# Polycentric Governance for Defense Area Empowerment: The Concepts and Implications for the Universe Defense System

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**Abstract:** The universal defense system positions defense affairs as the joint task of all components of the nation. A good defense system will form a regional or global regional balance. Appropriate governance in empowering defense areas in the framework of forming a defense system as a form of state responsibility towards the people in guaranteeing sovereignty. This study uses the theory of polycentric governance which is conceptualized on empowering defense areas to create a universal defense system. The research method in this study used qualitative by digging up secondary data as a database for analysis carried out by reducing data, presenting data and drawing conclusions. The results of this study are that the governance of the empowerment of defense areas can be carried out in a polycentric manner involving many actors formed by the existence of overall polycentric governance rules, problem characteristics and heterogeneity. Furthermore, in the stages of polycentric governance, the empowerment of defense areas starts with the formation of a structure that creates collaboration between actors and in the end, a pattern of regular interaction that is polycentric is formed.

**Keywords:** Polycentric Governance, Regional Defense Empowerment, Universal Defense System

## A. Introduction

Defense is an affair which is a form of reciprocal relationship between the people and the state (government) (Subagyo et al., 2018). Defense is part of a broader national strategy, which is connected to other strategies and is aligned with the policies set by the government. So when talking about defence, the TNI's position is as the Main Tool which is part of the Defense system, while the real subjects are all citizens and the Government itself. Against this background, Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country in the world consisting of 17,504 islands with a coastline length of 81,000 km and its water area consisting of territorial sea, archipelagic waters and inland waters covering an area of 2.7 million km2 or 70% of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia demands a universal defense system. strong given the limited number of personnel and defense and security materials owned. Indonesia cannot only rely on the TNI-POLRI to maintain regional defense and security, therefore a universal defense system was initiated which involved all citizens, territories and other national resources, and

was prepared early by the government and implemented in a total, integrated, directed manner. , and continue to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity.

Building a defense force is not always connoted as a form of preparation for war. The defense system aims to build a balance both in the regional area and globally, so that there is no dominance of any actor that has the potential to cause war. Threats to defense are not always in the form of military force, threats to national defense in non-military forms can occur at any time and attack anything.The overall defense system requires proper governance, by looking at the condition of the Indonesian state starting from historical background, internal potential in terms of geography and demography, development of the strategic environment of the region. Governance ensures the achievement of policies set by the government. Strengthening the defense component (main, reserve and support) involves many actors, with policies related to defense both directly and indirectly. However, it needs to be underlined, strengthening the defense system does not mean returning military dominance to civilian supremacy, but rather fulfilling the state's responsibility to citizens in guaranteeing state sovereignty.

State of the art that is relevant to this research is research from Chmad Bastari, TSL Toruan, Suhirwan Suhirwan regarding the Empowerment Strategy for the Maritime Defense Area in Increasing Awareness of State Defense in Tangerang Regency, Banten (Study at Lantamal III/JKT), in this study the state defense awareness in coastal areas are still low because implementing coastal community empowerment is not in accordance with the theory of empowerment strategy put forward by Suharto in the empowerment strategy with 5P, besides that the implementation of synergy is not carried out on an ongoing basis, this is not in accordance with the theory of synergy according to Hampdan-Turner and according to F.M. Hartanto. The conclusion of the implementation of the coastal community empowerment strategy in increasing awareness of the state in coastal areas in Tangerang Regency has not been successful. The novelty of this research is the use of the concept of polycentric governance in empowering defense areas.

Regional empowerment carried out by the Regional Command Unit (Satkowil) uses a territorial development planning and control system (Sisrendal Binter) which is structured to be implemented within 5 years. The reality on the ground in its activities, the Kodim always collaborates with community components, government and other related parties in carrying out regional empowerment. The ability of the Kodim Commander in communicating related to Regional Empowerment programs with the environment such as Regional Government is very decisive in achieving program success.

