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**RESEARCH ARTICLE**

## **Collaboration of Stagist Approaches and Discursive Approaches on Ideas & Discourse in “Bela Negara” Policies in Prismatic Communities: Study in Situbondo Regency, Indonesia**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The “bela negara” program in Situbondo Regency focuses on collaborative efforts between Situbondo Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda) and “Pondok Pesantren” to produce a participatory policy process. Collaboration between the two is important in a prismatic society to accommodate the knowledge each party has in an inclusive public space. Although, to realize collaboration is not easy because it involves complex interests between the two. The study analyses the collaboration of “bela negara” policies in the prismatic Situbondo Regency. The method used in this study is a qualitative method with interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA). The use of the IPA approach in this study is to analyze collaboration on “bela negara” policies in Situbondo Regency, both those carried out by policy actors or the Situbondo Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda) as well as those carried out by the target group or among the clergy. Based on the results of the discussion, it can be concluded that in the “bela negara” policy process in Situbondo Regency, there is a different knowledge construction between the actor and *the target group*. The Situbondo Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda), as a policy actor, relies on professional knowledge and scientific (*indigenous*) knowledge. While the target group or the clergy use local knowledge (*endogenous*). These different types of knowledge arise as a result of different policy approaches. Forkopimda Situbondo, as a policy actor, adopts a stagist or managerial policy approach. While the Ulama use a discursive approach to ideas & discourse that relies on their local knowledge. Even though there are differences in policy approaches, the two of them are able to collaborate well, seen in several activities, as seen in the 74th Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia and the Commemoration of the 74th National Defense Day (HBN).

### **KEYWORDS**

Policy, Stagist, Idea & Discursive Discursive, and Prismatic

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## **1. Introduction**

### **1.1 Background**

The “bela negara” program in Situbondo Regency is implemented through collaboration between formal and informal institutions. The Situbondo Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda), including the Military District Command (Kodim) 0823/Situbondo, the Situbondo Resort Police (Polres), and the Situbondo Regency Political and National Unity Agency (Bakesbangpol), have a major role in spreading the values of Defending the Country. In addition, “Pondok Pesantren” (Ponpes) and the people of Situbondo are also involved in it through the implementation of the values of love for the motherland or nationalism as part of the faith or “hubbul wathon minal faith” (HWMI) as an expression of love for the motherland in social-religious activities.

Two "Pondok Pesantren" that are active in promoting the spirit of defending the country in Situbondo are Walisongo Mimbaan Panji Situbondo Islamic Boarding School and Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo Islamic Boarding School, which has been known as the National Islamic Boarding School because in every social and religious activity it always invites students and the community to continue to protect the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

The collaboration between Forkopimda and "Pondok Pesantren" is interesting because both of them have different knowledge backgrounds. Forkopimda with professional knowledge and scientific knowledge or *indigenous knowledge*, while "Pondok Pesantren" with local knowledge or *endogenous knowledge*, are able to commit to protecting the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia with the knowledge they each have.

The phenomenon that occurs in Situbondo Regency is consistent with the thesis put forward by Flyvbjerg (2006). According to Flyvbjerg (2006), the awareness of the parties in building an understanding of different background knowledge and understanding is important in participatory policy interactions because it builds good interactions. According to Rhodes (1997), the concept of a policy network is an institution that interacts with each other and shares resources in the process, formulation and implementation of policies to achieve common goals. The concept of a policy network put forward by Rhodes (1997) is in line with the discursive theory of ideas & discourse, which emphasizes the interaction of institutions in achieving common goals (Putra and Sanusi, 2019),

In the context of "bela negara" in Situbondo Regency, the knowledge of policy actors and the target group forms "knowledge governance", which contributes to official state activities, such as the Commemoration of National Defense Day (HBN) and the Birthday (HUT) of the Republic of Indonesia.

