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## **Perceptions of Indonesia State Civil Apparatus in supporting the Total Defence System before the Covid-19 Pandemic**

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**Abstract.** The involvement of the people in the total state defense system is very relevant to the current situation. In the atmosphere of the Covid-19 Pandemic, the ASN (Aparatur Sipil Negara/State Civil Apparatus) of the Indonesian Government as a group of civilian elites can provide an overview of how it perceives and supports the total defense system of the Indonesian state or in the defense concept it is called Sishankamra (Sistem Pertahanan dan Keamanan Rakyat Semesta/defense system and public security). This research used a quantitative approach before the Covid-19 Pandemic arrived in Indonesia. The results showed that individual factors determine people's perceptions; therefore, the defense is more likely to be familiar. Even the individual desire to educate children from childhood is very dominant for that total support is a necessity.

**Keywords.** Sishankamrata, ASN (State Civil Apparatus), Total Defense, State Defense Perception and Citizenship Right

### **1. Introduction**

The Singapore Government's response in the Pandemic-Covid-19 atmosphere explained that Total Defense is one of the best options in defending the country. This statement was conveyed by the Minister of Trade and Industry of Singapore, Mr. Chan Chun Sing, when commemorating Singapore's Total Defense Day in 2020. "Our strongest defense as a nation is a collective defense when each of us plays a role. Thus it is the core of Total Defense. There are six pillars of total defense; military, civil, economic, social, psychological, and digital defense [1]. "The same thing was conveyed by the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto." We are also returning to the universal people's defense and security system; the TNI as a core component will be supported by the reserve and supporting elements. The goal is to form a stronger state sovereignty today [2]. It seems that both Singapore and Indonesia agree that total defense is the best alternative in defending the country, but the next question is why Total Defense is considered the most effective at this time and how civilians are ready to be an essential part of the defense system, meaning to what extent the

people take a right to engage with the defense system. Because of the people's general and pure will, this can be seen as a human right and must be protected by the rule of law [3].

For the Indonesian people, The Total People's Defense and Security System is the grand strategy adopted based on Indonesia's experience during Indonesia's physical revolution or armed struggle for independence (1945-1949) and recognized under the Second Amendment to 1945 [1]. In the Indonesian constitution, Sishankamrata (Sistem Pertahanan dan Keamanan Rakyat Semesta= Universal people's defense system ) is one of the functions of the government, as an effort to create a unity of national defense to achieve the national goal of protecting the entire nation and all of Indonesia's blood, advancing public welfare, educating the nation's life and participating in implementing world order. Based on freedom, lasting peace, and social justice. Every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in national defense efforts as a reflection of national life, which guarantees citizens' rights to live in an equal, just, safe, peaceful, and prosperous manner.

Implementation of national defense that is universal in the Law on State Defense of the Republic of Indonesia No. 3 of 2002 involving all citizens, territories and other national resources, as well as being prepared early by the government and carried out in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation from all threats. Article 7 Point 3 describes the state defense system in facing non-military threats with ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, technological, public safety dimensions and threats with the dimensions of legislation placing government institutions outside the defense field as the main element, following their form and nature. The threats faced are supported by other elements of the nation's strength. For non-military threats, ministries are carried out outside the field of defense based on their professional capabilities, knowledge, and expertise as a form of embodiment of the Universal Defense System. The essence of the Sishankamrata is the participation of all citizens in national defense.

Non-military threats are essentially threats that use non-military factors that are considered to have the ability to endanger the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of all citizens. In a condition where the state is facing non-military threats, the state defense system is organized into a non-military defense layer as the main element to take steps for handling a non-military approach using ideological, political, economic, psychological, socio-cultural, information and technology, health, law, and human rights instruments. And various other supported devices. The primary substance of non-military defense is non-physical defense without military weapons but uses multiple powers of the above agencies through expertise and intelligence to defend the nation-state's sovereignty.