## B. Methods

This study aims to analyze governance in regional empowerment for defense purposes carried out by the Indonesian Army Regional Command Unit. The method used is qualitative with descriptive analysis. The qualitative method explicitly describes contextual conditions, namely social, institutional, cultural, environmental conditions in which people's lives take place (Yin, 2016), so that it is in line with the aim of analyzing governance that can be used in implementing policies related to

empowering defense areas. The focus of research is related to governance implemented by the Indonesian Army Regional Command Unit at the Military District Command (Kodim) level.

The research data used is secondary data collected from sources including books, national and international journals, relevant government regulations, as well as news in online media that are relevant to the discussion. Data analysis was carried out in three steps, namely data reduction, data presentation and conclusion and verification (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The focus of this research is related to the application of polycentric governance in empowering defense areas, namely: firstly exploring the concept of polycentric governance (Thiel & Moser, 2019) in empowering defense areas and secondly the stages of polycentric governance (McGinnis, 2021) in empowering defense areas.

## C. Results and Discussion

**Linkage of Regional Empowerment for the benefit of Defense with Sishanta**

National defense is all efforts that are comprehensive and its implementation is based on awareness of the rights and obligations of citizens and belief in their own strength (RI Law No. 3 of 2002 concerning National Defence). According to RI Law no. 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI, state defense is all efforts to uphold state sovereignty, maintain the territorial integrity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia and protect the entire nation from military threats. while armed. threaten the integrity of the nation and state. The TNI's mission is to carry out national defense politics as a means of defending the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, supporting state sovereignty, maintaining territorial integrity and protecting state security, conducting military operations and conducting military operations other than war and actively participating in regional and international peacekeeping missions.

The TNI is built and developed professionally in accordance with the country's political interests, referring to the values and principles of democracy, citizen power, human rights, national law and international law which have been ratified with the support of the State Budget. managed openly and responsibly. As a patriotic career soldier, he not only has the professional qualities of the TNI, but is also very involved in carrying out defense duties based on state political decisions (Ma'arif, 2015).

According to the 2015 State Defense White Paper, national defense development policies must be carried out through the integration of the military defense system (main component/TNI, reserve components and supporting components) and non-military defense (main elements and other components). national power). The expansion of the threat spectrum and the emergence of new combat regimes are the protagonists of future wars (EbookTerangTerang Darat.Pdf, n.d.). The Main Component (TNI) focuses on dealing with military threats by carrying out Military Operations (OMP) which are supported by Reserve Components and Support Components and Military Operations (OMSP) which are capable of being supported by Supporting Components. Relevant ministries/departments and local governments can support the TNI either directly or indirectly. In dealing with non-military threats,

ministries and related non-defense agencies and local governments are the main actors in dealing with these threats, depending on the form and nature of threats that can be supported by the TNI and other ministries/agencies. . element of national power. In dealing with hybrid threats, the TNI is supported as the main component by related ministries/agencies and other elements of national power, including local governments, which are formed on the basis of professional capabilities and are relatively related to the threats faced by the military defense model.

Regional empowerment for defense purposes is an activity that prepares all potential resources, which are prepared to anticipate actual and projected threats. With a defense system that involves all existing sections, empowerment is not only diverting this potential for military purposes, but also aligning it so that it can become an effective and efficient force in defense.

**OMSP and the Role of Satkowil in the Empowerment of Defense Areas**

The TNI as the main component in defense has tasks detailed in Law No. 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI in article 7. Broadly speaking, these tasks are divided into two, namely War Military Operations (OMP) and Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP). Related to the task of War Military Operations is a form of deploying military force in order to defend the territory against real threats in the form of an invasion by enemy military forces through 3 stages, namely deterrence, action and recovery. Tasks for Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP) are tasks carried out by the TNI based on State Political decisions. MOOTW is also carried out by the militaries of other countries with the term Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW) such as Canada, China, Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States and Singapore.

