

**PARADOXES IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION:  
State Defense Program Anomaly**

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**ABSTRACT**

*This paper carries out an in-depth review of the implementation of state defense policies in Situbondo so far which is still not optimal. To conduct in-depth research in this paper the researcher uses qualitative research with a purposive approach in order to obtain valid, in-depth and proportional information. The results of the study concluded that: First, the implementation of state defense policy in Situbondo Regency is still not optimal in achieving its stated goals, because there is a paradox in its implementation. This paradox arises because in the implementation of state defense policies top down and ignores local potential, such as the role of charismatic kiai - social capital - which has a strong influence in the Situbondo community so far, so that it has a direct impact on the creation of regional stability, as one of the objectives of national defense. Secondly, because there is a paradox in the implementation of the country's defense policy, it eventually gave birth to an anomaly in the National Defense Program because the Ministry of Defense on one hand wanted the birth of as many national defense cadres, in order to maintain the country's existence from various threats. But on the other hand, in its implementation the Ministry of Defense is exclusive by ignoring the role of the kiai as a very important social capital in the area in encouraging the optimization of the State Defender Program in Situbondo.*

**Keywords:** *State Defense, Social Capital, and Coproduction*

## INTRODUCTION

Policy implementation is an action taken by the government or parties who have a mandate based on strong laws and regulations in ensuring certainty for the policy actions it takes (Agustino, 2008: 7). Meanwhile, according to Grindle (1980), policy implementation is the actions taken by the government which are directed at achieving the objectives outlined in policy decisions. The connection with the state defense policy as an implementation seems to be in line with what the two experts have stated. Because the state defense policy is constitutionally guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution, especially in Article 27 Paragraph (3) that: "Every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in efforts to defend the state. This means that defending the country is the implementation of policies carried out by the government to achieve predetermined goals".

On the other hand, defending the state is also closely related to ensuring the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and the realization of the nation's aspirations to protect the entire Indonesian nation as stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, the fourth paragraph which reads: "Protecting the entire Indonesian nation and all spilled Indonesian blood, advancing public welfare, educating the nation's life, and Participating in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice" which until now, unfortunately, the government has not yet optimized its role in every implementation of state defense it does.

This macro condition keeps its own paradox in an effort to realize the "big" ideals in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, because of Law (UU) no. 3 of 2002 concerning State Defense as an operation of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution is apparently unable to carry out the mandate of the fourth paragraph optimally, It is proven that in many conflicts in the world, Indonesia is unable to play an active role in resolving existing conflicts as an effort to achieve world peace.

On the micro level, in elaborating the contents of the fourth paragraph of the Preamble to the 1945 Law - especially those related to state defense - Article 9 of Law no. 3 of 2002 concerning State Defense which states that: "State defense is the attitude and behavior of citizens who are animated by their love for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in ensuring the survival of the nation and state. Efforts to defend the state, apart from being a basic human obligation, are also an honor for every citizen which is carried out with full awareness, responsibility and willingness to sacrifice in service to the state and nation".

Based on the definitions provided in the explanation of Article 9 above, it can be explained ontologically that the essence of state defense is the existence of constructive attitudes and behavior of citizens imbued with their love for the state,

believes in the ideology of the state he loves and shows an attitude of obedience to the laws and regulations that are regulated by the state in order to ensure the survival of the nation and state, with the following descriptions: (a) loving the homeland, (b) awareness of the nation and state, (c) ) believe in Pancasila as the state ideology, (d) willing to sacrifice for the nation and state, and (e) have the ability to defend the state.

Because attitudes and behavior are related to positive activities in supporting state resilience through state defense mechanisms, according to Triandis (2004) in the theory of attitude and behavior states that a person's behavior is determined by the environment and background and consists of beliefs about the consequences of doing behavior. social rules related to what they think of them, and habits related to what they usually do. Behavior is not possible if the situation does not allow it. This Triandis opinion was further strengthened by the opinion of Bowditch and Buono (1990) in the theory of decision making (behavioral decision theory) which states that a person's behavior will influence decision making. Sometimes in making decisions, someone will no longer use pure rational thought, but also consider the consensus that exists in society that tends to be tolerant or humanist.

With a theoretical basis and regulatory support, the idealization of state defense is a form of respect for citizens that is carried out with conscious and responsible attitudes and behavior, and is willing to sacrifice various personal or group interests for the benefit of the state. This ideal view does not seem to be the basis for the government so far in making state defense policies, so that in its implementation it seems "ceremonial and top down", which lacks in providing substantive understanding to the community.