Non-military Defense is a state defense force built within the framework of national development to achieve prosperity and is prepared to face non-military threats. The Nirmiliter Defense Force is structured in security functions for public safety, including natural disaster management and other humanitarian operations, socio-culture, economics, and defense psychology, which are basically related to the thinking of state defense awareness, and technology development. The core of Nirmiliter Defense is a non-physical defense that does not use weapons as is done by the military defense layer, but the empowerment of ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, and technological factors through profession, knowledge, and expertise, as well as intelligence, to achieve just welfare.

To carry out this non-military defense function requires synergy between Ministries and Institutions, TNI, and Regional Governments in supporting the vision and mission of national defense development to strengthen the national defense system. Equalizing perceptions regarding national defense by all stakeholders, it is necessary to build a national commitment to implement national defense within the scope of Ministries and Regional Governments. The

built commitment requires equality in knowledge, perspectives, and perceptions of ministries and institutions towards national security. For this reason, basic data is needed as material in mapping the government's needs to make further strategies in building non-military defense by involving ministries and agencies. Support is measured as the perception that a person's network or group is ready to face something or to provide assistance and assistance if needed [5].

The basic data to be collected is related to the knowledge, attitudes and perceptions of Indonesia State Civil Apparatus or ASN (Aparatur Sipil Negara) at the central government and regional levels in understanding national defense, because ASN is the core of the existence of Ministries or Government Institutions. If ASNs have good knowledge of national defense, efforts to formulate a grand national defense strategy will be more measurable. Because building a strong national defense certainly requires support from various aspects and involves human resources in various fields, including the role of the State Civil Apparatus, which is important to strengthen national defense. Follows the Ministry of Defense Leadership Meeting (Rapim Kemenhan) 2020 with the theme "Strong Universal Defense, Ensuring the Survival of the Republic of Indonesia." Thus, how ASN's perceptions and support in the Ministry and civilian government agencies for State Defense? The purpose of this research is to map the perceptions of state civil servants at the central and regional levels towards national defense as a general description of non-military defense as an important part of national defense. This research is considered urgent to see public participation in facing Covid-19 in addition to facing the development of radical ideological movements in Indonesia. This research is important to identify the level of knowledge and attitudes of ASN towards national defense as the base line for the national defense program. Actually, it is not only to map the situation of non-military defense in Indonesia, but also to understand the rights and responsibilities of citizens of a country to take a role in national defense that adheres to total defense.

## **2. Literature Review**

Basic problems in this study, especially regarding perceptions, attitudes, and actions. When the problem of perception is related to national defense or national security, it is not the same as psychological operations, but rather with perception management. What exactly is meant by knowledge, then how is logic in science, and skills (act) to think straight, quickly, and regularly [6]. Knowledge is very closely related to education, and it is hoped that with higher education, the broader knowledge will be. High knowledge will determine the quality of one's perception. However, it does not mean that someone with low education will have a lower perception. For this reason, someone's knowledge of an object contains two aspects, namely, positive and negative aspects. These two aspects will determine a person's perception and attitude. The more positive aspects and objects that are known, the more positive attitude will be towards certain objects [7]

Perception does not arise by itself, but through the processes and factors that influence it. According to Stephen P Robins, three factors influence perception: the individual concerned (perceptions), the target of perceptions, and situations [8]. Meanwhile, David Krech (1962) states that 2 factors influence the formation of a person's perception, namely: Frame of reference, namely the knowledge framework that is owned is influenced by education, reading, research, etc. as well as the Frame of experience, which is based on the experience that has been experienced which cannot be separated from the surrounding environment. Each individual in everyday life will receive a stimulus or stimulation in information, events, objects, and others that come from the surrounding environment. The individual will give a stimulus or stimulation meaning or meaning. This process of giving meaning is called perception.

The explanation of Stephen P Robins's theory regarding the factors affecting perception is as follows:

1. The individual concerned (perception)

When a person sees something and tries to interpret what he sees, he will be influenced by individual characteristics such as the attitude of the motives of his interests, interests, experiences, knowledge, and expectations.

