

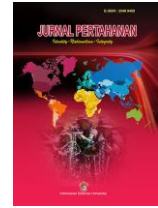


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SOCIALIZATION STRATEGY TO INSTILL NATIONALISM IN 3T (FRONTIER, LEAST DEVELOPED, OUTERMOST) REGIONS TO COUNTER THE NATIONAL DEFENSE THREATS

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Abstract

The 3T region (*terdepan, tertinggal, terluar* or frontier, least developed, outermost) in Indonesia is an area that is prone to non-military threats, especially ideological threats that can affect national defense. Various efforts have been made by the government but the level of success achieved is still minimal. In this case, the state needs to seriously develop steps to socialize the attitude of nationalism, especially to people in the 3T region. The purpose of this study was to explore the appropriate socialization strategy used in inculcating the attitude of nationalism in the 3T society regions. This study used qualitative methods with data collection through library research and analytical methods using descriptive analysis. The results of this study are expected to find the right socialization strategy that should be applied in the 3T region in the future. The success in efforts to socialize the planting of nationalism in the 3T region by the government depends on many factors, and the involvement of the central government and regional parties, as well as all levels of society, is an important aspect in determining the success of these efforts.

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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country in the world. Indonesia has more than 17,000 islands (Antara News, 2021). Based on data released by the Department of Population and Civil Registry of the Ministry of Home Affairs, the total population of Indonesia in June 2021 is

272,229,372 people (Direktorat Jenderal Kependudukan dan Pencatatan Sipil, 2021). Indonesia's strategic location borders with other Southeast Asia countries, such as Singapura, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, Filipina, Timor Leste dan Papua Niugini (Badan Geologi Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral, n.d.). Some of the

border areas are separated by the sea while others are separated by the mainland. This condition has a positive as well as negative impact on Indonesia's national resilience. It makes Indonesia more open and easier to collaborate with other countries and it must be beneficial for Indonesia. On the other hand, Indonesia is required to be competent to well organize its border to maintain and protect it from unexpected conditions.

The border area identified as the frontier in Indonesia is still vulnerable to national security threats, other regions are known as outermost and least developed also face the same issue. Those regions are commonly abbreviated as 3T (*terdepan, tertinggal, terluar*) referred to as frontier, outermost and least developed (Novri, 2020). 3T regions tend to be prone to conflict and are attacked by various threats. One of them is the threat of ideology which declines society's sense of nationalism. Therefore, the societies that lived in 3T regions require special attention from the government.

Nationalism comes from the word nation. Nationalism is a psychological aspect that indicates a sense of equality from a group of people that raises awareness as a nation. A nation is a group of people who live in a certain area and have a sense of unity that arises because of the similarity of historical experiences, and have shared goals that they want to implement in a certain country (Andri, 2019). One of the national defense system elements is the attitude of nationalism. It takes part as the basic attitude of a society in a country. Nowadays, it becomes a serious concern due to the rise of ideological threats especially in the 3T region is considered a hot issue. A practical example is the lack of proficiency of the national language (Indonesian) in the 3T society (Okezone.com, 2015). If the government does not take this situation severely, then the fade of nationalism in 3T society will not possibly disappear.

According to Thomas Hobbes, the state plays an important role in defending and protecting its people from foreign invasions

along with damage or conflicts between people (Buzan, 1983). This means that the state has two main tasks, namely: 1) externally; the state must remain alert in facing all threats and challenges from outside and 2) and internally the state must remain alert in overcoming and protecting the community from potential threats (Siregar, Rahmansyah, & Saepudin, 2019).

This study tries to examine is the understanding of nationalism 3T region society and analyze the socialization strategy that has been carried out in instilling the attitude of nationalism in the 3T region society. This is important to know considering that the 3T region is an area of the Republic of Indonesia that is prone to ideological threats so that later it can create a form of ideological threat that disrupts the national defense system. In addition, the author provided input on the efforts that have been taken by the government. This study described the existing problems with 3 problem formulations, as follows: 1) how is the understanding of nationalism among the people in the 3T region? 2) what are the obstacles to inculcating a nationalist attitude in the 3T region? 3) what are the ideal efforts of the government in instilling an attitude of nationalism in the people in the 3T region? The preparation of this research ultimately aims to add information related to the socialization of the understanding of nationalism in the 3T region.