The orientation of MOM is as a step to prevent war, resolve conflicts, efforts to create peace and assist civil government activities in overcoming domestic crises. In addition, MOM has a different intensity of using weapons than MOM, which is more oriented towards using a humanitarian and law enforcement approach. In addition, OMSP forms synergies with Ministries/Institutions related to the problems that are OMSP's objectives. In general, the OMSP tasks require special abilities that are not the same as the basic capabilities possessed by Soldiers related to OMP, so that in carrying out OMSP it is necessary to adjust skills and knowledge and adjust the actions taken by soldiers in the field. The choice to use military force in overcoming problems other than war is based more on the urgency and ability of the military organization's quick response because the resources that are owned by both humans and military infrastructure can be converted to interests other than war.

As with military operations, the implementation of MOM follows the principles of facilitation, acceleration and protection of the deployed personnel. The operations manager must understand the established principles and apply them properly in operations. The general principles in implementing MOM are clarity of purpose, unity of action, legality, resilience, boundaries and security (US Headquarters Department of the Army, 1996). Operations managers must be able to set clear operational goals, translate strategic or political goals set by supervisors, into realizable tasks.

Operational targets (objectives) with strategic goals set aside must be clearly related to each other so as not to cause errors in operations.

In coordination with the operational unit, the mission commander must coordinate the ideas of the various groups involved in the MOM about the operational objectives to be achieved. Different groups may have different goals. The mission commander must be able to identify these outliers and then correct them to reach a common ground. Understanding the strengths and weaknesses of the parties working together in MOM, and having an atmosphere of mutual trust is very helpful in building harmonious cooperation.

MOST must have operational legality when the government defines MOM practices, military involvement, and the methods used must be legal or justifiable under national or international law, depending on the context. The legal basis of MOM can be assessed based on the political, economic, cultural and military aspects of the operations carried out. MOM legitimacy is also important to gain support from the local population. OMSP tends to be a long-term operation, so it requires tenacity. Conflict situations have a tendency to take a long time or drag on so that it demands military consistency in overcoming the problem. On the one hand, it is hoped that the Task Force will not cause casualties from both civilians and the troops themselves, but with the protracted situation the orientation has changed to keep the number of victims to a minimum.

MOM activities need to set clear boundaries regarding the scope of operations, resources used (including those related to the use of weapons), actions that may and may not be carried out as well as other provisions in a clear and detailed manner. These limits need to be explained by superiors to their subordinates, so that there are no deviations in the implementation of these operations. Risks in OMSP have characteristics that are not easy to recognize while there are limitations that limit the scope for this operation. This causes the need for commander orientation to minimize the impact of risks, especially on military personnel.

Based on the principle of implementing MOM, it is necessary to make adjustments in terms of personnel expertise, adjustments to weapons and equipment as well as adjustments to the form of organization and the strength of task executors. Adjustment of expertise related to the form of the task being carried out so that it can synergize with other elements (such as civil elements) in carrying out the task. Adjustment of expertise is also related to how to act by considering the tasks being carried out. As in overcoming social conflicts, the military must be neutral (impartial). The level of difficulty in the OMSP task also requires the discipline and creativity of soldiers so that they can be optimal in carrying out their main tasks.

Adjustment of weapons and equipment associated with the tasks carried out. When carrying out natural disaster management tasks, evacuation equipment, health and other emergency facilities are needed to carry out these tasks. When faced with a conflict with a low probability of violence, there is no need to use firearms. This also allows for the transfer of functions of special military equipment for the needs of implementing MOM.

Adjustments to the military organization are needed in order to integrate with the assisted civilian organizations. Related to strength both in quantity and quality,

again adjusted to the needs with consideration of success in carrying out the task. One example of the impact of regional conditions on organizational structure adjustments is border area security, where limited access results in low security mobility. This condition will be directed at the option of increasing static monitoring posts with scattered positions which will have an impact on increasing the number of personnel in activities.

The task of strengthening the defense sector is included in the Tasks for Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP). The strengthening of the defense area includes all work and activities related to planning, training, development, deployment and control, as well as the utilization of all the existing national potential in the regions to become a regional force that supports broad defense interests. In carrying out these tasks, the TNI-AD makes the Binter function its main function (along with the combat function). Binter means efforts, work and activities, both independently and together with other components of the nation, to help the government prepare defense forces in the land, sea and air fields, which include defense areas and their supporting forces employed to carry out the main tasks of the TNI according to official regulations and laws.

