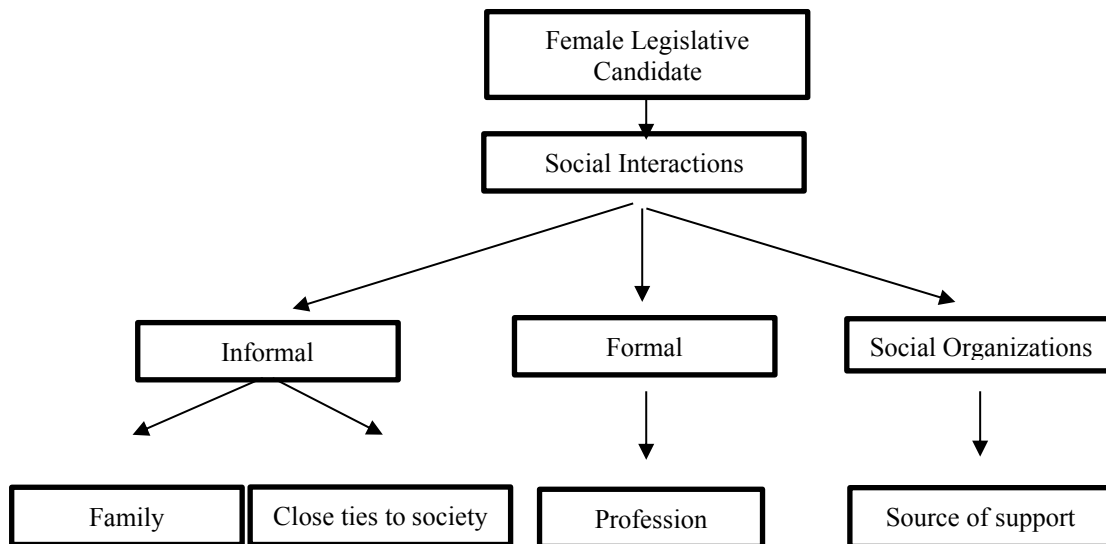


Figure 1: Social Capital of Four Female Legislative Candidates

Not all legislative candidates with strong social capital will be elected. However, the influence of social capital can significantly enhance and even determine the success of a legislative candidate. The findings from the field study demonstrate that the achievement of these female legislative candidates would have been challenging without the presence of social capital, which is influenced by three key factors:

1. The individual capabilities possessed by these four female legislative candidates are the main capital for them to enter into electoral politics, and encompasses: personality, public communication and leadership. The personality one possesses is reflected from their professions as advocates, entrepreneurs, retired civil servants, and scholars, which influences their public communication to their respective constituents. Furthermore, the key to their success also lies in the leadership skills that they have honed in other organizations before entering into politics.
2. Social values and humanism, where all four female legislative candidates accentuate policies that focus on issues relating to women and children, social welfare, health, education, labour, disability, the elderly, and other vulnerable groups that is highly associated with a “caring” nature of a woman or mother.
3. Family support, especially from their husbands, parents, extended family, religious organizations, social organizations, and their alumni.

The utilization of social and moral capital possessed by these four female legislative candidates can be seen from the following table:

Table 2: Utilization of Social and Moral Capital by Four Female Legislative Candidates in East Java’s Regional Representative Assembly during the 2019 Election

No	Name	Social Capital	Moral Capital
1	Hari Putri Lestari	- Husband (scholar) - Parents (mother)	- Consultant - Public advocacy

		- Labour union - Sapulidi Surabaya Group - Inter-religious networks	- GMNI
2	Sri Hartatik	- Extended family of parents (Politicians) - Religious organizations - Network of alumni	Entrepreneur
3	Ratnadi Ismaoen	- Close ties to locals - Network comprising of civil servants in East Java's regional government - Network of Unair alumni - Family	Retired civil servant from East Java's regional government
4	Hikmah Bafaqih	- Religious organization (NU) - Social organization - Extended family of parents (politicians)	Scholar

Source: Primary Data Analysis

There are several factors that contribute to the success of these female legislative candidates in East Java's regional legislative assembly, specifically in terms of their utilization of social capital. Social capital is characterized by one's close connections to society and their camaraderie with fellow members of organizations or groups. These female legislative candidates had established such relationships with various societal groups prior to their campaign period. As a result, it became easier for them to promote their candidacy and engage in social interactions during their campaign. This phenomenon is referred to as positive externalism, which stems from the social capital cultivated by these female legislative candidates.

Moreover, it is important to note that the social capital identified in this study takes a structural form, indicating that it is developed through the execution of their roles as members of organizations or societal groups. Another significant finding of this study is the presence of cognitive social capital, which is manifested through the trust and belief placed by women and public figures in these female legislative candidates. Therefore, it is evident that structural and cognitive social capital are interrelated and mutually reinforcing, rather than being separate entities.

4. Conclusion

In this study, the analysis of social capital focuses on four female legislative candidates who originate from small social groups, namely family and public organizations. Additionally, their previous professions also played a role in garnering support. The social capital of these candidates is illustrated by their engagement with social organizations, where strong personal bonds based on camaraderie are formed. Furthermore, the social capital of these candidates is shaped by the egalitarian background of their society, allowing the public to directly witness their field performance and social work. This fosters a close connection with the public and engenders trust among constituents based on shared values, tribe, religion, and norms. The network developed by these four female legislative candidates prior to their entry into politics encompasses their extended family, religious organizations, social organizations, and alumni. The trust of their constituents is also derived from the credibility of their husbands, parents (fathers), their positions in religious and social organizations, as well as their active participation and connections with public and religious figures.

The success of these four female legislative candidates can also be attributed to the moral capital they possess, which stems from their professions as an advocate/consultant, entrepreneur, retired civil servant, and scholar. In East Java, these professions are highly respected and regarded as "role models" due to their close connection to the people and their perceived helpfulness. These candidates have demonstrated their commitment to society not only during their campaign but also prior to it, through their professional contributions and active engagement in religious and social organizations. Once elected, they have returned to their respective electoral areas to listen to the concerns of the public and provide assistance. This capital serves as a foundation for their future endeavors and positions them well for future elections.

Furthermore, this study has identified several theoretical implications regarding the utilization of social capital by the four female legislative candidates during the 2019 election in East Java. The study is grounded in Putnam's theory, which highlights the interconnectedness of network, norm, and trust in political processes. The process begins with the personal connections that the female candidates establish with the public, which are influenced by various norms and levels of trust derived from their extended family, public figures, and organizational affiliations. These social interactions, nurtured through family ties, interactions with public figures, and participation in organizations, ultimately translate into votes during the election.

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