There is a collaboration between the types of knowledge possessed by policy actors and the target group in some of these activities. In fact, it does not fully describe reality in the field because, according to the author's observations, it was found that many activities carried out by Forkopimda did not involve "Pondok Pesantren"; on the contrary, many Islamic Boarding School activities have not been appreciated maximally by Forkopimda, so many policies have not been optimal in their implementation, one of which is several "bela negara" activities.

The involvement of many types of knowledge is actually not something new; the governance of knowledge in policy, for example, has been developed for a long time by Nugroho et al. (2018) as an effort to democratize policy in the public arena with a wider range of stakeholders, identifying institutions and types of knowledge in building a democratic and participatory public policy process.

Previous research, such as Røislien (2019) and Elran and Gabi (2019), has applied local knowledge, especially religious values, in defense policy. However, this research emphasizes the application of local knowledge in the context of compulsory military service in Israel, thereby creating a fundamental difference from "bela negara" in Indonesia. The difference between Compulsory Military policy and Conscription lies in the approach to individual involvement. Indonesia's Compulsory Military Policy gives citizens the right to join or not join military service, taking into account their profession and skills. Local knowledge or *endogenous knowledge* of defending the country is the key to achieving the desired change in attitude and behavior.

Implementation of the "bela negara" program, which emphasizes changes in attitudes and actions in public spaces, can adopt theories from various disciplines. For example, Tippe (2013) makes use of anthropology in a defense context. In this regard, this research puts forward Sociology as an important contribution to "bela negara" policies, especially in prismatic societies.

Furthermore, in the implementation of the "bela negara" policy in Situbondo Regency, the obedience of the community towards the clergy is an important concern for actualizing Article 9 paragraph (1) letter a of Law (UU) No. 3 of 2002 concerning National Defence, because to change attitudes and behavior in a prismatic society it is not enough to rely solely on the Forkopimda Situbondo, it is necessary for the role of the clergy as patrons of the Situbondo community to present participatory policies.

### **1.2 Formulation of the problem**

To provide signs in which direction this discussion will flow, the formulation of the problem in this study is how is the collaboration of "bela negara" policies in Situbondo Regency prismatic?

### **1.3 Study Objectives**

Starting from the background and the formulation of the problem as described above, the purpose of this research is to analyze the collaboration of "bela negara" policies in the prismatic Situbondo Regency.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Theory in Implementation of "bela negara" Policy

As explained in Article 9 Paragraph 1 that: "every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in efforts to defend the country which is manifested in the implementation of national defense." Explanation of Article 9 Paragraph 1 of Law (UU) No. 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense is: "Defending the State is the attitude and behavior of citizens imbued with their love for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia which is based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in ensuring the survival of the nation and state."

Departing from the explanation of the laws and regulations mentioned above, in principle, "bela negara" is a change in attitude and behavior in the public space in practicing the basic values of "bela negara". According to Gerungan (2004), attitude is a reaction or feeling of an individual towards a certain object. Even though the object is the same, not all individuals have the same attitude; it can be influenced by individual circumstances, experience, information and needs of each individual.

According to Faiz (2012), attitude is an assessment process carried out by an individual towards an object. Objects addressed by individuals can be objects, people or information. The process of assessing a person against an object can be either positive or negative. According to Faiz, the relationship between attitude and behavior does not just appear instantly. Need a process of contemplation and the process of internalizing attitudes toward behavior. Changes in attitude and behavior are also influenced by the existence of values, norms, morals and ethics. Faiz (2012) describes values, norms, morals and ethics as follows: (1) values are something that is considered good and right that is aspired by citizens. In order for values to be implemented, norms are formed; (2) Norms are an ideal design of human behavior that provides limits for a member of society to achieve their life goals; (3) Moral is a form of tradition that is spiritual so that it becomes a standard for someone to behave appropriately in social life, and (4) Ethics is considering or paying attention to human behavior in making decisions related to morals. Ethics is more directed at the use of human reason with objectivity to determine right or wrong and one's behavior towards others.