2. The goal of perception

The target of the perception can be a person, object, or event. Perception of targets is not something that is seen in theory but about other people involved.

This causes a person to tend to group people, objects, or similar events and separate them from other groups that are not similar.

3. Situation

Perception must be viewed contextually, which means that the situation in which these perceptions arise must receive attention. The situation is a factor that plays a role in the process of forming one's perception.

Perception is the process of attaining awareness or understanding of sensory information. The perception process consists of three stages: selection, organization, and interpretation. [9] Before adopting knowledge into new attitudes and behaviors within a person, a sequential process occurs, namely:

1. Awareness (awareness): The individual realizes or knows the stimulus (object) to be adopted in advance.

2. Interest (feel interested): the individual begins to pay attention and be interested in the stimulus.

3. Evaluation: individuals will consider the pros and cons of action against the stimulus for himself

4. Trial: the individual begins to try a new behavior.

5. Adoption: Individuals have new behaviors by their knowledge, awareness, and attitudes towards stimuli [10].

Attitude is an abstract conception of understanding human behavior. Someone will find it easier to understand the behavior of others if they first know the attitude or background of the formation of attitudes in that person. An ongoing change in attitude is a system change from positive to negative or vice versa, feeling emotions and attitudes to agree or disagree with objects. The object of the attitude itself consists of knowledge, judgment, feelings, and changes in attitude.

Attitude has a lot of meaning because of the many different opinions according to experts. Attitudes are usually always directed at something or an object. According to the Oxford Advanced Learner Dictionary states that attitude comes from Italian attitude, namely "Manner of placing or holding the body, and way of feeling, thinking or behaving". [11] Campbell suggests that the attitude is "A syndrome of response consistency with regard to social objects" [12]. This means that attitudes are a set of consistent responses to social objects. According to Eagly and Chaiken (1993) in the book, it is suggested that attitudes can be positioned as a result of evaluating the object of attitudes which are expressed in cognitive and affective (emotional) processes [13]. More specifically, Thurstone formulated attitudes as the degree of positive or negative effect on a psychological object [14]. A similar opinion was expressed by Berkowitz (1995) that a person's attitude towards an object is a feeling of support or favor (favorable) or feelings of not supporting or not taking sides (unfavorable) on the object [15].

There are several factors that influence the formation of attitudes according to Saefuddin Azwar, namely personal experience, culture, other people who are considered important, mass media, educational institutions or institutions, as well as emotional factors in individuals [16]. Factors that cause attitude change:

1. Internal factors, namely factors that are contained in the human person himself. In the form of a person's selectivity or power to accept and process influences from outside himself. This choice is closely related to the motives and attitude in oneself at that time. Adjusted to the motives, interests, and concerns.
2. External factors, namely factors that are outside the human person. In the form of social interactions outside the group with the results of human culture. Usually through communication media (mass) [17].

A person's perception shows his support or not for the object of concern, in this case, the problem of national defense. The 2015 State Defense White Paper states that the main element in non-military defense is the Ministry / Institution as the leading sector in the management and implementation of non-military defense. The main elements are arranged in;

a. Strengths: The Strengths of the Main Elements prepared by Ministries and Institutions must be operational in accordance with the non-military threats faced and in synergy with all other national strengths. The main element becomes the main force in facing the non-military threat. Integration/synergy between military and non-military defense is needed in the management and implementation of national defense.

b. Abilities: Main element development. Ministries and Institutions in Non-Military Defense are directed at the ability of early vigilance, the ability to defend the state, the ability of diplomacy, the ability of science and technology, economic capability, social capability, moral capability, and the ability to support the implementation of state defense.

c. Title: Non-military Defense Force is developed by each K / L outside the field of defense in accordance with their respective functions as well as the non-military threats faced in the Main Elements and other elements. Ministries/agencies outside the defense sector prepare software for integrating the capabilities of each sector in the Nirmiliter Defense capability. [18]

In the implementation of non-military defense, the Non-Military Defense Posture which is designed consisting of the Main Elements and other elements of the nation's power is compiled and managed by the Ministries and Institutions outside the defense sector. The arrangement of the Main Elements and other elements must be integrated and play a role in accordance with their functions in the Non-Military Defense. Until now, there has been no concept of a non-military defense posture that has been developed to deal with non-military threats. This may be due to the ignorance of state administrators of their duties and functions against threats to national sovereignty and defense. Knowledge and attitudes can be increased and shaped, but perceptions must be built positively so that state administrators have the same perception of national defense.