Therefore, epistemologically, the above pattern should be refined in a more substantive direction in accordance with the identity and will of society with a more humanist attitude. Humanists themselves according to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (2019), are attitudes and behaviors that prioritize a sense of humanity and aspire to better life relationships. In relation to implementation, humanists can be further interpreted as fostering state defense that prioritizes the process of exploring the potential of local knowledge (local knowledge) and local wisdom that already exists in the midst of society to be capitalized as social capital in formulating and implementing state defense policies, so that it is in line with the needs of the community.

The concept of social capital actually arises from the idea that it is impossible for community members to individually overcome the various problems they face, it is necessary to have good togetherness and cooperation from all community members who have an interest in overcoming this problem (Syahra, 2003). In a book entitled *The Rural School Community Center*, Hanifan (1999: 130), says that social capital is not capital in the usual sense such as wealth

or money, but rather has a figurative meaning, but is an important asset or real capital in social life.

The appeal to reduce policies that are one size fits all has been socialized since 1999, by replacing policies that are based on local knowledge and local wisdom by relying on the optimization of community social capital, so that when implemented they are in line with the needs of the community. In 2014 the Ministry of National Development Planning or the National Development Planning Agency (PPN / Head of Bappenas) in organizing the Local Knowledge to Policy Conference: Whose Evidence Matters launched a policy based on local knowledge and local wisdom when the policy was in direct contact with the community to reduce resistance and optimize public acceptance of the policy.

In his remarks, the Minister of National Development Planning / Head of Bappenas stated that from now on we are thinking about pursuing policies that are national in nature and are local or contextual in nature. This local policy is based on local knowledge and local wisdom. So there is an aspect of diversity besides unity, which has so far emphasized the aspect of unity, it is necessary to emphasize the aspect of diversity as well because we are currently part of a decentralized government administration system.

In fact, until now many government policies are not based on diversity, one of which is the defense policy of the Ministry of Defense. The state defense policy carried out by the Ministry of Defense is still uniform (one size fits all) or policies that are more oriented towards a top down approach, namely the implementation of policies that contain top down logic with a uniform and easy to measure success assessment (Hogwood and Gunn, 2008: 71) ignoring other approaches, such as the bottom up approach in implementing policies.

With the one size fits all policy approach that is oriented towards the top down approach, the state defense policy is unable to achieve the planned target, namely 100 million State Defense Cadres in the next 10 years starting in 2015, as stated by Defense Minister Ryamizard Ryacudu . Due to the fact, in a year the State Defense Policy is only able to produce 1.5 million National Defense Cadres (CNN Indonesia, 12 October 2015).

Initial allegations of the ineffectiveness of the implementation of the state defense policy so far occurred because the policy implementation used a top down approach, as suggested by Grindle. Because Grindle (1980) only focuses on the context of implementation and content of policy, which is sometimes “only” determined by the central government with little regard for local conditions and needs - local government and society - where the policy is implemented, as happened in Situbondo Regency during this. In the implementation of the state defense policy, the pattern applied still refers to a macro / national analysis, even though regional needs regarding the pattern of implementing the state defense policy vary.

The pattern of policy implementation that is macro in nature is reflected in the determination of the content of the policy (context of implementation) which is fully determined by the center, through the Ministry of Defense, and who is involved in the program has also been rigidly regulated through the Minister of Defense Regulation No. 32/2016 on Guidelines State Defense Awareness Fostering, so that local governments and other Regional Leadership Coordination Forums (Forkopimda) as program organizers experience limitations to involve the policy environment (content of policy) optimally to make the program effective when implemented in the field, due to the policy environment - society and potential that is in it - neglected in its implementation.

The existence of gaps at the level of policy implementation is interesting to follow up in further research to find out the real conditions in the implementation of the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency with the title "Paradox in Policy Implementation: Anomalies of the State Defense Program".

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Public Administration**

Public administration is closely related to policy. The field of policy studies is very important for public administration in its development. Public administration has experienced a change in perspective that includes focus and locus. Frederickson (1996: 19) explains that "public administration is a profession and a field of study. Often public administrators are too focused on the profession, so they do not practice studying their role in society. Public administrator roles should encourage and involve citizens in government.