METHODS

The research method used by researchers was qualitative methods with descriptive analysis. The qualitative method is an appropriate method to determine the main elements by research questions, objectives, and research significance (Sugiyono, 2014). The descriptive analysis emphasizes the power of analytical data on existing data sources. These sources are obtained from various books and other writings with relying on existing theories to be interpreted clearly and in-depth to produce thesis and anti-thesis (Soejono &

Abdurrahman, 1999). The data was collected through library research from some resources such as books, scientific works, relevant journals discussing the condition of the people in the 3T region, the ideological threats that occur in the 3T region, the government's efforts to instill an attitude of nationalism in the people in the 3T region. Library research is a process of collecting various reading references that are relevant to the problem under study, based on the reading material there are some highlighted important points and some conclusions are drawn to obtain research findings (Zed, 2004). An in-depth literature study is also conducted to support the data of this study.

According to Milles, there are 4 activities in data analysis, they are data collection, data selection, data presentation, and conclusion drawing (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). In this study, the data related to the cultivation of nationalism and conditions in the 3T region, as well as ideological threats in the 3T region from various sources; books, scientific works, related journals, and news or data on the internet related to the topics discussed was gathered. Then, the selected data were used as a source of writing references. After that, the data obtained from the selected data was presented. Finally, analysis and conclusions were drawn.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Nationalism in the 3T Region

Nationalism comes from the Latin word 'nation', which means born or birth (Efendi, 2021). There are various understandings of nationalism in national life. Some people interpret it as an awareness of national identity, while others interpret it as an instinct of introspection or activity. Indonesian nationalism is to have a positive attitude; it can be encouraged by realizing a united, sovereign, justice, and the prosperous Republic of Indonesia. Besides, it also aims to protect the entire Indonesian nation and the entire homeland of Indonesia and promote public welfare,

educate the nation's life, and participate in carrying out world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice (BP-7 Pusat & Universitas Merdeka Malang, 1992). Based on the above explanation, it can be concluded that Indonesian nationalism neither narrows its nationalism concept nor its nationalism meaning that causes its people to be ostracized by other nations in the world.

Indonesia nation's history proves that independence is the result of a national struggle driven by the spirit of nationalism. After independence, the battle was full of national development as the practice of Pancasila, which means nationalism. Ernest Renan argued that nationalism is a principle, a principle of logic, which is formed from two things. First, the people used to have to go through history together, and second, the people now had to have the will and the desire to live as a unit. It is not race, not language, also making a nation, equal distribution of needs, not the boundaries of a country that also makes a nation (BP-7 Pusat & Universitas Merdeka Malang, 1992). Based on the various opinions above, it can be synthesized that an understanding of nationalism can not only be seen through the parameters of the struggle for independence. It is only aimed at uniting various horizontal (primordial) groups. Furthermore, it is the determination and spirit of the nation that is ultimately able to bring the country to a new and better life. This understanding shows that nationalism is one of the most critical parts of our lives in the process of society, nation, and state. Nationalism also needs to be included as a part of the national political development movement.

Attitude, in a narrow sense, is an approach or mental direction. Attitude is a tendency to respond to a thing, person, or thing objectively (Sabri, 1996). Katz and Stotland view attitude as a combination of 1) cognitive reactions or responses (perceptual responses and statements about what a person believe), 2) affective reactions (responses which are expressed in

statements of feelings involving emotional aspects), and 3) conative responses (responses which are showed through certain behavioral tendencies according to impulses (Adisusilo, 2021). Additionally, Trow defines attitude as a mental or emotional readiness in more than one type of action in the right situation. At this point, Trow emphasizes a person's mental or emotional readiness as an object (Adisusilo, 2021). Based on several definitions described previously, it can be concluded that attitude is a response to a stimulus or situation faced by the individual. In other words, one of the psychological aspects of an individual is very important, considering that attitude is a tendency to behave to represent a person's actions. Through an explanation of attitudes and nationalism, it can be synthesized that nationalism is a behavioral tendency of a society that is aware of its national identity. This attitude of nationalism is shown by winning the war and by following and obeying state laws, using domestic products, and upholding national unity and integrity.