Based on the expert's opinion, it can be drawn that attitude is a reaction or response in the form of an assessment that arises from an individual towards an object. The process of forming attitudes toward behavior is very complex, not instantaneous and requires social engineering in practice. Attitude can also be said to be a manifestation of awareness of the environment. Therefore, the factors that shape attitudes, according to Sarlito and Eko, are as follows.

*First*, classical conditioning, this formation process occurs when a stimulus or stimulus is always followed by another stimulus so that the first stimulus becomes a cue for the second stimulus. *Second*, instrumental conditioning, that is, if the learning process is carried out produces something fun, the behavior will be repeated again, but vice versa; if the behavior brings bad results, the behavior will be avoided. *Third*, learning through observation or observation. This learning process takes place by observing other people and then carrying out similar activities. *Fourth*, is social comparison, namely comparing other people to check our view of whether something is right or wrong. The formation of an individual's attitude is also influenced by the interaction with his surroundings through a complex process.

From some of the descriptions above, it can be interpreted that factors outside of human beings, including public spaces, greatly contribute to the actualization of attitudes and behavior of defending the state in public spaces. If the public space or policy arena wants a change in attitude and behavior is not created, it is necessary to engineer public spaces that take precedence over strengthening regulations to change the attitude and behavior of defending the state.

### 2.2 Application of Discursive Analysis of Ideas and Discourses in Policy Implementation

Clemens and Matthew (in Putra and Sanusi, 2019) explain that there are four variants of the NI approach, namely, *First*, *Sociological Institutionalism* (SI) which focuses on research on norms, values, beliefs, habits that apply in society and shape people's behavior.

*Second*, *Rational Choice Institutionalism* (RCI) holds that the impact of the enactment of the constitution is that there are *constraints* (restrictions), risks and opportunities for each actor's actions so that the actor's choice of action is the result of rational calculations to maximize opportunities and minimize risks. North (in Putra and Sanusi, 2019) said that RCI focuses on the *rules of the game* that apply in certain communities.

*Third*, *Historical Institutionalism* (HI), which views that the impact of institutions is bound by space and time, so that what is happening to institutions and actors today is heavily influenced by patterns of interaction between institutions and actors in the past. Evan (in Putra and Sanusi, 2019) stated that HI basically wants to see the performance or performance of institutions from time to time.

Fourth, *Discursive Institutionalism* (DI). Schmidt and Radelli (in Putra and Sanusi, 2019) state that DI pays attention to "discourse and ideas" and how these ideas are communicated to the public. Vivien Schmidt (in Putra and Sanusi 2019) says in his book entitled *The Future of European Capitalism* and his article entitled *Does Discourse Matter in The Politics of Welfare State Adjustment*, published in 2002, confirms that the conception of "discourse" includes an interactive discursive process actors in communicating and transacting the "idea". The conception of "idea" is material, while "discourse" is a process. Both "material" and "process" occur within a specific institutional setting, such as formal rules and regulations and informal norms and customs.

The emergence of a discursive public policy analysis model of ideas and discourse initiated by Vivien Schmidt (in Putra and Sanusi, 2019) has become a new trajectory in academic discussions related to public policy analysis.

The analysis model touches on the meaning and interpretation of social phenomena from policy actors in the public policy arena. The emergence of this model raises the argument that the success of public policy is not determined by the quality of the content or policy content but rather by the ability of policy implementers to construct ideas that are disseminated by actors in the public sphere.

However, on the side of formal institutions, the government or bureaucrats still have an interest in carrying out or prioritizing managerial public policy processes so that the formulation, implementation and evaluation processes become standardization of government work such as in Dunn's public policy process and the bureaucratic organizational policy process model initiated by Graham Allison. Putra and Sanusi (2019) emphasize that the government as an institutional actor cannot be separated from regulatory rules in its public policy process, so that decision making is based on applicable norms.