The focus of public administration is the basic method used to solve a problem, while the locus includes the place where the method is used. Henry (1949) revealed in the third paradigm of state administration as science. Within this paradigm, critics emerge stating that politics cannot be separated from administration. In this context, the state administration is not "value-free" or can apply anywhere, but is always influenced by certain values. In this phase, there is a conflict between the notion of "value-free administration" and the assumption of "value-laden politics". As a result, a new paradigm has emerged which considers public administration as science, with the government bureaucracy as the locus, and the focus is becoming blurred.

Long before that, Hobbes (1987) provided the basis that "every interaction always begins or ends with a social contract". In his book *Leviathan*, Hobbes mentions the theory of social contracts and the principle that society and government which cause the social contract to be established about political functions and statements regarding the state and citizens from the state. Hobbes's social contract theory is based on a clear relationship between the state and society, in which the state is placed as a higher power in the social contract than

society. Hobbes also argues that absolute sovereignty or those that are close to absolute sovereignty have a higher position in political power and rights in the social contract. However, as long as this power can keep society in an orderly state, the majority of the community must follow this powerfully and with goodwill.

Regarding administration and politics, Madani (2011: 14-15) explains that public administration is a field of study that is concerned with the means for implementing political values or decisions. The focus of state administration cannot be separated from politics, while the locus is the choice to serve the public interest for goods and services that must be provided by several complex institutions. Keban (2004: 33) in the fifth paradigm asserts that in government "the focus of public administration is the institutional theory, governance theory, and public policy, while the locus is public problems and interests".

### **Public Policy**

According to Soenarko (2000: 35), the word Public Policy has not actually got the correct meaning in Indonesia and some experts argue but some experts do not really heed the meaning of the word public policy but for those who are important they stick to the essence of "public policy" itself and one of the effective ways to understand public policy is to understand the various definitions of public policies.

In the book entitled "Principles of State Policy Formulation" by Islamy, public policy is defined as the state policy and of course, there are many more experts who try to propose ideas about the meaning of the word Public Policy. Similar to the meaning of the public policy, the meaning of the word also varies. Among them, according to Mustopadidjaja (2003: 5) public policy is defined as follows.

"A decision that is intended to solve certain problems, to carry out certain activities, or to achieve certain activities, which are carried out by the competent agency in the context of carrying out the tasks of State government and development".

According to Anderson in Winarno, 2007: 18 defines public policy as a direction of action that has a purpose set by an actor or some actors in overcoming a problem or problem. So that according to Anderson, this public policy concept has several implications, namely as follows: First, the point of attention in discussing public policy is oriented towards the intent or purpose, not on haphazard behavior. Second, policy is a direction or pattern of actions taken by government officials and is not a separate decision. Third, policy is what the government actually does in regulating trade, controlling inflation, or promoting public housing and is not what the government wants, and fourth, public policy

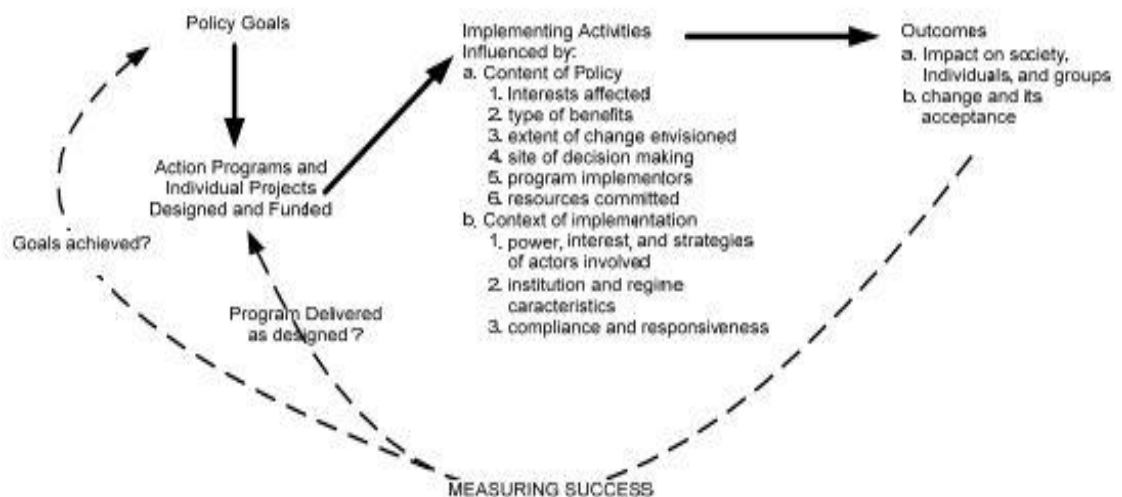
may be positive or negative in nature. Positively, policy may include a decision by government officials, but not to take action and not to do something about an issue that requires government involvement. In other words, the government can take policies to intervene in general and specific fields (Winarno, 2007: 20-21).