Binter made soldiers the subject, so that the area of resources and condition of the area became the object of the activity. Binter has the final orientation of realizing a universal defense system that can protect all of Indonesia's bloodshed. The implementation of Binter is heavily influenced by government policy as the main controller regarding defense issues. Binter's implementation was quite optimal during the New Order, where the ABRI's dual function system greatly supported this activity. With the inclusion of active Soldiers in all lines of government directly or indirectly support the creation of stability. This condition is described as "even if a needle falls, Babinsa will know". This illustrates the impact of Binter in maintaining regional stability.

At the beginning of the Reformation, there was talk of disbanding the Satkowil, this was the impact of several military actions during the New Order era, so that the assumption that Binter was not in line with Reformation emerged. However, until now Satkowil is still in existence and Binter is still being carried out by TNI AD Soldiers, this is because Binter is not a "dual function ABRI" product, but is a system that was born from the history of the struggle of the Indonesian nation which believes in involving all components of the nation. then state sovereignty will be maintained.

**Defense Area Empowerment Governance Concept**

The Indonesian state in managing its defense system has used a polycentric system. After the First Dutch military aggression (War of Independence), there was a change in defense policy from linear defense to defensive enclaves. Each defense pocket builds independence and carries out operations independently in order to maintain continuity in providing resistance through Guerrilla operations.

To eliminate the scattered defense forces, which can carry out operations in an integrated manner, as well as independently, the Netherlands expends greater resources. Polycentric tendencies are demonstrated by the ability of several post-

Independence Indonesian regions to offer resistance starting from Sumatra, Java, Bali and other regions.

The concept of Empowerment of the Defense area is essentially to optimize regional development in utilizing natural resources in addition to the main goal for welfare is also oriented to ensure sustainability in the event of a war in the region. The point of view that needs to be underlined is that the preparation of the Defense area is indeed oriented towards combat conditions, but its readiness will provide a deterrent effect which will prevent the battle itself from occurring.

In times of peace the empowerment of the defense area can be directed towards development-oriented activities to increase welfare, so that in general the regional empowerment activities are not only oriented towards military interests. This can be described in terms of activities to increase food production in an area followed by the construction of logistics warehouses and roads that are used as logistics routes. . In times of peace, all of these activities will certainly have a positive effect on the welfare of society.

Organizationally there is already a section responsible for managing the defense area. Starting from the sub-district level there are Koramil, for Regencies and Cities there are Kodim, Several Regencies or Cities even up to the Provincial level there are Korem, and Scope 1 Province or several there are Kodam which manage strategic Compartments.

Regional empowerment carried out by the Regional Command Unit through the Territorial Development Program, which is oriented towards preparing land defense areas, preparing supporting forces and realizing TNI-People's unity. The governance system used is the Binter Planning and Control System (Sisrendal Binter) which consists of 5 year strategic planning, Regional Potential Analysis, Defense Potential Analysis and the Territorial Development Program. In general, the Binter Sisrendal has detailed stages and targets that must be achieved every year, but there are major obstacles in implementing the Binter Sisrendal where these activities are very dependent on the program implemented by the Regional Government. This resulted in the achievement of Sisrendal Binter not being able to guarantee its sustainability, depending on the Kodim Commander's ability to negotiate and the Regional Government's understanding of regional empowerment for defense purposes.

The Territorial Development activity program in the context of empowering the defense area includes five activities, firstly Structuring the Land Defense Area. Covers all efforts, work, and activities in the context of managing an area for defense purposes that are synchronized with the national spatial planning and regional spatial planning. Second, Fostering State Defense Awareness in realizing the national character of loving the motherland, having national and state awareness, being loyal to Pancasila as the state ideology, willing to sacrifice for the nation and state, and the initial ability to defend the country. Third, Management of Supporting Components in order to organize and foster supporting components of citizen elements, natural resources, artificial resources, and national infrastructure. Fourth, the formation, establishment and development of reserve components in the framework of establishing, establishing and developing reserve components for citizens, natural resources, artificial resources and national infrastructure. Fifth, Development of Social

Conditions in order to realize and maintain regional stability from the ipoleksosbudhankam aspect.