Departing from some of the theses of the studies mentioned above, related to the variant theory of NI faced with this research phenomenon - the construction of the idea of Defending the State by formal institutions versus the construction of the idea of HWMI by informal institutions - seems *appropriate* to the Discursive theory of ideas and Discourse in analyzing how the construction of ideas and discourse process in the arena of "bela negara" implementation.

However, bearing in mind that the implementation of "bela negara" is a product of formal institutional policies, it is necessary to analyze the managerial model – Dunn's public policy process model and implementation model. *Field study* – as a *pattern theory* in photographing the existing model of implementation of the "bela negara" policy in a prismatic public and includes identifying what factors are the obstacles to the passive public defending the State. Departing from the existing model, researchers further use the theory of Discursive Ideas and Discourse to analyze in an effort to produce alternative models as solutions to the previous implementation model.

Discursive theory Ideas and discourse in public policy analysis recognize two facts, namely material facts (*brute facts*), which are facts without meaning and social facts, which are defined by agents or actors. In terms of ontology and epistemology, the building of this theory has similarities with the phenomenological approach, which is the approach of this research. Thus, the ontology assumption of the implementation of the "bela negara" Program and HWMI is a social fact and epistemologically constructed through the results of the intentionality of the actors in the area of implementation of the "bela negara" policy.

Departing from the explanation above, it can be interpreted that the process of public policy analysis in the theory of Discursive Ideas and Discourse photographing policy implementation as a *field study* related to idea construction in a phenomenological perspective is the result of the intentionality of research subjects of policy actors in interpreting the implementation of the "bela negara" policy as a social reality in The theory of the Sociology of Knowledge by L. Berger and Luckmann explained that its meaning is highly dependent on its predisposition and *stock of knowledge*. As for the Discursive Idea and Discourse theory, the knowledge of the actors is an endogenous institution that authorizes individual action in the arena of policy implementation.

In some of the descriptions above, there is a common thread that the knowledge construction of policy actors based on regulations, laws and government regulations is a formal institution, while the construction of *target* knowledge policy *groups* abstracted from religious activities and cultural activities are "informal institutions" that authorize their actions in the public space.

### **2.3 State of the Art Research**

The state of the art in this study, with previous research conducted by several researchers, such as Syarifudin Tippe (2013), Muhammad Nakir (2017), Hanne Eggen Røislien (2019), Michael Hill (2019), Kharisma Nugroho et al. (2018), Elran & Sheffer (2019), Sabine Mannitz (2018) are as follows: *First*, previous research conducted abroad discussed the relationship between citizens and the state in the concept of compulsory military service, where the state has strong legal legitimacy and even adopts religious values and norms to mobilize its citizens in matters of national security and defense.

*Second*, previous domestic research focused on legal aspects of maintaining the existence of the state through the concept of State Defense, but the legal approach is considered paradoxical with theoretical approaches related to changes in attitudes and behavior in the public space. The researcher's concept is similar to Tippe's, but the research focus is on the attitudes and behavior of citizens who proactively defend their country through their local knowledge.

*Third*, this research is different from the two previous studies above; this study analyzes the pattern of the approach taken by the Situbondo Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda), which uses a stagist approach or professional knowledge and scientific knowledge (indigenous) with policies carried out by policy target groups or among scholars who use a discursive approach to ideas and discourse that is based on local knowledge (endogenous) as well as collaborative efforts of the two policy approaches in the arena of state defense policy.

### 3. Research Methods

The method used in this study is a qualitative method with interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA). The use of the IPA approach in this study is to analyze collaboration on "bela negara" policies in Situbondo Regency, both those carried out by policy actors or the Situbondo Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda) as well as those carried out by the target group or among the clergy.

