Collaboration Of Stagist Approaches And Discursive Approaches On Ideas & Discourse In "Bela Negara" Policies In Prismatic Communities

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ABSTRAK

Program bela negara di Kabupaten Situbondo menitikberatkan pada kolaborasi antara Forum Koordinasi Pimpinan Daerah (Forkopimda) Situbondo dan komunitas Pondok Pesantren guna menciptakan proses kebijakan yang partisipatif. Kerja sama ini menjadi krusial dalam konteks masyarakat prismatik karena memungkinkan terakomodasinya beragam pengetahuan dari masing-masing pihak dalam ruang publik yang inklusif. Namun demikian, membangun kolaborasi semacam ini tidaklah sederhana, mengingat adanya kepentingan yang kompleks di antara kedua belah pihak. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis dinamika kolaborasi dalam kebijakan bela negara yang berlangsung di Kabupaten Situbondo, dengan mempertimbangkan karakter prismatik masyarakat setempat. Metode yang digunakan adalah pendekatan kualitatif dengan teknik interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), digunakan untuk memahami proses kolaboratif yang terjalin baik dari sisi aktor kebijakan, yaitu Forkopimda Situbondo, maupun dari sisi kelompok sasaran, yakni para ulama. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa dalam proses kebijakan bela negara di Situbondo terdapat perbedaan konstruksi pengetahuan antara aktor kebijakan dan kelompok sasaran. Forkopimda Situbondo cenderung menggunakan pengetahuan profesional dan ilmiah (indigenous), sementara para ulama lebih mengandalkan pengetahuan lokal (endogenous). Perbedaan ini timbul dari perbedaan pendekatan kebijakan yang digunakan: Forkopimda cenderung mengadopsi pendekatan stagist atau manajerial, sedangkan para ulama menggunakan pendekatan diskursif berbasis ide dan wacana yang berakar pada pengetahuan lokal mereka. Meskipun terdapat perbedaan dalam pendekatan dan jenis pengetahuan yang digunakan, keduanya mampu membangun kolaborasi yang efektif. Hal ini tercermin dalam sejumlah kegiatan bersama, seperti perayaan Hari Ulang Tahun Republik Indonesia dan peringatan Hari Bela Negara (HBN) ke-74.
Kata Kunci: Kebijakan, Stagist, Diskursif Ide & Wacana, dan Prismatik

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ABSTRACT

The national defense program in Situbondo Regency emphasizes collaboration between the Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda) of Situbondo and the Islamic boarding school (Pondok Pesantren) community in order to foster a participatory policy-making process. This collaboration is particularly crucial within a prismatic society, as it enables the integration of diverse forms of knowledge from each party within an inclusive public sphere. However, building such a partnership is not without challenges, as it involves navigating complex and sometimes conflicting interests between the two groups. This study aims to analyze the dynamics of collaborative national defense policy-making in Situbondo Regency, taking into account the prismatic nature of the local society. A qualitative approach was employed, using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as the analytical method was chosen to explore the collaborative processes involving both policy actors—namely, Forkopimda Situbondo—and target groups, particularly the ulama. The findings reveal that in the policy process, there is a clear divergence in the construction of knowledge between the policy actors and the target group. Forkopimda Situbondo tends to rely on professional and scientific (indigenous) knowledge, whereas the ulama draw more heavily on local (endogenous) knowledge. This divergence arises from differing policy approaches: Forkopimda adopts a stagist or managerial policy model, while the ulama engage through a discursive approach rooted in local ideas and narratives. Despite these differences in approach and epistemological orientation, the two groups have managed to establish effective collaboration. This is evident in several joint activities, such as the celebration of Indonesia's Independence Day and the commemoration of the 74th National Defense Day (HBN).

Keywords: Policy, Stagist, Idea & Discourse Discursive, and Prismatic

INTRODUCTION

The "Bela Negara" (Defending the Nation) program in Situbondo Regency is carried out through collaborative efforts between formal and informal institutions. The Situbondo Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda)—comprising the Military District Command (Kodim) 0823/Situbondo, the Situbondo Police (Polres), and the Agency for National Unity and Politics (Bakesbangpol)—plays a central role in promoting national defense values. Alongside these institutions, Islamic boarding schools (pondok pesantren) and the local community participate by embodying nationalist values through the religious-social expression of *hubbul wathon minal iman* (loving the homeland is part of faith).