On the other hand, public policy, particularly policy implementation, is also influenced by several factors. According to Dunn (2003), the effectiveness of policy implementation can be seen from how policy actors, the policy environment, and public policies as a system interact and integrate in a policy system.

### Public Policy Implementation

To strive for a successful policy implementation according to Grindle's (1980) opinion, challenges in policy implementation must be resolved as early as possible. On the other hand, to achieve success many factors influence policy implementation, both individually and in groups or institutions.

The implementation of a program involves the efforts of policymakers to influence the behavior of bureaucrats as executors so that they are willing to provide services and regulate the behavior of target groups. In various political systems, public policies are implemented by government agencies. The complexity of implementation is not only shown by the number of actors or organizational units involved, but also because the implementation process is influenced by a variety of complex factors, both individual factors and organizational factors, and each of these influencing factors also interacts with one another. For more details regarding the policy implementation model according to Grindle's (1980) opinion, it can be seen in the figure below:



(Source: Grindle, 1980: 11)

**Figure 1 Grindle Policy Implementation Model**

Based on Figure 1, the policy implementation model according to Grindle's (1980) opinion above, it can be explained that policy implementation is determined by the content of the policy and the context of implementation. The basic idea is that after the policy is transformed, the policy is implemented. Its success is determined by the degree to which the policy is implemented. Policy issues include the following 6 areas: 1). Interests that are influenced by policy, 2). Types of benefits to be generated, 3). The degree of change desired, 4). Policymaker position, 5). Who is the program implementer, and 6). Deployed resources.

Meanwhile, the implementation context is as follows: 1). The powers, interests, and strategies of the actors involved, 2). Characteristics of institutions and authorities, 3). Compliance and responsiveness. In the theory of public policy implementation put forward by Grindle, six things determine or influence the success of public policy implementation, but from these six elements, there are no leadership factors and management patterns, even though leadership and management patterns have a very strong influence on the success of public policy implementation.

### **Social Capital**

According to Portes (1998), social capital is the ability of actors to guarantee benefits by relying on membership in social networks and other social structures. 7 Meanwhile, according to Woolcock (1998) social capital is the degree of social cohesion that exists in a community. It refers to the processes between people that build networks, norms, and social trust, and facilitate mutually beneficial coordination and cooperation. Then Lang and Hornburg (1998) argue that social capital generally refers to the availability of mutual trust in society (stocks of social trust), norms, and networks that can be utilized by society in order to solve common problems.

Coleman (1989) sees social capital as a whole that is directed or created to facilitate individual actions in their social structure. Meanwhile, Putnam said, while physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to individual property, social capital refers to the relationship between individuals, social networks, and the norms of reciprocity and beliefs that arise from them (2000: 19). Both Coleman and Putnam acknowledge that social capital can increase or decrease over time (Field, 2010). Similar to Coleman and Putnam, Fukuyama (2002) explains that each group has the potential for social capital - the extent to which it is utilized with regard to the radius of trust.

On the other hand, social capital has two dimensions, namely a cognitive dimension (cultural) and a structural dimension (Bain and Hicks quoted by Krishna and Shredder in Syahra, 2003). The cognitive dimension relates to values, attitudes, and beliefs that influence trust, solidarity, and reciprocity which lead to



the creation of cooperation in society to achieve common goals. The structural dimension is the structure, scope of community organizations, and institutions at the local level that accommodate and encourage collective activities that benefit the community.

Exposure to definitions, debates, dimensions, and forms of social capital leads us to the conclusion that basically, social capital has three important elements, namely norms, networks, and trust. The first element is social norms. In general, norms are concrete values. Created to be a guide for every individual to behave in accordance with the rules prevailing in the society. Related to this, Putnam (2000) explains that values are contained in a social network. Thus it can be said that the position of values becomes important as a binder or adhesive - cohesiveness - to unite in building relationships.