### 4. Discussion

To maintain national sovereignty and security, the concept of "country defense" is a priority that cannot be ignored. Through the implementation of "bela negara" policies, the state must be able to ensure the protection of its territory, people and national resources from threats and disturbances that may arise both from within and outside. Situbondo Regency, as a part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, also has an important role in realizing this spirit of defending the country.

The implementation of "bela negara" policies in Situbondo Regency involves various parties, including policy actors, who play a role in the implementation process. The parties or "bela negara" policy actors involved in the defense policy in Situbondo Regency consist of formal or government actors, and the target group consists of the clergy and the community. To explain the two parties who have an important role in the implementation of the "bela negara" policy in Situbondo Regency are as follows.

#### 4.1 Construction of stagist policies by Policy Actors or Umara

In the context of the implementation of the "bela negara" policy in Situbondo, it is factually illustrated that the role of the Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda) as a formal policy actor is very significant. With a foundation of professional knowledge and scientific knowledge or *indigenous knowledge* strong, Forkopimda carries out various activities such as discussions, FGDs, and seminars to foster a spirit of love for the motherland as a reflection of the attitude of defending the country. The purpose of the discussion activities, FGDs and seminars is to socialize the values of defending the country and achieving the program objectives set out in Minister of Defense No. 8 of 2022 concerning Guidelines for Developing "bela negara" Awareness. This Minister of Defense hopes that the basic values of defending the country can be internalized in organizations and communities.

The aim of socializing the values of defending the country and achieving the stated program goals is in line with the opinion expressed by Purwanto and Sulistyastuti (2015). According to Purwanto and Sulistyastuti (2015), the process of implementing government policies is an important part of distributing policy output to target groups. However, the dissemination of "bela negara" values does not directly change the attitudes and behavior of the target group. Nonetheless, according to the author, the implementation approach should address not only the cognitive aspect but also the managerial dimension in achieving policy goals because the managerial approach taken by Forkopimda has limitations. The managerial approach tends to focus on the correct aspects of policy processes and results without fully actualizing the attitudes and actions expected by the target group. The managerial process or stagist is linear and sometimes only good at just the surface, especially if influenced by coercive rules.

On the other hand, the managerial approach or stagists are also less adaptive to local knowledge (*endogenous*) and the policy environment. In fact, local knowledge (*endogenous*) has an important role in influencing community participation in efforts to defend the state. Managerial implementation approaches or stagists do not provide sufficient space to accommodate local knowledge (*endogenous*) and community preferences to be involved in it, resulting in minimal 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*

There are many limitations in policies that use a managerial approach or stagist, so that it has an impact on the lack of participation, as illustrated in table 1.1 above, requires the contribution of another approach that is more holistic and adaptive in its implementation, which is able to accommodate the interests of the target group which considers cognitive, managerial and affective aspects in unifying the values of defending the country with the participation of local communities. To ensure that the objectives of the "bela negara" policy are not only achieved in terms of process and results but that there is commitment and good public participation.

**4.2 Construction of Discursive Policy Ideas & Discourses by the Target Group or Ulama and Society**

In the previous sub-chapter, it was stated that the stagist policy used by the Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda) has several limitations, so it is not able to increase public participation in defending the country, as illustrated in Table 1. For this reason, it is necessary to support other policy approaches that are aligned with the wishes of the public as the target group of policies. An approach that seems to be in line with prismatic public desires, such as in Situbondo Regency, is the idea & discourse discursive approach.

The discursive approach of ideas & discourse plays a central role in formulating and implementing "bela negara" policies. Pemikiran Putra and Sanusi (2019) highlight the essence of how policy ideas are articulated and passed on to society. Religious activities and traditions are not only means of dissemination but also trigger changes in attitudes, behavior, and "bela negara" actions in the public sphere.