Two pesantren that are particularly active in advocating for national defense in Situbondo are Walisongo Mimbaan Panji Situbondo and Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo. The latter is widely recognized as a "nationalist pesantren" due to its consistent efforts in encouraging both students and the broader community to safeguard the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) through social and religious practices.

The collaboration between Forkopimda and pesantren is noteworthy due to their contrasting epistemological foundations. While Forkopimda operates based on professional and scientific (indigenous) knowledge, pesantren rely on local or endogenous knowledge. Despite these differences, both actors share a mutual commitment to defending the nation, each drawing upon their respective knowledge systems.

This phenomenon in Situbondo aligns with Flyvbjerg's (2006) assertion that recognizing and integrating diverse knowledge backgrounds is essential in participatory policymaking. It also resonates with Rhodes' (1997) concept of policy networks, where institutions interact and share resources in policy processes to achieve common goals. These perspectives are consistent with the discursive theory of ideas and discourse, which emphasizes inter-institutional engagement toward collective objectives (Putra & Sanusi, 2019).

In Situbondo's bela negara context, the interplay between the knowledge systems of policy actors and target groups contributes to a form of "knowledge governance," which supports official national events such as National Defense Day and Indonesia's Independence Day celebrations.

However, this synergy is not always reflected in practice. Observations indicate that many activities organized by Forkopimda often exclude pesantren participation, while conversely, the contributions of pesantren are frequently underacknowledged by Forkopimda. This disconnect has led to suboptimal implementation of some bela negara initiatives.

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The integration of diverse knowledge forms in policy is not a new concept. Nugroho et al. (2018) have long emphasized the importance of democratizing policymaking by incorporating a broad spectrum of stakeholders and knowledge types to support a more inclusive public policy process.

Previous studies, such as Røislien (2019) and Elran & Sheffer (2019), have explored the use of local and religious values in defense policies, particularly in the context of Israel's compulsory military service. However, this study differs in that Indonesia's national defense approach is non-compulsory, granting citizens the freedom to participate based on their professions and capabilities. In this regard, local (endogenous) knowledge plays a key role in fostering desired shifts in public attitudes and behaviors.

The implementation of bela negara, which seeks to shape civic attitudes and behaviors in public life, can benefit from interdisciplinary perspectives. For instance, Tippe (2013) applies anthropological insights to defense policy. This study, however, highlights the relevance of sociology, particularly in addressing the complexities of prismatic societies.

Moreover, within the Situbondo context, the influence of religious leaders is crucial in realizing Article 9, Paragraph (1), Point (a) of Law No. 3 of 2002 on National Defense. Changing public behavior in prismatic societies cannot rely solely on formal institutions like Forkopimda; it also requires the active involvement of religious leaders, who hold significant moral authority within the community, to advance participatory policy frameworks.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Foundation in the Implementation of the "Bela Negara" Policy

Article 9 Paragraph (1) of Law No. 3 of 2002 on National Defense affirms that "every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in national defense efforts." This participation is defined as the embodiment of citizens' attitudes and behaviors rooted in love for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), founded on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, to ensure the continuity of the nation and state.

From this legal foundation, it can be inferred that the essence of the "bela negara" program lies in the transformation of citizens' attitudes and behaviors within the public sphere, reflecting fundamental national defense values. Gerungan (2004) defines attitude as an individual's emotional or evaluative reaction toward an object, which may vary depending on personal experiences, needs, and access to information. Similarly, Faiz (2012) sees attitude as an evaluative process that could result in positive or negative judgments about objects, people,

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or ideas. However, the manifestation of attitude into behavior is not instantaneous—it requires internalization through reflection, and is shaped by values, norms, morals, and ethics.

According to Faiz, values are aspirations seen as good and desirable by citizens, which are then translated into norms—idealized behavior patterns that guide individuals in achieving societal goals. Morals represent internalized social traditions, serving as behavioral standards, while ethics guide decision-making by weighing moral considerations with reason and objectivity.

