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CONTRIBUTION ANALYSIS OF THE STATE DEFENSE AWARENESS PROGRAMME TOWARDS THE NATIONAL CHARACTER BUILDING

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Abstract

Globalization always lead to various kinds of influences, both negative nor positive, on the national character. In Indonesia, globalization has caused a significant degradation of national character which ended by the poor national character of the Indonesia's young generation. In order to minimalize this impact, the Indonesian government has launched a program, named State Defense Awareness Programme (*Program Pembinaan Kesadaran Bela Negara*), in order to perform the mental revolution program and building the national character of Indonesia's young generation, which has influenced by the negative effect of globalization. But until now, the Indonesian citizens are still not convinced that State Defense Awareness Programme can be an appropriate means in building the national character of Indonesian citizens. This condition was supported by the emergence of negative stigma related to State Defense Awareness Programme, which ultimately reduces the level of people participation in the program.

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This article was written by using a systematic approach and contribution analysis method. The results of this study are expected to be a consideration for the Indonesian government and citizens in implementing and joining this program. Based on the analysis result, it can be concluded that State Defense Awareness Programme has a significant contribution towards national character building of Indonesia's young generation. A comprehensive and integrated implementation of this program will produce citizens or state defense cadres who has highly character of nationalism, patriotism, solidarity, skill, collaboration, discipline, leadership and so on, especially for Indonesians who are born and grow up on border areas or foreign country and have experienced a significant shift of state defense awareness. This program will also produce resilient, militant, and nationally awareness citizens based on the State Defense, Pancasila values and the 1945 Constitution norms.

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INTRODUCTION

The development of strategic environment always poses dynamic and complex challenges and threats to all states in the world, including Indonesia. Globalization is one of those challenges which affected all life aspects of Indonesia citizens. The complex impact of globalization is on Indonesian's behavior, especially Indonesian's young generations behavior who are easily influenced by external values and culture which are discordance with the personality and the character of Indonesians. This condition is characterized by the degradation of Indonesians youth nationalism. This statement is based on the result of the national awareness survey followed by 106 countries. According to the survey result, Indonesia is ranked 95th (Armawi, A. & Wahidin, 2018). This result indicates that the national awareness of Indonesia's young generation is very poor. If it is not immediately dealt with seriously, it will become a real threat for Indonesia in the near future. Therefore, the Indonesian government needs to make precise and efficient responses to face the influence of globalization on Indonesians.

In this context, the Indonesian government has launched a national character revolution program as one of the

agendas in 2014-2019. The revolution process was carried out through rearranging the national curriculum policy which prioritized civic education as the main subject to develop the national character of Indonesians who patriotic and willing to sacrifice their life in order to maintain the sovereignty of Indonesia. This is in accordance with the research results of Ahadi (Ahadi, 2017) and Sundawa (Sundawa, 2017), which shows that civic education can be an alternative strategy to build the national character which has a national spirit, nationalism, national awareness, and state defense awareness in order to defend the country from the various threats. These results show that the national character revolution policy launched by the Indonesian government through civic education is appropriate. However, the role of civic education in building the national character is not optimal, because this is only a concept and its implementation has not been fully actualized in daily life. Hence, the Defence Ministry of Indonesia launched State Defense Awareness Programme (*Pembinaan Kesadaran Bela Negara*) in order to support the Indonesian government agendas in performing the mental revolution of Indonesia's young generation and building the national character.

State Defense Awareness Programme is intended to build mental, attitude and character of Indonesian citizens to have a sense of nationalism and national awareness. In addition, participants of this program will be given further understanding regarding to the ideology of Indonesia, Pancasila, so that Indonesian citizens can be convinced and loyal to Pancasila and willing to sacrifice in order to maintain the sovereignty and the integrity of Indonesian territory based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. At first, the Indonesian government was targeting to build 100 million militant State Defense cadres which be able to implement the State Defense values in their daily life, as well as having highly legal awareness, discipline, and leadership in order to ensure the existence of Indonesia in the next 10 years.