### **3. Method**

This research focuses on the involvement of ASN (State Civil Apparatus) or government civil apparatus in supporting the total defense system or in the Indonesian defense concept it is called Sishakamrata (Universal People's Defense and Security System). This research was conducted before the Covid-19 Pandemic, to be precise the 2018 and 2019 Fiscal Years. The study used quantitative data with a cross sectional design, in which the dependent, independent and confounding variables were measured at the same time. In a cross sectional study, researchers only observe phenomena at one particular point in time. The population in this study

were State Civil Apparatus who worked at the Head Office, Regional Government and non-ministerial government agencies.

The number of samples needed in this study uses a sample calculation according to Slovin, as follows:

Formula : 
$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

Information :  $n$  = number of samples  
 $N$  = Total population  
 $e$  = Possible error

Sample Calculation 1:	Sample Calculation 2
$N = 1,220,225$ Central and Provincial ASN $e = 3\%$ Based on the results of calculations using the formula above, the number of samples is obtained: 1.109 ASN.	$N = 918.444$ Government ASN Center Governmente = 5% based on the results of the calculation using the formula above, then the sample size is: 400 ASN, to anticipate no response, then add 20% to the number of samples to 480 ASN

The sampling technique was carried out randomly; the number of samples per unit was proportionate to size, meaning that government offices with a large number of ASNs had a larger sample size. Data were collected electronically using a pre-prepared entry template. Through the head of the institution, the researcher will send an official letter to the relevant ministries and agencies by including a guideline for filling out the required on-line instruments. Informed consent will be given on the first page of the instrument template. The minimum sample size is just a calculation, the more ASNs that fill in the instrument template, the better the results will be obtained. Data analysis uses quantitative analysis, consisting of simple analysis in descriptive form; further analysis is carried out to make an assessment (scoring) of the knowledge and attitudes of ASN towards national defense in various ministries and institutions, further analysis is also carried out to create metrics for the perceptions of Ministries and Institutions on state defense or national security.

This study discusses the perception and support of the ASN for national defense. The data in this study are primary data obtained through in-depth interviews with informants. The subjects referred to in this research are the sources of information needed in related agencies and individuals. The source of information in this study is Echelon IV from the Ministry, which is detailed in the following table:

Num	Ministry	Informant
1.	Ministry of Health	Expert Staff for Globalization Health Technology
2.	Ministry of Health	Expert Staff for Health Decentralization
3.	Ministry of Finance	Director General of Customs
4.	Ministry of PAN-RB	Minister's Expert Staff for the Field State Administration

	(Ministry of State Apparatus Empowerment)	
5.	Ministry of Communication and Informatics	Minister's Expert Staff for the Field Technology

Table 1; Data on the distribution of ASN respondents at the Ministry of Non Defense.

#### 4. Results

##### 4.1 Perception of ASN Ministry of Central Government of Indonesia towards National Defense

Stephen P Robins explains 3 things that determine perception, namely the individual, the target and the situation, then the position of the individual in determining the choice is very dominant. Based on perceptions regarding the right and obligation to implement State defense, it is known that 764 respondents with a percentage of 52.1% answered that State Defense is an interesting topic in discussion. Meanwhile, 600 respondents with a percentage of 40.9% answered agree and 776 respondents with a percentage of 52.90% had the perception that state defense is a mandatory activity for citizens.