In essence, attitude formation involves a complex interplay of individual cognition and external social influences. Sarlito and Eko identify four key mechanisms in this process: classical conditioning (where stimuli are repeatedly associated), instrumental conditioning (reinforcement of behavior based on outcomes), observational learning (emulating others), and social comparison (evaluating one's views through comparison with others). The public domain thus becomes crucial in shaping attitudes and behaviors aligned with national defense. When changes in public behavior are not forthcoming, deliberate interventions in the public space—particularly through regulatory reinforcement—are needed to foster the desired transformation.

Applying Discursive Analysis of Ideas and Discourse in Policy Implementation

Clemens and Matthew (in Putra and Sanusi, 2019) identify four strands of New Institutionalism (NI) that underpin public policy analysis. The first is Sociological Institutionalism (SI), which focuses on how social norms, values, and beliefs shape behavior within society. The second is Rational Choice Institutionalism (RCI), which posits that institutional frameworks impose constraints and opportunities on actors, prompting rational calculations to optimize decisions (North, in Putra and Sanusi, 2019). RCI emphasizes the "rules of the game" that structure behavior within specific communities.

Third, Historical Institutionalism (HI) views institutional development as path-dependent—shaped by past interactions and decisions. As noted by Evan (in Putra and Sanusi, 2019), HI aims to evaluate institutional performance over time. Finally, Discursive Institutionalism (DI) concentrates on the role of ideas and discourse in shaping policy. According to Schmidt and Radaelli (in Putra and Sanusi, 2019), DI analyzes how actors communicate and transact ideas within institutional settings, which include both formal (rules and regulations) and informal (norms and customs) dimensions.

The discursive model of policy analysis introduced by Vivien Schmidt adds a novel dimension to public policy scholarship. It highlights that policy success depends not only on

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content but also on how ideas are constructed and disseminated by actors in the public arena. Despite this, formal institutions such as the bureaucracy often prioritize a managerial model of policymaking, aligned with traditional frameworks like Dunn's policy process and Graham Allison's bureaucratic model. As noted by Putra and Sanusi (2019), formal actors remain bound by institutional regulations and norms in decision-making.

Against this theoretical backdrop, the current research examines the intersection of formal (e.g., Forkopimda's "bela negara" framework) and informal (e.g., pesantren's HWMI narrative) institutional knowledge. The discursive theory of ideas and discourse is deemed suitable for analyzing how these different knowledge constructions interact within the "bela negara" policy implementation arena.

Nonetheless, because "bela negara" is a formal state policy, it is also necessary to analyze it through a managerial lens using existing implementation models. The study therefore integrates field-level analysis with discursive theory to propose alternative implementation models that respond more effectively to the realities of prismatic societies.

Discursive theory distinguishes between brute facts (objective realities) and social facts (meanings assigned by actors). Ontologically and epistemologically, this aligns with the phenomenological approach used in this research, which views policy implementation as a socially constructed reality. According to the sociology of knowledge (Berger & Luckmann), meaning is shaped by predispositions and accumulated knowledge. In discursive theory, actors' knowledge functions as an endogenous institution that authorizes behavior in policy implementation contexts.

Thus, the construction of knowledge by formal policy actors (based on statutes and regulations) and informal actors (derived from religious and cultural practices) reflect distinct institutional logics—both of which operate in the public sphere to shape the dynamics of "bela negara" implementation.

State of the Art in Research

This study builds upon and differentiates itself from prior research conducted by scholars such as Tippe (2013), Nakir (2017), Røislien (2019), Hill (2019), Nugroho et al. (2018), Elran & Sheffer (2019), and Mannitz (2018). First, international research typically focuses on compulsory military service, where the state uses legal and normative-religious authority to mobilize citizens for national defense—an approach distinct from Indonesia's voluntary model.

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Second, domestic research tends to emphasize legalistic frameworks for state defense, which often clash with more nuanced theoretical understandings of behavior change in public spaces. While this study shares conceptual terrain with Tippe, it departs in focus by examining proactive civic participation rooted in local knowledge.