According to Putnam, the binder above will be strong when it is centralized, as stated by Riggs (1996), called a focused society or a society whose actions tend to be ascriptive, particularistic, and obscure, because they see the world only from a sacred or supernatural point of view. hierarchically, the environment is used as a ceremonial ceremony to translate message teaching. Therefore, to "ground" the policy of defending the country in Situbondo Regency, of course, it needs to be done in diversity by paying attention to local knowledge and local wisdom by relying on existing social capital.

## **METHODS**

This research uses qualitative research, with the consideration that qualitative research can look more specifically at the phenomena that the researcher will examine later, especially related to social and political perspectives in the implementation of the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency. This researcher's opinion is in line with the opinion of Moleong (2006), which states that qualitative research is research that uses a natural setting, to interpret the phenomena that occur and is carried out by involving various existing methods.

In addition to using this type of qualitative research, in this study researchers also used a positive approach. The purposive approach is used to reveal empirical data in a more proportionate manner and as the initial strength of the research in conducting further studies and analysis of existing theories. This is in line with the opinion of Glaser and Strauss (1967) which states that the positive methodology is a process that operates inductively which is rich in field data and is expected to find new conceptions (new theories) which in turn strengthen, revise or add to existing theories. This is important for researchers to contribute to the development of administrative science that researchers have been working on so far.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Research result**

The results showed that the implementation of the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency is still predominantly carried out by local governments who are members of the Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda) and in its implementation they - local government and Forkopimda - only carry out what is instructed by the Ministry of Defense, so that the steps innovation in the implementation of state defense policies by adjusting the conditions and needs of the community by integrating local knowledge and local wisdom based on the optimization of social capital in Situbondo Regency is almost never done, even though integrating local knowledge and local wisdom based on optimization of social capital is important. in areas that are still paternalistic with a strong culture such as Situbondo Regency.

The strong culture in Situbondo Regency is no longer a secret, there are many journal articles that discuss it and the strong culture with potential social capital has the potential in many aspects of public and government life, without exception in optimizing the policy of defending the country. But when neglected, culture and social capital have the potential to become detractors in the implementation of state defense policies, as researchers encountered during research.

Ignorance of culture and social capital in implementing the state defense policy actually makes the program unable to optimally, both in quantity and quality because it is considered something foreign by the community - the policy of alienisation of state defense in practice - because the Regent as the person in charge at the district level with Forkopimda others implement the state defense policy only to carry out what the Ministry of Defense instructs only or is in the form of a command control approach, and this is an anomaly in the process of administering government that is already autonomous, the Regent should make innovations so that the policy is in line with the conditions and needs of the community. An indicator of the lack of innovation can be seen from the implementation of a state defense policy that only involves other formal actors, such as the Military District Command and Resort Police.

The involvement of formal actors only in the state defense policy certainly denies the spirit of public participation in the era of regional autonomy and the potential for social capital in Situbondo Regency, because apart from formal actors, there are informal actors such as kiai who have had a major social and political influence in Situbondo Regency so far. . The reason for not involving other actors other than formal actors is because the Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) of the state defense policy is only carried out by formal institutions or actors.

The old-fashioned and exclusive attitude of state defense organizers in Situbondo Regency has an impact on the level of voluntary community participation to be minimal, when compared to other districts, here are the data:

**Table 1 Voluntary Community Participation Rates  
 Based on data from the National and Political Unity Agency**

Nu.	Districts	Agency Volunteers	Individual Volunteers
1.	Banyuwangi	400 Volunteer	200 Volunteer
2.	Bondowoso	300 Volunteer	175 Volunteer
3.	Jember	450 Volunteer	200 Volunteer
4.	Situbondo	250 Volunteer	75 Volunteer

Source: *Processed data*

Similar data was also released by the 083 / Baladhika Jaya Military Resort Command which stated that voluntary community participation in state defense policies in several districts in the horseshoe area varied, as follows:

**Table 2 Voluntary Community Participation Levels  
 Based on data from Korem 083 / Baladhika Jaya**

No.	Districts	Volunteer	
		Agency	Individual Volunteers
1.	Banyuwangi	350 Volunteer	167 Volunteer
2.	Bondowoso	3100 Volunteer	179 Volunteer
3.	Jember	360 Volunteer	198 Volunteer
4.	Situbondo	240 Volunteer	86 Volunteer

Source: *Mental Development of the 083 / Baladhika Jaya Military Resort Command*

Although there are differences in quantity between the data from the East Java Political and National Unity Agency and data from the 083 / Baladhika Jaya Military Resort Command, in general it can be drawn a red thread that the level of voluntary community participation in the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency is still very minimal, when compared to other districts in the horseshoe area. If further analyzed, the cause of the minimum level of participation of the Situbondo community is not only due to the inability of the manager to organize the program. But it is also influenced by the strong influence of the kiai who has been neglected in implementing the state defense policy, thus reducing the interest of the community to participate voluntarily in the program.