**Overarching rules of polycentric governance in Defense Area Empowerment**

The overall regulatory basis for polycentric governance for regional empowerment starts with Article 27 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution which explains the rights and obligations of all people to defend the country. In Article 30 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution it is emphasized regarding the matters and obligations of citizens in efforts related to state defense and security, then in paragraph (2) it describes the form of a universal defense system with the TNI as the main component and the people as a supporting component.

In implementing the empowerment of the defense area, various actors who have authority are involved. Each institution has special characteristics that make it responsible for managing the empowerment of defense areas. There are institutions that are directly oriented towards defense interests, there are also institutions that are more dominantly oriented towards economic or welfare interests. This is because in a peaceful situation, the empowerment of the defense area will be more inclined towards interests related to welfare. Differences are evident not only in institutional orientation but also in the form of organizational structure, limits of authority and other matters.

**Characteristics of problems related to Defense Area Empowerment**

When viewed from various perspectives, there are different approaches to the problem of empowering defense areas. From a military perspective, empowerment is directed at overcoming threats in order to maintain state sovereignty. From a non-military point of view, of course empowerment is oriented towards welfare. On the other hand, with a universal defense system, all existing potential is prepared and can be directed for defense purposes. Under these conditions the empowerment of the defense area is carried out by all components of the nation, which during peacetime prioritizes the welfare approach while still considering the interests of national defense. One example, in building bridge facilities, is of course oriented to support public transportation. However, it still has to be considered for the sake of defense where the bridge is expected to have the ability to pass through the Alutsista owned by the TNI.

Indonesia's vast territory with different geographic and demographic conditions requires a different approach regarding the empowerment of defense areas. The perceived characteristics of these social problems are so distinct that, when given the opportunity, tend to lead to different approaches to addressing them through polycentric governance (Thiel 2015). Empowerment of the defense area is the business of all Indonesian citizens which is carried out according to the scope of each actor.

**Heterogeneity in the Empowerment of Defense Areas**

Diversity is a trigger for the emergence of polycentric governance (Thiel & Moser, 2019), whereby building patterns of relationships between centers or actors implementing policies as a whole will create the expected conditions. Empowerment

of the Defense area involves many actors from the policy level to the technical implementers at the grassroots level. The Ministry of Defense must carry out policy synchronization with the Ministries/Agencies related to the object of empowering the defense area. Law number 23 of 2019 concerning PSDN for National Defence, technical policies must be followed up involving Ministries/other agencies.

This heterogeneity will be more visible if the defense area empowerment activities involve community actors. Development of State Defense Awareness Awareness and Development of Social Conditions will be in direct contact with the community where different environmental conditions will create different patterns of development. Polycentric governance is expected to be able to optimally overcome heterogeneity so that the goal of Empowerment of Defense Areas can be achieved.

**Stages of Polycentric Governance in the Empowerment of Defense Areas**

The flow of Polycentric Governance can be illustrated starting from first several decision-making authority centers with overlapping jurisdictions, the two centers of authority interacting through a process of mutual adjustment where they often establish new formal collaborations or informal commitments, and thirdly their interactions produce regular patterns an overarching social order that captures the efficiency of scale at all levels of a community (McGinnis, 2021). Related to the governance of Defense Area Empowerment, actors in an area will have an orientation according to the type of community. Government actors will focus on public services, private actors will focus on economic interests, community groups and others will have other focuses. These orientations will overlap and be related. This condition will create a pattern of inter-community relations that describes the structure of governance.