1. If you see the target as an element of perception, it can be seen in implementing the task of State Defense. There were 649 people or 44.24% of respondents who disagreed and 614 or 41.85% of respondents said they did not agree that state defense is only the task of the TNI, but defense is also the duty of civil society. As many as 632 or 43.08% of respondents agreed and 719 or 49.01% of respondents strongly agreed with the statement that defending the country is one of the efforts to defend the state agree. As many as 678 or 46.22% of respondents also stated that they strongly agreed that ASN was a component in national defense.

2. Some notes on ASN's perceptions of national defense, namely: 86.1% disagreed that state defense was the duty of the TNI not civil society, 75.3% did not agree that state defense activities were activities of a military nature. More details can be seen in the table:

Nu.	Characteristics	Disagree	Less agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	National Defense is an interesting topic in discussion	108 (7.36%)	388 (26.4%)	764 (52.1%)	207 (14.1%)
2	National defense is a mandatory activity for every citizen	33 (2.25%)	58 (3.95%)	600 (40.9%)	776 (52.90%)
3	National defense is the duty of the TNI, not the people civil	649 (44.24%)	614 (41.85%)	142 (9.68%)	62 (4.23%)
4	State defense activities are activities of a military nature	364 (24.81%)	741 (50.51%)	296 (20.18%)	66 (4.50%)
5	Defending the country is one of the efforts to defend the country	28 (1.91%)	22 (1.50%)	632 (43.08%)	785 (53.51%)
6	ASN is a component in national defense	28 (1.91%)	42 (2.86%)	678 (46.22%)	719 (49.01%)

Table 2: ASN Perceptions of National Defense

## 4.2. ASN Central Ministry Support for State Defense.

Several things need to be noted in ASN's support for national defense, namely: The work I have done is one of the defense efforts as many as 826 people (56.3%) agree. National Defense does not always need weapons 697 (47.5%) disagree. Then there are 727 (49.56%) who are ready to receive State Defense education and training in the context of State Defense. More details can be seen in the table;

Nu.	Characteristics	Disagree	Less agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	The work I have done is one of defense	20 (1.36%)	64 (4.36%)	826 (56.3%)	557 (37.97%)
2	Your ministry is the leading sector in the implementation of non-military defense.	29 (1.98%)	88 (5.99%)	868 (59.17%)	482 (32.86%)
3	National Defense always requires weaponry	401 (27.3%)	697 (47.5%)	225 (15.34%)	144 (9.82%)
4	Ready to receive socialization about Implementation of State Defense	31 (2.1%)	63 (4.29%)	787 (53.65%)	586 (39.94%)
5	I make Pancasila an ideology for work and as a state	21 (1.43%)	18 (1.23%)	471 (32.11%)	957 (65.2%)
6	I am ready to participate in the implementation of National Defense	26 (1.77%)	52 (3.54%)	744 (50.72%)	645 (43.97%)
7.	I am ready to receive State Defense education and training in the framework The National Defense	48 (3.27%)	173 (11.79%)	727 (49.56%)	519 (35.38%)
8.	The topic of State Defense is a topic of interest	42 (2.86%)	231 (15.75%)	850 (57.94%)	344 (23.45%)
9.	National Defense raises the spirit of nationalism in myself	21 (1.43%)	74 (5.04%)	785 (53.5%)	587 (40.01%)
10.	State Defense, the task of the Ministry of Defense does not need to involve other agencies	625 (42.6%)	674 (45.94%)	112 (7.63%)	56 (3.82%)
11.	National defense is a difficult thing to understand	346 (23.59%)	823 (56.1%)	249 (16.97%)	49 (3.34%)
12.	The work I have done is one of defense	20 (1.36%)	64 (4.36%)	826 (56.3%)	557 (37.97%)
13.	Active support in fighting other ideologies besides Pancasila and threatening state sovereignty	29 (1.98%)	58 (3.95%)	691 (47.1%)	689 (46.97%)
14.	I instill love the motherland to my child since childhood	21 (1.43%)	29 (1.98%)	645 (43.97%)	772 (52.62%)

15.	Education about the love of the motherland must be instilled from childhood	22 (1.49%)	13 (0.89%)	511 (34.83%)	921 (62.78%)
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Table 3: ASN Support for National Defence