Kiai in the local level of the Situbondo community have an important meaning, because they are considered to have an important role and have a big role in the success of many activities in Situbondo Regency so far, both in government, political and social activities. The great contribution of the kiai has caused most people to be very obedient to their kiai. Coupled with the support of a strong Pendhalungan culture, namely the community originating from the process

of assimilation between the Madurese and Javanese cultures with the characteristics of an open, adaptable, expressive society, tends to be tough, temperamental, transparent, does not like small talk, is paternalistic, upholds primary relationships, and have relatively strong kinship ties (Sutarto, 2006: 67-70).

Meanwhile, according to the opinion of Yuswadi (2008: 53-59), Pendhalungan culture is a culture that is in a transitional position, with the meaning of having a mixed culture system, namely Madura culture even though it is on the island of Java. Cultural characteristics of a society with a Pendhalungan culture can be seen in the attitudes and behavior, courtesies, manners, and obedience to very strong religious figures or kiai (Yuswadi, 2008: 53-59). Their strong culture of origin - Madura - in influencing the attitudes and behavior of the Situbondo people is reflected in their strong adherence to the principles of *bappa 'babhu', ghuru, rato* in decision making with the kiai as the main actor.

The explanation of the principles of *bappa 'babhu', ghuru, rato* in decision making in most of the Situbondo people begins by asking for the opinion of their parents (*bappa 'babhu'*) as part of the family and outside the parents, kiai- lah or ghuru who are the references main in asking for opinions and considerations, only after that the government (*rato*). This means that the position of the kiai in the eyes of the majority of the Situbondo people is higher than that of the government. Therefore, the neglect of the role of the kiai in the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency has been in the low level of voluntary community participation to be involved in it.

The low level of community voluntary participation to be involved in the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency is an important concern of the author. Because actually defending the state is not only a government need, but in substance it is also a community need in maintaining a peaceful existence and life, because the potential for community conflict due to past conflicts - the murder of a shaman and the case of religious intolerance in 1996 - is not completely resolved. At that time, the conflict resolution carried out by the government did not appear to have been taken seriously. It is evident at the community level when alluded to the old case above, it is still sensitive and closed. If this is not properly anticipated - one of which is by strengthening state defense - there is a possibility that it will suddenly appear which will harm the community and disrupt the stability of the country.

Although the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency is still not optimal in its implementation. However, the general conduciveness of the Situbondo people is very good, when compared to the surrounding districts, such as the data released by the East Java Provincial National Unity and Political Body (Baksebangpol) in 2018. This data is strengthened by data from the Situbondo

Resort Police (Polres) which states the crime rate. in Situbondo Regency has experienced a downward trend until 2018, here are the complete data:

**Table 3 Legal Violations in Situbondo Regency 2017-2018**

No.	Types of Violations in 2017	total	Types of Violations in 2018	total	<i>Trend</i>
1.	Murder	0	Murder	0	Decreased
2.	Drugs	37	Drugs	33	Decreased
3.	Theft	175	Theft	149	Decreased
4.	Liquor	45	Liquor	31	Decreased
5.	Gambling	40	Gambling	30	Decreased
6.	Electronic Information and Transactions	23	Electronic Information and Transactions	18	Decreased

Source: Situbondo Police, 2017-2018

The data above shows that most of the Situbondo people have implemented the principles of state defense. Because his attitude and behavior are gradually positive for the creation of a dignified society by continuing to minimize any violations of the law. Departing from the existing conditions in Situbondo Regency, it is fitting that the state defense policy be interpreted broadly, not only at the level of implementing the state defense policy, but also at the level of practice (read: attitudes and behavior).

Talking about the attitudes and behavior of most of the people of Situbondo, it is inseparable from the influence and role of the kiai as a moral force that has a big role in shaping the character of society, especially regarding social and political aspects as well as in efforts to "ground" the practice of defending the state in society.