State Defense Awareness Programme can be integrated to civic education taught at junior schools, high schools or universities in Indonesia. However, there are no specific research which can explain the contribution of State Defense Awareness Programme towards the national character building since the program launched, so it makes Indonesia citizens still unsure that State Defense Awareness Programme can be an appropriate means in building the national character of Indonesians. This condition is also supported by the emergence of stigma which said that "State Defense Awareness Programme is identical to the mandatory military program". This stigma creates negative perceptions and can reduce willing of people participation in joining the program. In fact, the State Defense Awareness Programme is different from the mandatory military program (Matondang, 2018), although both are manifestations of State Defense's efforts and aimed to create highly dedicated citizens towards the nation (Subagyo, 2018). This opinion is supported by the results of Nurizka's (Nurizka, 2018) study, which shows that State Defense Awareness Programme is not an attempt to militarize or defend the state through

physical efforts. However, State Defense Awareness Programme is an effort of non-physical state defense in order to build the national character of Indonesians which is aware of their rights and obligations to do their best in order to maintain the Indonesia's sovereignty, territorial integrity and national security, and also to defend Indonesia from various threats, in accordance with mandate of the applicable laws. This is what the Indonesian government wants to instill as one of the mental revolution efforts aimed to build the national attitudes and behavior of Indonesians based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

Based on the explanation above, this research is important to be conducted in order to analyze the contribution of the State Defense Awareness Programme in building the national character of Indonesians. So, the results of this study are expected to be a consideration for the Indonesian government and citizens in implementing State Defense Awareness Programme in Indonesian education sector.

LITERATURE REVIEW

State Defense Awareness Programme

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia defines State Defense as an attitude and behavior of citizens who are inspired by his love to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in order to maintain the nation-state existence in the world. In addition, State Defense can also be interpreted as citizens attitudes and actions based on the citizens patriotism, national awareness, belief in Pancasila as the country's ideology, willingness to sacrifice for the nation in order to face any threats, disturbances, obstacles and challenges which comes from domestic and overseas which is endangers the state sovereignty, territorial integrity and national safety based on Pancasila values and the 1945 Constitution rules (Widodo, 2011). Physically, State Defense can be interpreted as an effort to defend Indonesia

from physical attacks or aggression conducted by countries or parties which threaten the existence of Indonesia. Whereas in non-physical terms, State Defense is defined as an effort to participate actively in developing the country, both by moral education or by improving the Indonesian's welfare.

In Indonesia, State Defense Program has been formally regulated within 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD 1945) in Section X on Citizens and Residents, Article 27 (3) states that: "Each citizen shall have the right and the duty to participate in the defense of the nation" and Section XII on Defense and Security of the State, Article 30 (1) states that: "Each citizen has the right and the duty to participate in the defense and security of the state". Furthermore, the implementation of national defense has been regulated in Law No. 3/2002 on National Defense, Article 9 (1) states that: "Every citizen has the right and is required to participate in the state defense embodied in the national defense". According to Article 9 (2), the participation of citizens in state defense is held through:

- civic education;
- compulsory basic military training;
- service as member of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) either voluntary or compulsory;
- service-based profession.

Article 9 (3) mandates that all provisions about civic education, compulsory basic military training, and service-based profession are regulated by the law.

This program formally regulated in the applicable regulations because the Indonesian Government realize that State Defense Awareness owned by an individual or a society does not arise by itself, but must be early instilled through education in schools, work environment, and society, then continued by sustainable education programs, both by Civic Education and State Defense Education. Actually, the State Defense Education program was originally launched by the Defence Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia

(Defence Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015) as State Defense Awareness Programme. This program is an effort conducted by Indonesian government to build an effective, efficient and high deterrent national defense system by utilizing the Indonesians awareness of their rights and obligations, and their belief in protecting Indonesia's sovereignty, territorial integrity and Indonesian safety from all threats. Then, this program was formally inaugurated by the Indonesian government as national program in supporting the mental revolution program of Indonesians.

State Defense Awareness Programme is one of non-physical state defense forms. This program aims to enhance the nationalism and patriotism of Indonesians by education. Basically, State Defense Awareness Programme aims to instill the basic values of State Defense, namely: (1) patriotism, (2) national awareness, (3) belief to Pancasila as the country's ideology, (4) willing to sacrifice for the nation, and (5) having the basic capability to defend the nation, both physically and psychologically (Tippe, 2017). However, this program has not been implemented systematically. This condition can be seen from the absence of a comprehensive State Defense education system in Indonesia (Rahman, 2015). Therefore, it is necessary to make a State Defense education curriculum at every education level in Indonesia, both at junior, high school, and university (Soepandji & Farid, 2018)

National Character Building

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia defines national character as a unique quality of national collective behavior, both reflected in the awareness, understanding, feeling, and behavior of the nation and state as a result of the Indonesian's spiritual, emotional, intellectual, physical, kinesthetic, affective and creativity development based on the Pancasila values, the 1945 Constitution norms, the *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* principles

and the commitment to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Based on this definition, *Pemerintah Republik Indonesia (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2010)* has designed a character education program which is expected to be able in building the national character of Indonesians through four main sources, as follows:

- a. Character originating through spiritual and emotional development (*olah hati*), namely: religious and pious, honest, trustworthy, fair, orderly, obedient, responsible, empathetic, fearless, never give up, willing to sacrifice, and patriotic;
- b. Character originating through intellectual development (*olah pikir*), namely: smart, critical, creative, innovative, curious, productive, reflective, and science-technology oriented;
- c. Character originating through physical and kinesthetic development (*olah raga dan kinestetik*), namely: healthy, sporty, resilient, reliable, resistant, friendly, cooperative, determinative, competitive, cheerful, and persistent;
- d. Character originating through affective and creativity development (*olah rasa dan karsa*), namely: humanity, mutual respect, mutual cooperation, togetherness, friendliness, respect, tolerance, nationalism, caring, cosmopolitan, prioritizing the public interest, patriotic, proud to use language and Indonesian products, dynamic, hard work and having work ethic.

So, the national character building program is considered very important to be conducted because it is an effort to realize the mandate of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. In addition, this process is also an effort to overcome various problems faced by Indonesia, such as: (1) disorientation and unrealized of Pancasila values as the national philosophy and ideology; (2) limitations of integrated policy in realizing Pancasila values; (3) alteration of ethical values in the national life; (4) fading of national cultural values

awareness; (5) national disintegration; and (6) weakening of national independence (Rachmah, 2013).

The concept of national character building of Indonesians which is applied by the government must be based on the Pancasila philosophy. This means that every aspect of the national character which is built must be comprehensively inspired by the five principles of Pancasila as follows:

- a. The nation who belief in the one and only God, which is realized in mutual respect and cooperation among religious and other believers in terms of worship freedom, in accordance with the citizen religion and belief, and not imposing the religion or belief on others.
- b. The nation who honor just and civilized humanity, which is realized in recognition of rights and obligations equality, tolerance, respectful, unselfishness, prioritize humanity values, honest, and justice.
- c. The nation who prioritize the unity of Indonesia, which is embodied in the attitude which prioritize the unity and safety of the nation rather than personal or group interests, willing to sacrifice for the nation, and proud to be an Indonesians.
- d. The nation who democratic and prioritize the laws and human rights, which is manifested in a behavior that prioritizes the national interests, prioritizing deliberations for consensus in making decisions, being good and responsible in conducting the duties, daring to take decisions based the values of truth and justice.
- e. The nation who prioritize the social justice prosperity of all citizens, which is realized in actions that reflect the attitude of kinship, mutual cooperation, fairness, maintaining harmony between rights and obligations, respect for the others rights, helping others, avoiding extortion towards others, hard work and appreciate the other works.

Those efforts are executed to build the national character of Indonesians as explained above.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study is qualitative study used the systematic review approach of all relevant Indonesian literature linked to the topic. According to Geddes (2002), the systematic review is a literature study approach aimed to identify, assemble, critical appraise and synthesize all previous researches which are relevant on a specific topic. The results of this synthesis are specifically used to describe the issues examined in this article. The review process is begun by an electronic search of Indonesian literature which is relevant to:

- State Defense Awareness Programme;
- national character;
- national character building; and
- national curriculum development;

The electronic search is conducted in journals database, such as the Science Direct, Ebsco, Emerald, and Researchgate accessed via Indonesia Defense University library and through Google and Google Scholar search engines. In addition, an offline search for several kinds of literature in Indonesia Defense University library was also conducted. This literature search is narrowed to books, journals or magazines published from 2010 until 2018 and related to the research topic. All of that sources have been reduced and analyzed by the author using contribution analysis method.

The contribution analysis method can be defined as an approach to assessing the performance of policies and programs towards outcomes. This method can be conducted in several steps, namely: (1) set out the attribution problem to be addressed; (2) develop the theory of change and the risks to it; (3) gather existing evidence on the theory of change; (4) assemble and assess the contribution story, and challenges to it; (5) seek out additional evidence; and (6) revise and strengthen the contribution story (Mayne, 2008).

In this research, the contribution analysis is conducted to gain a deep understanding about the contribution of State Defense Awareness Programme towards the national character building of Indonesians.