Collaboration between policy actors with a stagist approach and policy target groups with a discursive idea & discourse approach can be seen in national celebrations and activities, such as the Indonesian Independence Day, HBN, and national recitations, which reflect a combination of cognitive and affective values in supporting the spirit of defending the country in Situbondo Regency which has prismatic characteristics, the impact of changes in attitudes and behavior of people is constructive, 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 |

*Source: Situbondo Police for 2017-2018*

Collaboration between the stagist approach and the idea & discourse approach in the implementation of "bela negara" policies in prismatic communities in Situbondo Regency is an objective reality that the implementation of policies carried out by the government or stagists in some cases needs to be supported by other types of approaches so that the implementation performance goes according to what planned by policy makers.

The discursive theory approach of ideas & discourse provides a foundation for the construction of human knowledge in a prismatic public space that cannot be reached by a stagist approach. This approach involves a coordinative function in the policy process as well as a communicative function in the dissemination of policy ideas.

Therefore, the development of a participatory, collaborative public policy approach is very important in the context of modern and complex government because it reflects the spirit of inclusivity and participation that is beneficial in the long run: *First*, accommodating diverse public interests: The public in a policy perspective has diverse perspectives so that collaboration between parties becomes a democratic mechanism to represent and fulfill the needs of many people. *Second*, there is public legitimacy: Involving the public in participatory policies is considered more legitimate and has wider support, reduces the potential for conflict, and increases public satisfaction with the government. *Third*, there are innovations and creative solutions: Collaboration with various stakeholders generates innovative ideas and creative solutions to complex challenges. *Fourth*, there is policy resilience: Policies that involve multiple stakeholders have more input and support, resulting in policies that are more durable and sustainable. *Fifth*, a better understanding of complex issues: Collaboration enables the pooling of knowledge for governments to understand and formulate more effective responses to complex issues. *Sixth*, building public capacity: Participation in the policy process increases public awareness of critical issues and helps them participate in influencing positive change. *Seventh*, transparency and accountability: Collaboration in the policy process increases transparency in policies and accountability in policy implementation.

The collaboration of the stagist approach and the idea & discourse approach in “bela negara” policies in a prismatic society needs to continue to be a discourse by the parties because, in practice, it requires deeper collaboration in the form of knowledge between the parties. Forkopimda, which has been the main actor in “bela negara” policies, often only relies on scientific knowledge or *indigenous knowledge* for objective purposes and professional knowledge for its technical rationale so that minimal local (*endogenous*) knowledge is owned by the policy target group. Meanwhile, the target group itself is often resistant to the policies implemented by Forkopimda, so this is a latent cause of sub-optimality, even the failure of policy implementation that has not been identified by Forkopimda so far, especially in public policies in prismatic societies.

However, when properly identified and managed properly, this can actually be an advantage for increasing public participation, as illustrated in several national activities and national recitations, which are able to reduce law violations or crime due to changes in people's attitudes and behavior (see table 2 regarding law violations in Situbondo Regency in 2017-2018).

## 5. Conclusion

Based on the research objectives which analyzed the state defense policy collaboration in Situbondo Regency, which has the characteristics of a prismatic society, it can be concluded that in the state defense policy process in Situbondo Regency, there is a different knowledge construction between actors and the target group. The Situbondo Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (Forkopimda), as a policy actor, relies on professional knowledge and scientific (*indigenous*) knowledge. While the target group or the clergy use local knowledge (*endogenous*). These different types of knowledge arise as a result of different policy approaches. Forkopimda Situbondo, as a policy actor, adopts a stagist or managerial policy approach. While the Ulama use a discursive approach to ideas & discourse that relies on their local knowledge. Even though there are differences in policy approaches, the two of them are able to collaborate well, seen in several activities, as seen in the 74th Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia and the Commemoration of the 74th National Defense Day (HBN).

The existence of research findings regarding the collaboration of the stagist approach carried out by policy actors and the discursive approach of ideas & discourse by the target group has the potential to become a new reference for future researchers to strengthen participatory policy processes, and also serve as advice for policy makers, especially in prismatic societies to always collaborate a stagist approach and a discursive approach to ideas & discourse in each policy process.

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