The interesting condition above, but it seems that the paradox occurs because it is caused by 2 (two) factors, including: *First*, so far, the state defense policy launched by the Ministry of Defense still tends to be one size fits all by ignoring the potential of local knowledge and local wisdom, and does not rely on optimizing the social capital of the community, so this program does not have a significant support value for efforts to increase the quantity of state defense cadres, because the program is not in accordance with the identity of the people of Situbondo.

*Second*, the attitudes and behavior of most of the Situbondo people are influenced by the kiai, meaning that the community's obedience in making decisions and protecting their territory is strongly influenced by the attitude of the kiai. When the kiai considers maintaining unity and integrity as part of faith (hubbul wathon minal iman), the attitudes and behavior of the majority of the Situbondo people are the same. The history of Situbondo has also proven that

when K. H. R. As'ad Syamsul Arifin (National Hero) rejected the first principle of Pancasila at that time, which reads, "Godliness, with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents", because it is carried out according to Islamic law, society rejects it. When the first principle of Pancasila changed to God Almighty and K. H. R. As'ad Syamsul Arifin supported it, the community agreed to support it. The strong position of the kiai in the Situbondo community cannot be separated from the strong cultural factors and the society tends to be homogeneous.

The condition above by Riggs (1996), is called a focused society or a society whose actions tend to be ascriptive, particularistic, and obscure, because they see the world only from a sacred or supernatural point of view, their view is hierarchical, the environment is used as a ceremonial ceremony to translate messages. messege teaching. Therefore, to "ground" the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency, of course, it needs to be done in a diversity by paying attention to local knowledge and local wisdom by relying on existing social capital.

## **Discussion**

The results show that the implementation of the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency is still not optimal. The cause of the not optimal implementation of the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency is because in practice there is a mismatch between the expectations, needs and desires of the community. This condition is of course very unfortunate because in fact this program has a noble goal, namely to maintain and defend the existence of the country from all Threats, Challenges, Obstacles and Disturbances, both from within and outside the country.

The inconsistency of the content of the state defense policy stipulated by the Ministry of Defense with the policy environment in Situbondo Regency is reflected in the dominance of the government - local government and Forkopimda - in its implementation, and the community is only used as an object of policy alone, with insufficient space to be actively involved in every implementation process. policies, so that they are aligned with their hopes, needs and wants. This pattern certainly injures the spirit of participatory governance by involving the community actively in realizing strong public accountability as contained in the principles of good governance.

The governance of governance provides opportunities for variations in policy implementation by trying to integrate macro policy analysis (top down) with micro policy analysis (bottom up), so that policy implementation can have a strong meaning to society as policy beneficiaries. The implementation of the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency which is not in line with the governance of governance is reflected in the attitudes of policy actors, the policy environment, and the public policy itself so far. According to Dunn (2003), every policy

implementation will be effective when there is interaction and synergy between policy actors, the policy environment, and public policies in a policy system, and it seems that this has not been systematically intertwined between each part of the implementation. the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency.

The implementation of the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency above, illustrates that: *First*, policy actors are still dominantly carried out by the government so that it becomes exclusive, oriented to the formation of new individuals or groups, and is formal in accordance with the Minister of Defense Regulation No.32 of 2016 concerning Guidelines State Defense Awareness Fostering and Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) regardless of the local potential that exists in supporting the effectiveness of implementing the state defense policy.

*Second*, the policy environment has an important meaning according to Grindle (1980) in contributing to the effectiveness of policy implementation because every policy implementation cannot be separated or separated from the influence of the surrounding environment. However, as a result of the implementation of the state defense policy that is carried out exclusively, what is seen is mobilization rather than participation because the approach used is power, and the interests or strategies of other actors are often neglected, especially at the micro level and compliance and responsiveness of the implementer focuses more on quantitative routines than on usefulness.

*Third*, because policy actors and the policy environment are government-oriented, the implementation of public policies becomes dominant in the macro analysis of the central government by sticking to macro or national changes only with an emphasis on quantity rather than the quality of the policy itself, reflected in the target of 100 million cadres of state defense set by the Ministry of Defense which was considered too ambitious and unreasonable by some members of Commission I DPR RI (quoted from Kompas 10 October 20215).