DISCUSSION

A character is defined as a set of values or characteristics of a person or group of people who are imprinted in human beings and manifest in human behaviors to face problems or challenge (Setiawati, 2017). While the national character is defined as a set of values or characteristics which are reflected in national awareness, understanding, feeling, intention, and behavior. Furthermore, the national character of Indonesians is defined as a collective and distinctive behavior of Indonesians which is reflected in national awareness, understanding, and behavior based on Pancasila values and the 1945 Constitution norms. According to Nurgiyantoro (2011), character and identity of Indonesians are needed by Indonesia as a differentiating element of other ethnics and nations in the world. Therefore, the Indonesian government needs to perform every effort to build the national character of Indonesians, so it is not easily disintegrated by foreign nation cultures which infiltrate to Indonesia through globalization.

Setiawati (Setiawati, 2017) states that the national character building is a conscious and planned effort performed by a nation-state government in internalizing the guideline values and national identity, so those are can be manifested in a good society which have certain characteristics than other nations in the world. In supporting this effort, the Indonesian government has mandated the national character building program in Law No. 17/2007 about the National Long-Term Development Plan 2005-2025, which can be shown by the framework below:

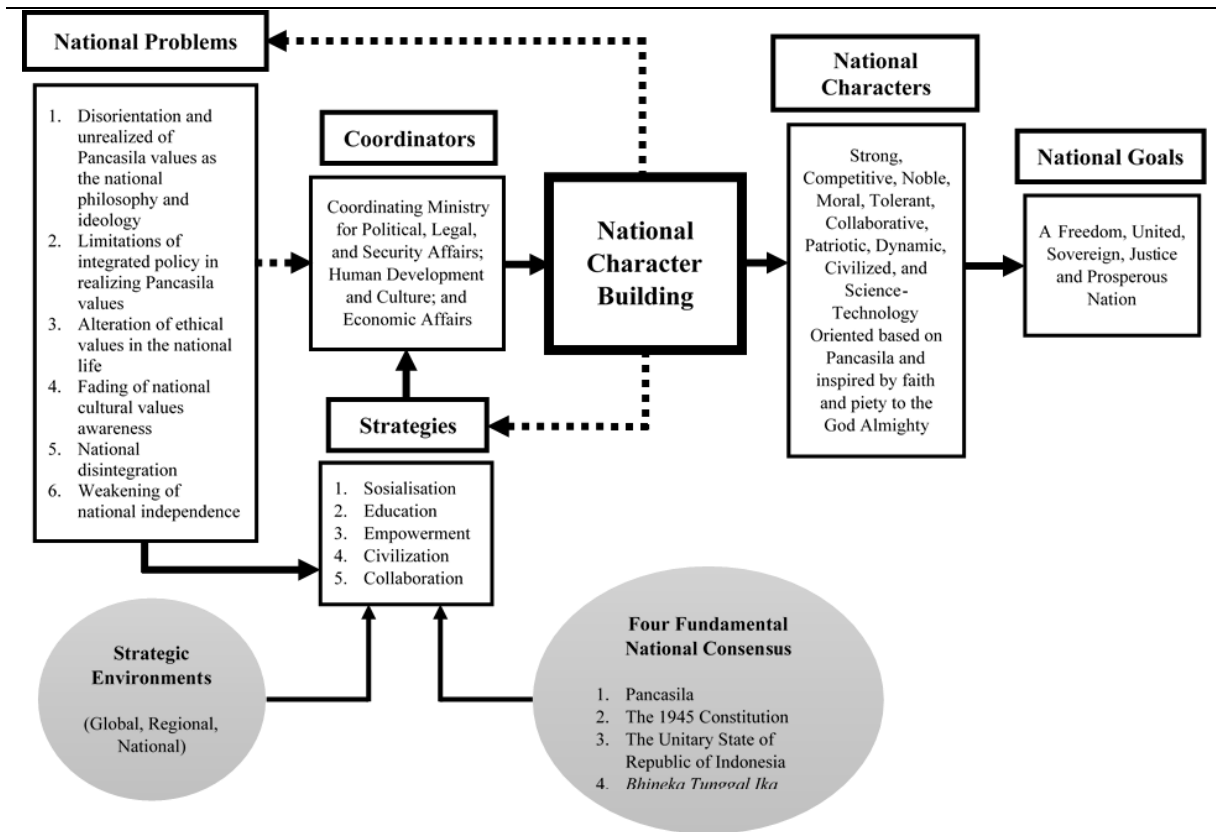


Figure 1. The Indonesian government framework in building the national character showed education as one of its strategies
 Source: Modified from *Pemerintah Republik Indonesia*, 2010

Setiawati (Setiawati, 2017) states that the essence of education is to build the national character. In this framework, education is intended to internalize the noble values and norms of Indonesians to the younger generation, both within the family, school, and society. This strategy is executed to build a strong, competitive, noble, moral, tolerant, collaborative, patriotic, dynamic, cultured, and oriented to science and technology nation which is based on Pancasila and imbued by faith and piety to God Almighty. All of these efforts conducted to create freedom, united, sovereign, just and prosperous nation.