Third, this study offers a unique contribution by analyzing the dual approaches used in Situbondo: Forkopimda's stagist, professional (indigenous) knowledge model, and the ulama's discursive, locally embedded (endogenous) knowledge approach. The study explores how these divergent frameworks interact and collaborate in shaping the implementation of state defense policy at the grassroots level.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research employs a qualitative approach, utilizing interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA). This methodological choice is applied to examine the collaboration in the "bela negara" policies within Situbondo Regency, focusing on the actions of policy actors, including the Situbondo Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda), as well as the engagement of the target group, particularly among the clergy.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

To safeguard national sovereignty and security, the concept of "country defense" remains a critical priority. Through the implementation of "bela negara" policies, the state must ensure the protection of its territory, citizens, and national resources from potential threats and disruptions, whether arising domestically or externally. Situbondo Regency, as part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, plays a significant role in upholding this national defense spirit. The execution of "bela negara" policies in Situbondo involves various stakeholders, including policy actors responsible for the implementation process. These actors consist of formal government representatives, while the target group encompasses the clergy and the broader community. The following sections detail the roles of these two key groups in the implementation of the "bela negara" policy in Situbondo Regency.

Policy Framework Development by Policy Actors or Umara

In the implementation of the "bela negara" policy in Situbondo, the role of the Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda) as a formal policy actor is pivotal. With a foundation grounded in professional expertise, scientific knowledge, and indigenous wisdom,

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Forkopimda conducts various activities such as discussions, focus group discussions (FGDs), and seminars to foster a sense of patriotism, reflecting the commitment to defending the nation. These activities aim to socialize the core values of national defense and meet the objectives outlined in the Minister of Defense Regulation No. 8 of 2022, which provides guidelines for promoting "bela negara" awareness. The regulation envisions the internalization of national defense values within organizations and communities.

The goal of disseminating the values of national defense and achieving the outlined program objectives aligns with the view expressed by Purwanto and Sulistyastuti (2015). According to their perspective, policy implementation is a vital process for distributing policy outcomes to target groups. However, the dissemination of "bela negara" values does not immediately alter the attitudes and behaviors of the target group. The authors argue that the implementation approach should not only address cognitive aspects but also include a managerial dimension to effectively achieve policy objectives. The managerial approach employed by Forkopimda, however, has its limitations. It often focuses on the procedural correctness of policy processes and outcomes, without fully realizing the expected attitudes and actions from the target group. This managerial process, or stagist approach, tends to be linear and superficial, particularly when influenced by coercive regulations.

Moreover, the stagist approach is less adaptable to local (endogenous) knowledge and the policy environment. Indigenous knowledge plays a crucial role in fostering community participation in national defense efforts. However, the managerial or stagist approach does not provide adequate opportunities to incorporate local knowledge and community preferences into the process, leading to limited participation, as illustrated in the table below.

Table 1 The level of voluntary community participation is based on data from the Agency for
National Unity and Politics

No.	Regency	Agency Volunteers	Individual Volunteers
1.	Banyuwangi	400 Volunteers	200 Volunteers
2.	Bondowoso	300 Volunteers	175 Volunteers
3.	Jember	450 Volunteers	200 Volunteers
4.	Situbondo	250 Volunteers	75 Volunteers

East Java Political and National Unity Agency 2020

Policies that adopt a managerial or stagist approach often encounter numerous limitations, which consequently affect the level of public participation, as shown in Table 1.1 above. To address this issue, it is crucial to integrate an alternative approach that is more holistic and adaptive in its implementation. This new approach should be capable of accommodating the

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interests of the target group by considering cognitive, managerial, and affective dimensions to effectively unite the values of national defense with local community participation. It is essential that the objectives of the "bela negara" policy are achieved not only in terms of process and outcomes but also in fostering commitment and meaningful public participation.

The Role of Discursive Policy Ideas and Discourses by the Target Group (Ulama and Society)

As previously mentioned, the stagist policy utilized by the Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda) presents several limitations, particularly in terms of its ability to enhance public participation in national defense, as reflected in Table 1. Consequently, there is a need to explore other policy approaches that align more closely with the desires of the public, who constitute the target group of these policies. One approach that appears to resonate with the diverse aspirations of the community in Situbondo Regency is the discursive approach to ideas and discourse. The discursive approach plays a crucial role in the formulation and implementation of "bela negara" policies. According to Putra and Sanusi (2019), the way policy ideas are communicated and transmitted to the public is fundamental. Religious activities and traditions serve not only as channels for dissemination but also as mechanisms that stimulate shifts in attitudes, behaviors, and pro-"bela negara" actions within the public sphere.