The process of implementing the state defense policy which tends not to be synergistic between policy actors, the policy environment, and public policies creates a paradox in the objectives that have been set with a fantastic quantity of state defense cadres. There is a paradox in the policy implementation process because there is no synergy between each of its components with the stated objectives, and this is normal in conventional policy implementation, to borrow Dunn's term. According to Dunn (2003) conventional policy is a policy that does not pay attention holistically to the synergy between components in policy implementation, so that the results obtained are not the results that are in accordance with the objectives of implementation, but rather policy bias or anomalies. Anomalies in the implementation of the state defense policy are visible in several macro symptoms and micro symptoms - as follows:

- a. The Ministry of Defense seems to interpret the implementation of the state defense policy as a legal product - reward and punishment - compared to the process of public empowerment and empowerment in increasing the acceptability of the program itself;
- b. The complexity and dynamics of preparing the implementation of the state defense policy can only be seen from the macro (national) level, ignoring the complexities that exist in the regions (micro);
- c. Macro policy systems experiencing difficulties in coordinating and monitoring at the micro level of implementation;
- d. Identification of the factors that determine the results of the implementation of the national defense policy is macro and quantitative regardless of micro conditions, process and program quality, and
- e. The pathology in the implementation of state defense policies is general in nature and it is difficult to look at a more operational and complex dimension.

In the end, the implementation of the state defense policy is not only trapped in conventional policies - the first generation - alone, but also trapped in the old paradigm - old public administration - in implementing it, with a very legalistic concept, with various kinds of binding rules, a hierarchical organizational structure. which does not allow for the coordination of various highly centralized functions and how much government dominance in policy implementation.

Whereas currently policy implementation is expected to be able to implement a system of separation of power or sharing of existing power with the public by utilizing potential resources in the area, such as social capital by optimizing the role of charismatic kiai in Situbondo Regency as a prominent and potential resource during this. Optimizing the role of the kiai in supporting the implementation of the state defense policy is important because the kiai already has strong social groups who have been able to become regional stabilizers with the groups they lead, such as in Jam'iyah Sholawat Bhenning led by KH Raden. Ahmad Azaim Ibrahimy, and Jam'iyah Shalawat Nariyah led by KH Raden Kholil As'ad Syamsul Arifin who have a very large congregation and have a strong influence on various dimensions of life of the people of Situbondo, because they are influenced by historical, cultural, social and political factors.

Therefore, optimizing the role of charismatic kiai in Situbondo Regency is very important in every implementation, especially the implementation of the state defense policy, because so far the kiai have participated in maintaining the existence of the country with the concept of *hubbul wathon minal iman*, and the contribution of kiai is very visible because of the existing society. In Situbondo District, the principles of *Bappa 'babhu'*, *ghuru*, *rato* are still strong in making decisions with the kiai as the main actor.



The conditions that occur in the Situbondo community can be categorized as a prismatic society. According to Riggs (1996), a prismatic society is a society whose actions tend to be ascriptive, particularistic, and obscure, because it sees the world only from a sacred or supernatural point of view, its view is hierarchical, the environment is used as a ceremonial ceremony to translate messages of teachings (message teaching) and make figures religion as a central symbol, and of course this has an important meaning in every momentum for implementing policies in the regions. Because actually the implementation of policy according to Grindle (1980) is the actions taken by the actors which are directed at achieving the goals outlined in the policy decision.

Because the policy implementation focuses on objectives, the process requires accuracy in seeing the potential that exists in the policy environment itself, such as social capital by optimizing the role of charismatic kiai in Situbondo Regency which has been neglected in implementing the state defense policy, resulting in the inability of implementers in achieve the goals that have been set, both in quantity and quality with the presence of cadres of state defense who are truly committed to the sustainability and existence of this country, not ceremonial as is happening now.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the results of research and discussion, it can be concluded that: *First*, the implementation of the state defense policy in Situbondo Regency has not yet been optimal in achieving the goals that have been set, because there is a paradox in its implementation. This paradox arises because the implementation of the state defense policy is carried out top down and ignores local potential, such as the role of charismatic kiai - social capital - which has had a strong influence in the Situbondo community so far, so that it has a direct impact on the creation of regional stability, as one of the goals of state defense.

*Second*, because there is a paradox in the implementation of the state defense policy, in the end it gave birth to an anomaly in the State Defense Program because the Ministry of Defense on the one hand wants the birth of as many cadres of state defense as possible, in order to protect the existence of the country from various threats. But on the other hand, in its implementation the Ministry of Defense has an exclusive attitude by ignoring the role of the kiai as a very important social capital for the region in encouraging the optimization of the State Defense Program in Situbondo Regency.

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