## 5. Discussion

Perception management is important in maintaining relationships between institutions [19]. ASN's perception of national defense is attractive and obligatory for every citizen, it correlates with support for national defense characteristics, especially in the awareness of what is done and in fostering the family. ASN realizes that national defense is not only a military domain but also civil society. This is in accordance with the pillars of state restraint carried out in Singapore, one of which is civil and economic defense. Indonesian Minister of Defense Prabowo Subianto's explanation regarding Sishankamrata (Universal People's Defense System) is not only sociologically relevant but constitutional demand.

ASN commitment and motivation to National Defense. In their commitment and motivation, they state that the work they do is a form of state defense effort, and they think that the Ministry or Central Government Agency is the leading sector in the implementation of non-military defense. The Commitment and Motivation statement shows that ASN already knows and has the perception that national defense is not just a matter of military defense that requires weapons. He continues to commitment and motivation to express his attitude, support, and willingness to be involved and ready to receive education, training, and socialization of awareness building for state defense to strengthen non-military state defense. Perception does not arise by itself, but through the processes and factors that influence it. According to Stephen P Robins, three factors influence perception: the individual concerned (perceptions), the target of the perception, and the situation. [20]

The spirit of martial arts among ASN has become a culture so that they dare to sacrifice for the sake of the country, both property and even life, even if they dare to be sacrificed for the integrity of the Republic's unitary state of Indonesia. The determination, attitude, and actions of citizens that are comprehensive, integrated, and sustainable based on love for the homeland and awareness of the nation's life and state are rights that cannot be hindered by anyone. The state facilitates the interests of its citizens. For Indonesian citizens, efforts to defend the state are based on love for the homeland (the archipelago) and the awareness of the nation and state of Indonesia with belief in Pancasila as the basis of the state and based on the 1945 Constitution as the basis of the state constitution.

Perceptions and support of citizens who are imbued with love for the state are constitutional (Pancasila and UUD 1945). Such support is to ensure the survival of the nation and state. This is protected by Law 23 of 2019 concerning Management of National Resources for State Defense and Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning State Defense. State defense efforts involving reserve components and supporting components.

## 6. Conclusion

The total public response to the national defense system before the Covid-19 pandemic was relatively high. However, when viewed as an illustration of total defense in the face of Covid-19, it looks still not optimal, still low. It appears that Total Defense is the will of the people to defend the country as part of their right to defend themselves, which must be protected by law. However, some are not ready to accept the socialization about the Implementation of National Defense 2.1%. This does not mean rejecting total defense. It is just that civil society needs to understand and see the military as only part of the defense system. Thus, there is no

factual theoretical basis for rejecting the people's will to defend the state. Even if the state rejects, people's participation can be part of not protecting human rights. This is understandable. ASN's perception of the Ministry of National Defense. 86.1% of respondents perceive that National Defense is not only the task of the TNI and 75.3% of respondents stated that it is not as good as if State defense is military. This shows that ASN has a perception following the Sishankamrata (Universal People's Defense and Security System). Total Defense is the general will of the people so that it is appropriate to be protected constitutionally.

ASN support in the Ministry of Central Government for State Defense is very strong in total. ASN's attitude towards national defense emphasizes family responsibility. They instill a love for the motherland in children. Indeed, the family defense system negatively impacts when a member is involved in radical activities or activities of an extremist nature because it does not agree to report radical and extreme family members.

The data table is sufficient to describe the mapping of non-military defense. A synergy between Ministries, Institutions, and Government Agencies is needed from various aspects in a total defense system. This synergy can be started by building knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions of the state civil servants (ASN) as the government's driving force in achieving national defense goals. The formation of ASN Knowledge, Attitudes, and Perceptions can be carried out by implementing education, training, socialization, or similar activities that can increase knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions. In addition, one way that can be done is by creating an integrated system between agencies so that non-military state defense can be implemented in an integrated manner.

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