According to Sundawa (Sundawa, 2017), the process of national character building can be performed through civic education containing national insight. This opinion is supported by Supranoto’s (Supranoto, 2015) research results which state that civic education can build the Indonesian character through the realization

of Pancasila values which will improve Indonesian civilization. On the other hand, Suhardi (Suhardi, Pembinaan, Ditjen, & Kemdikbud, 2012) revealed that this whole process was an effort to overcome the national disintegration caused by the weakness of Indonesia’s young generation character due to the influence of globalization and modernization while guaranteeing the existence of Indonesians ability to compete with other nations in the world.

Integration of national insights into civic education can be executed through rearrangement of the Indonesian education curriculum which implements State Defense Awareness Programme as one of its educational programs. State Defense Awareness Programme is a part of character education (Noor, 2016) which aims to build national character and national identity (Nurizka, 2018) that is resilient, nationally awareness and has a state defense

awareness (Timbul, 2016), so it can actualize itself to defend the country (Sulistiyani, 2018). Essentially, State Defense Awareness Programme is conducted to build the national character of all Indonesians based on state defense values (Setiono, 2017), namely: (1) patriotism, (2) national awareness, (3) belief to Pancasila as the state's ideology, (4) willing to sacrifice for the nation, and (5) having the basic capability to defend the nation, both physically and psychologically (Tippe, 2017). In addition, this programme aims to build discipline, leadership, collaboration, patriotism, and nationalism of all citizens which can be useful in supporting the progress of Indonesia in the future (Nurizka, 2018).

In order to instill the state defense values, State Defense Awareness Programme has several indicators which will be taught based on its values as follows:

1. Indicators of Patriotism value:
Patriotism is taught to Indonesians in order to explain how important are:
 - a. maintain the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia,
 - b. proud to be an Indonesians,
 - c. maintain the honor of the Republic of Indonesia,
 - d. having a strong patriotism spirit towards the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia,
 - e. contributing to the progress of Indonesia, and
 - f. proud to use Indonesian products.
2. Indicators of National Awareness value:
National awareness is taught to Indonesians in order to explain how important are:
 - a. actively participate in social, professional and political organizations,
 - b. conducting the rights and obligations as citizens in accordance with applicable laws and regulations,
 - c. thinking, acting and doing the best efforts for nation-state progress,
 - d. participating the general elections, and
 - e. striving in protecting the sovereignty and integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.
3. Indicators of Belief to Pancasila as the State's Ideology value:
This value is taught to Indonesians in order to explain how important are:
 - a. understanding the values of Pancasila,
 - b. practicing the values of Pancasila in daily life,
 - c. utilizing Pancasila as a unifying means of the nation and the state,
 - d. developing Pancasila values in daily life, and
 - e. convinced and believed that Pancasila is the ideology of the Republic of Indonesia.
4. Indicators of Willing to Sacrifice for the nation value:
This value is taught to Indonesians in order to explain how important are:
 - a. willing to sacrifice the time, energy, and mind for the progress of the Republic of Indonesia,
 - b. ready to defend the Republic of Indonesia from various threats,
 - c. participate actively in developing the society, nation and state of the Republic of Indonesia,
 - d. helping fellow citizens who have difficulties, and
 - e. believe that all sacrifice efforts in order to maintain the state sovereignty, territorial integrity and national safety will not be in vain.
5. Indicators of Having the Basic Capability to Defend the Nation value:
This value is taught to Indonesians in order to explain how important are:
 - a. having a good emotional and spiritual intelligence,
 - b. always be grateful and pray for the pleasure which has given by God almighty, and
 - c. always exercise in order to maintain the health of the body and the soul.

According to Winarni (Winarni, 2013) and Indrawan (Indrawan & Efriza, 2019), the integration of State Defense Awareness Programme in civic education must be performed by all educational institutions in Indonesia in order to build a better national character of Indonesians.