The collaboration between policy actors who adopt a stagist approach and target groups employing a discursive ideas and discourse approach is evident in national events such as Indonesian Independence Day, National Defense Day (HBN), and national recitations. These activities embody a blend of cognitive and affective values that reinforce the spirit of national defense in Situbondo Regency, which is characterized by its prismatic features. The outcomes of these initiatives lead to constructive changes in the attitudes and behaviors of the community, as illustrated in the following table.

Table 2 Law Violations in Situbondo Regency in 2017-2018

No	Types of Violations in 2017	Amount	Types of Violations in 2018	Amount	*Trends*
1.	Murder	0	Murder	0	Decrease
2.	Drugs	37	Drugs	33	Decrease
3.	Theft	175	Theft	49	Decrease
4.	Alcohol	45	Alcohol	1	Decrease
5.	Gambling	40	Gambling	0	Decrease
6.	ITE	23	ITE	18	Decrease

ource: Situbondo Police for 2017-2018

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The collaboration between the stagist approach and the ideas and discourse approach in the implementation of "bela negara" policies in prismatic communities in Situbondo Regency represents an essential reality. It highlights that, while policies enacted by the government or stagists are important, they often require support from other approaches to ensure their performance aligns with the goals set by policymakers.

The discursive theory of ideas and discourse provides a foundation for constructing human knowledge in a prismatic public space that a stagist approach may not fully address. This approach incorporates both a coordinative function in the policy process and a communicative function in the dissemination of policy ideas.

Thus, the development of a participatory, collaborative public policy approach is crucial in the context of modern and complex governance. It reflects the principles of inclusivity and participation, which provide long-term benefits. First, it accommodates diverse public interests: Since the public holds various perspectives, collaboration among stakeholders serves as a democratic mechanism to represent and meet the needs of many people. Second, it ensures public legitimacy: Including the public in participatory policies is seen as more legitimate, gaining broader support, reducing conflict potential, and increasing public satisfaction with government actions. Third, it fosters innovation and creative solutions: Collaboration among diverse stakeholders generates novel ideas and creative responses to complex challenges. Fourth, it enhances policy resilience: Policies involving multiple stakeholders benefit from broader input and support, leading to policies that are more durable and sustainable. Fifth, it enables a better understanding of complex issues: Collaboration allows for pooling knowledge, helping governments understand and formulate more effective responses to multifaceted problems. Sixth, it builds public capacity: Participation in the policy process raises public awareness of critical issues and empowers individuals to contribute to positive change. Seventh, it promotes transparency and accountability: Collaborative efforts in policy processes increase transparency and accountability in both policy development and implementation.

The collaboration between the stagist approach and the ideas and discourse approach in the "bela negara" policies within a prismatic society should remain an ongoing discussion. In practice, this collaboration requires deeper knowledge exchange between parties. Forkopimda, as the main actor in the implementation of "bela negara" policies, tends to rely heavily on scientific or indigenous knowledge for objective purposes, and professional knowledge for technical justifications. This often leads to a lack of local (endogenous) knowledge within the policy target group. Additionally, the target group frequently resists policies imposed by

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Forkopimda, which is a latent cause of suboptimal policy outcomes and, in some cases, policy failure that has yet to be recognized by Forkopimda—particularly in public policies within prismatic communities.

However, when identified and managed effectively, this gap can be leveraged to increase public participation, as evidenced in various national activities and recitations. Such engagements can help reduce law violations or crime by fostering changes in people's attitudes and behaviors, as illustrated in Table 2, which shows law violations in Situbondo Regency between 2017 and 2018.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion, it can be concluded that the "bela negara" policy process in Situbondo Regency reveals a distinct construction of knowledge between policy actors and the target group. The Situbondo Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda), as the policy actor, relies on professional and scientific (or indigenous) knowledge. In contrast, the target group, which includes the clergy, utilizes local (endogenous) knowledge. These differences in knowledge stem from the varying policy approaches employed. Forkopimda adopts a stagist or managerial approach, while the clergy implement a discursive approach based on their local knowledge. Despite these differing approaches, effective collaboration between the two groups is evident in various activities, such as the 74th Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia and the commemoration of the 74th National Defense Day (HBN).

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