Frontier, least developed, and outermost regions are often referred to as 3T (*terdepan, tertinggal, terluar*) regions. This area is spread from various corners of the archipelago to those directly bordering other countries. In 2015, the government recorded that there were 47 Frontier, outermost and least developed regions. Meanwhile, in the same year, there were 124 underdeveloped areas spread throughout the Indonesian archipelago. In 2020 President Joko Widodo signed Presidential Regulation Number 63 of 2020 concerning the determination of underdeveloped regions for 2020-2024. Sixty-two areas are set to be left behind (Firman, 2020). As the wheels of government-run at the center, this 3T region sometimes goes unnoticed. The lack of equitable distribution of infrastructure development, access to education, and health are feared to erode the sense of nationalism of the people in the 3T is, for instance, the people who live on the

Indonesia-Malaysia land border (Kusuma, 2016). The price of local goods sold in the region is higher than the price of goods from Malaysia so that people's purchasing power is more inclined to Malaysian products. Due to the difficulty of logistics infrastructure from the city to the border areas, the selling price of local goods is high. Meanwhile, the logistics access taken by Malaysia to distribute its goods is more accessible so that costs can be cheaper.

In addition to infrastructure issues, the issue of education is also a matter that needs further attention. The government has not found the right formula to make education equal for children in remote areas. One of evidence is that children have to travel long distances and face poor infrastructure to get to school. The road is tough. Some had to swim or walk to cross rivers, which risks being carried away by the current (Hartik, 2016). Some have to cross an almost broken bridge, which the local government has not repaired. Let's look more closely at the issue of education. It becomes essential because the schools must input the teaching of Pancasila and nationalism into their curriculum. Based on a sociocultural perspective, many people in the 3T region do not speak Indonesian, so they do not understand Indonesian. According to the results of a study conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) International, it was found that 90% of children in remote areas or known as the 3T region are unable to speak Indonesian. This situation makes them difficult to capture the flow of educational information (Okezone.com, 2015). The Indonesian language stated in the 1945 Constitution Chapter 15 article 6 that Indonesian is the state language. The language is one of the tools that helps deepen the sense of nationalism of its citizens. However, the use of Indonesian in the 3T region is deficient, even being displaced by the language of other countries on its borders.

Based on the explanation of the previous paragraph, it can be said that the condition of the 3T area needs more attention from

the central government, if this continues to be allowed, it is not impossible to erode the nationalism of the people little by little.

National Defense Threats in 3T Region

In the Indonesian defense white paper (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015), there are two threats mentioned, namely military threats and non-military threats. Military aggression by other countries, territorial violations by other countries, espionage, sabotage, armed terror acts, separatist movements, armed rebellions, civil wars, treason movements are examples of military threats that a country may face. Meanwhile, non-military threats are in the form of ideological deviations, misuse of technology, dissemination of invalid information, acts of corruption, threats to public safety, waning pride in the nation's own culture.

At this time, non-military threats are more prevalent in Indonesia. One of the most worrying issues is the lack of pride in their culture and national identity (Taufanto, 2017). If this continues, it will erode the sense of nationalism within the Indonesian nation. According to Ryamizard Ryacudu, threats to ideology are rife, especially in the 3T region, especially in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia which is directly adjacent to the neighboring country (Inspektorat Jenderal Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2017). This ideological threat is caused by the presence of people in the 3T region, especially border areas that are far from the reach of the central government so that sometimes people in the area are easily instigated by unscrupulous elements that their existence is ignored by the government. This is supported by the news that the border area is prone to ideological threats that interfere with the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia, one of which is the land of Papua Province which is directly adjacent to the state of Papua New Guinea.

According to the Intelligence and Security observer, Stanislaus Riyanta, the

Separatist Terrorist Group (*Kelompok Separatis dan Teroris, KST*) of Papua which declared its desire to be independent and separated from Indonesia became an ideological threat to the local community accompanied by the threat of disintegration. These acts of separatist terrorism, it is disturbing the surrounding community and can trigger damage to the atmosphere of terror and even a large number of casualties (Alamanda, 2021). This should be given more attention considering that Papua is a sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia which is legally valid under international law.