Actually, several research articles have explained that State Defense Awareness Programme can be utilizing as a means in building the national character of Indonesians. For example: Eko (Eko, 2017) revealed that State Defense Awareness Programme can be a part of mental revolution designed to build state defense awareness, state defense ability, and national identity which has a personality and culture based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. This opinion is consistent with the findings of Nurizka (Nurizka, 2018) which shows that the State Defense Awareness Programme can build the national character and increase the state defense awareness owned by Indonesians. Furthermore, Rahmawati (Rahmawati, 2017) also found that State Defense Awareness Programme can improve the nationalism or state defense awareness owned by Indonesians which born and growing abroad.

In addition, Wahyudi (Wahyudi, 2017) also revealed that Indonesians who live in border areas also need to get State Defense Awareness Programme because the majority of these citizens have experienced a significant shift of state defense awareness. This study is supported by Tippe (Tippe, 2016) research result which revealed that state defense education can strengthen patriotism and nationalism of Indonesian, especially those citizens who lived in the border region, such as Papua Province. Futhermore, the research result of Wijayanto J. and Marzuki (Wijayanto J., 2018) indicates that State Defense education applied has a function in fostering and strengthening the values of patrotism in students. State Defense education teaches about the spirit of

struggle, nationalism, patriotism and excellent physical endurance.

Nowadays, State Defense Awareness Programme has just been conducted on voluntary citizens or new employees who are required to join the State Defense Awareness Programme by its institution or company, as well as new students which are intentionally ordered by its school to join the State Defense Awareness Programme.

Actually, State Defense Awareness Programme can be implemented in high schools and universities. In high school, State Defense Awareness Programme is integrated with civic education through several subjects, namely: Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the Republic of Indonesia and national awareness. While in university, State Defense Awareness Programme can be integrated with the national awareness course, personality development or other courses which discuss the character building of students (Handoko, 2016). In addition, State Defense Awareness Programme can be performed in non-formal educational institutions, such as state defense academies, state defense training, and education centers, or Kodam Main Regiment (*Rindam*).

In the implementation of State Defense Awareness Programme, students or people who participate will be given several subjects related to national awareness which is expected to increase citizens understanding and love to the nation and to foster a desire to contribute in realizing the national interest (Nurizka, 2018). According to Matondang (Matondang, 2018), all subjects contained in the State Defense Awareness curriculum must be in accordance with the concept of the total defense adopted by Indonesia. So, this program can encourage all Indonesian to participate in maintaining the sovereignty of the country from various fields in accordance with their abilities. To realize this, the Indonesian government through the Defence Ministry of Indonesia has formulated some subjects that must be

taught in State Defense Awareness Programme curriculum as follows:

1. Main Subjects:
 - a. The Essence of State Defense
 - b. Nationality Awareness
 - c. Four Fundamental National Consensus (Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Republic of Indonesia, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika)
 - d. Total Defense System
2. Supporting Subjects:
 - a. Leadership
 - b. Radicalism and Terrorism
 - c. Drugs Abuse
 - d. Inter-Religious Harmony
 - e. Natural Disaster Management
 - f. Legal Knowledge of Narcotics, Traffic and Corruption
3. Additional Subjects:
 - a. Education System
 - b. Academic Activities and Services
 - c. Student Organizations and Activities
 - d. Marching Order
 - e. The Flag Ceremony
 - f. First Aid
 - g. Practice Activities (Martial Arts, Navigation, Survival, Mountaineering, Outbound, etc.)

These subjects can be taught both inside and outside of classroom (Widodo, 2011) to build morale and dignified national character in accordance with the Indonesian government policies (Moelyono, 2016), as well as to build solidarity, skills, and team collaboration of State Defense Awareness Programme participants (Nurizka, 2018, Sulistyani, 2018).

CONCLUSIONS

State defense awareness owned by an individual or a society does not arise by itself, but must be early instilled through education in schools, work environment, and society, then continued by sustainable education. Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that State Defense Awareness Programme has an important role in building the national character and realizing the mental revolution program of Indonesia's young generation, launched by

Indonesian government. In this context, the integration of State Defense Awareness Programme in civic education, performed by all educational institutions in Indonesia, will build a better national character and national identity of Indonesians.

On the other hand, it can be seen that State Defense Awareness Programme has significant contribution towards national character building of Indonesians. A comprehensive and integrated implementation of this program, in accordance with the State Defense curriculum listed above, will produce students, participants or state defense cadres who has highly character of nationalism, patriotism, solidarity, skill, collaboration, discipline, leadership and so on, especially for Indonesians who are born and grow up on border areas or foreign country and have experienced a significant shift of state defense awareness. This program will also produce resilient, militant, and nationally awareness citizens based on the State Defense values, Pancasila values and the 1945 Constitution norms.

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