**Table 1 Structure, Process and Outcomes in Polycentric Governance (McGinnis, 2021)**

| Structure | Process | Outcomes |
|---|---|---|
| **Multiple Centers of Authority** (at all levels of aggregation, each unit semi-autonomous) | **Mutual Adjustment** (results in complex mix of both cooperation and competition) | **Emergent Order** (overarching system of rules, but with distinctive subcultures) |
| **Overlapping Jurisdictions** (each authority has a limited domain of responsibility) | **Institutional Diversity** (innovation with isomorphic selection, but still polymorphic) | **All-Scale Efficiencies** (including sustainable self-governance at all levels) |
| *Fragmented system of governance* (varying levels of the concentration of political power) | *Proto-Polycentric system of governance* (varying levels of entry/exit and switching costs) | *Polycentric system of governance* (varying levels of performance on multiple criteria) |

**Structure**

Empowerment of defense areas with activities including; Structuring the Land Defense Area, Fostering State Defense Awareness, Management of Supporting Components, Establishment, determination and development of reserve components and Development of Social Conditions, will involve various actors starting from the policy level to technical implementers at the grassroots level. These conditions will give rise to several decision-making authority centers (or decision units), each center is autonomous to be able to make collective decisions for groups and common interests.

If the Ministry of Defense is faced with spatial planning issues, it will clash with the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning, with the Regional Government, with other institutions including non-governmental organizations such as NGOs that focus on the environment. Thus, each of these authorities has overlapping jurisdictions (areas of responsibility).

At this stage at the policy level, it is very important to formulate the form of relations between actors, so that it can be used as legality at the level of technical implementers. Overlapping jurisdictions can lead to positive results if the formulation of a pattern of relations creates mutually reinforcing coordination between actors. Authority is also given to the technical level, where it is very possible that independence is needed in making policies that are adapted to environmental conditions.

**Process**

Each authority will carry out its policies related to empowering the defense area in accordance with the characteristics of its environment. For example, the Education environment will use an academic approach in instilling the concepts of State Defense either through the curriculum or extra-curricular activities. While the work environment will carry out HR development which is directly related to productivity, which is still related to the Development of State Defense Awareness.

Authorities will form collaborations both formally and informally. This is based on an agreement between actors to resolve problems that arise in the environment related to the empowerment of defense areas. The TNI will collaborate with the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology and the Ministry of Health to address fundamental problems in remote areas. This collaboration is also possible to form with other institutions including local government.

**Results**

The condition at this stage is that there is interaction between actors which results in an orderly pattern of social order. Interactions can arise spontaneously, for example the Education Environment cooperates with the Regional Command Unit (Satkowil at the Kodim level) to support State Defense Awareness Development activities for students. Interactions that arise through several levels of coordination, for example in the process of making a Detailed Spatial Plan, the involvement of the Kodim, Korem, Kodam and the Ministry of Defense in this matter is based on policies that have been set according to the level. With the formation of polycentric governance

in the empowerment of defense areas, all interests related to defense can be synchronized and harmonized with the programs of other actors.

At this stage a pattern of regional empowerment has been formed for defense purposes which is in line with the interests of people's welfare. There is collaboration between actors at every level that still takes into account the interests of defense in each program. Polycentric governance in empowering defense areas will produce an effective and efficient form of social order.

## D. Conclusion

The importance of determining the right governance in the empowerment of defense areas aims so that a universal defense system does not just become a mere concept. Polycentric Governance provides the possibility of empowering defense areas by involving many actors formed by the overall rules of polycentric governance, problem characteristics and heterogeneity in empowering defense areas. The governance flow of the empowerment of the defense area starts from the formation of a structure supported by technical policies, then there is collaboration between actors involved in empowering the defense area so that in the end a pattern of interaction with an orderly pattern is formed where defense interests can be aligned with other interests.

The Ministry of Defense needs to issue a policy that explains the function of the Regional Command Unit in Empowering the Defense Region, so that it has a clear position in carrying out coordination with government and non-government actors in the regions in implementing polycentric governance. Indonesian Army Territorial Staff can conduct further research related to polycentric governance so that it can be implemented in the Territorial Development Planning and control system.

Complex and modern societal governance requires institutional diversity which is manifested in multilevel, multipurpose, multisectoral, and multifunctional government units (Araral, Ed; Hartley, 2013). Research related to polycentric governance in empowering defense areas is still limited to secondary data analysis. A more in-depth study needs to be carried out so that the right form of implementation can be found.

## E. Acknowledgement

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