Apart from West Papua, there is also the 3T region which is classified as the border between Indonesia and Malaysia which faces several real threats. There are at least three crucial threats that can be found there, namely military threats, economic threats, and ideological threats. The military threat is the annexation of the territorial boundaries of the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia by Malaysia, which often creates tension between the two countries. Then the economic threat, one of which is the fulfillment of the needs of the Indonesian people who live in the region by using products from Malaysia, because they are considered cheaper and easily accessible. Then the threat of ideology, the potential for the loss of pride in Indonesia. . These issues are mostly related to economic problems that have not been resolved (Siregar et al., 2019).

Based on the two real examples of defense threats in the 3T region, it can be concluded that military, economic and ideological threats are common to happen. Not to mention in remote areas, the ability to use the national language is still difficult to apply which can be classified as a social threat. If these threats are not handled seriously and immediately, they can cause disturbances to the stability of the defense and security of the Republic of Indonesia as a whole in the future.

Understanding the State Defense System of the Republic of Indonesia

According to the Indonesian defense white paper (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015), the Indonesian state defense system is organized with a total defense system. This type of defense is developed by involving all citizens, regions, national resources, prepared in advance by the government, and carried out in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner. The participation of every citizen is based on the love for their homeland, which is based on a common goal to realize the national interest.

Populist, universal, and territorial characterize Indonesia's total defense system. The populist characteristic means that the defense orientation is dedicated by and for the benefit of all Indonesian people. Furthermore, the ubiquitous feature implies that all national resources are utilized for defense efforts. Meanwhile, the territorial characteristic means that the title of defense force is spread throughout the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia following the geographical conditions as an archipelagic country.

The total defense system combines military and non-military defense to build solid and respected defense forces and capabilities and deter. This system was prepared in advance, which means that the universal defense system was constructed from peacetime to wartime—as in, creating a defense takes a long time, while war can happen at any time. Referring to the current conditions, what must be considered is that the construction of supporting facilities in the formation of non-military defense is very much needed. This means of struggle rested on the strength of the psychologically armed people with the ideology of Pancasila and equipped with high physical and state defense capabilities. Being psychologically armed is then manifested to instill a love for the homeland and the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, develop an awareness of the nation and

state, national unity and integrity in the motto Unity in Diversity (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*), awareness and responsibility for rights and obligations in defending the state, and equipping oneself with science and technology as a manifestation of the social weapons system.

It is different from being physically armed, which is manifested in the provision of physical skills which carried out both through Indonesian National Armed Forces (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* or TNI) soldiers and trained people prepared to become Reserve Components, which are then supported by knowledge and skills in using military equipment and weapons and equipped with mastery of combat tactics and strategies as the embodiment of technological weapons systems. In other words, the defense system of the Republic of Indonesia is that a total defense system that involves all levels of society. It contains the main components, namely the TNI; reserve components, namely citizens, natural resources, artificial resources, national infrastructure; and supporting components, namely all national forces that play a role in supporting the main and reserve component forces such as the police, doctors, paramedics, national industry and others.

When it comes to people in the 3T region, there are two contradictory tendencies. These tendencies can be divided into advantages and disadvantages. The advantage of the people in the 3T region in the national defense system is that they still hold fast to their citizenship status, even though they experience difficulties in various aspects, especially the economy and infrastructure. But in terms of weakness, people in the 3T region are weak in terms of economy, they prefer products from neighboring countries which are considered cheaper than their own country's products. In addition, the lack of understanding of the national language makes their weakness in the application of nationalism in their daily lives.

Government's Strategy to Develop Nationalism in 3T Regions

The government's effort to socialize the instilling nationalism to 3T region society is still low. For example, the Central Government through the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia still uses the old method, namely instilling an attitude of nationalism through formal education in schools through Civics, which students study once a week. And then the problem of teachers who teach less competent in their fields. So that it becomes a tangled thread in this socialization effort.

In addition, another effort done by the government as in 2015, the Minister for Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration (PDRT), Marwan Jafar, initiated a mentoring program called Save Village. In implementing the program, in addition to strengthening infrastructure, the Ministry will provide intensive assistance to foster the spirit of nationalism in rural communities in border areas. The village assistance team is considered very necessary for the community in the 3T region, especially the border area. This is part of the comprehensive handling of village problems at the border. In addition to experiencing economic inequality, people in border areas always feel inferior when facing foreign nationals. The village assistance team, which will be sent to the border areas, consists of people who have expertise in several fields. This team will continuously monitor the development and needs of the village community in the border areas. In its realization, the Ministry of PDRT requires synergies with several related agencies and institutions that specifically handle border areas and 3T, one of which is National Border Management Agency or *Badan Nasional Pengelola Perbatasan* (BNPP) (Sindonews.com, 2015).

Then in 2018, Ministry of National Development Planning of the Republic of

Indonesia or *Badan Perencanaan Nasional* (Bappenas) collaborated with young Indonesians to carry out the Exploration of the Indonesian Territory, that named Millennial Youth Nationalism Education. The purpose of this program was to encourage millennial youth to be more active in caring for and developing Indonesia, especially in disadvantaged areas and border areas. Providing space for scholars and prospective scholars to share knowledge with school-age children in outer regions will bring two benefits at once. The first advantage is obtained by young people who dare to share knowledge in underdeveloped areas. They can research, learn and experience the new world in the region. The second advantage is felt by border communities who have been complaining about the lack of access to information and knowledge (Romdhoni, 2018). The government does not just turn a blind eye to the condition of inequality that occurs between urban areas and 3T regions. The proof is that the government has established programs to educate nationalism in the 3T region. However, the expected output in the implementation of the program is not achieved yet optimally. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct in-depth research regarding the needs and tendencies of the people in the 3T region in accepting an understanding of the attitude of nationalism towards their own country, namely the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The analysis obtained from the previous elaboration is that the steps taken by the central government are still considered to be less than optimal and less targeted. The current government should involve stakeholders and people who are felt to have a big influence on millennials in the area. because stakeholders in the area better understand the psychology of the community so that the goals achieved will be delivered.

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATION, AND LIMITATION

The 3T region is a supporting area in the aspect of national defense. The existence of a 3T region should receive more attention from the government. The Indonesian state defense system that carries the universal/total defense system, which also involves all components of the citizens, means that all citizens have the same rights and obligations in the process of defending Indonesia's sovereignty from all forms of threats. The state needs to pay attention to infrastructure, education, and the quality of existing human resources to prevent non-military threats.

Discussing the extent of understanding of nationalism in the 3T region, it can be concluded that the practice of nationalism in the 3T region is still relatively minimal. Not a few people in the 3T region have not been ungodly in using Indonesian, which is the official language of the Republic of Indonesia. Some people in border areas also prefer to spend on products from neighboring countries because the prices of local products are much higher than those of neighboring countries; this event is the impact of the unequal infrastructure carried out by the central and regional governments.

The lack of competent educators is faced by the government's efforts to instill a nationalist attitude towards the 3T local community. Additionally, educational facilities that are far from decent standards and students who are few and spread over long distances are some of the obstacles for the government to find the best solution.

Efforts that need to be considered by the central government are equitable development which should no longer be centered on Java-centric development but spread throughout the archipelago in Indonesia. Provide access to an adequate education in remote areas of the country far from the capital city's reach. Another thing that needs to be considered is providing skills training to the community in the 3T

region to improve the quality and quality of human resources in the area. Thus, people in the 3T region still feel close to the government and feel recognized as part of the Indonesian nation.

The efforts described previously must be massive and continuous so that the people in the area will further explore their identity as citizens of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This activity needs to collaborate with local governments and their staff and involve active youth as extension workers regarding attitudes and understanding of nationalism. In this way, the spirit of nationalism, which may have been eroded at first because they felt excluded, will be reformed. The limitation of this study was that the researchers did not directly involve themselves in the 3T regions. The researchers' lack of time and funding makes it impossible to conduct the field research. However, the researchers hope that the findings on this library research can be a valuable source for the following researchers to do the field research on the related topic.

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