

POTENTIAL CULTURAL STRATEGY FOR PREVENTING NATIONAL RESILIENCE FROM TERRORISM IN INDONESIA

Pulung Agustanto, Arthur Josias Runturambi, Puspitasari
Universitas Indonesia

Email: pulung.agustanto@gmail.com, simonrbi@yahoo.com, tugasuipuspita@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Indonesia faces growing threats to national resilience due to the spread of radical ideologies and the influence of globalized popular culture that undermine local values. This study explores cultural strategy as a preventive model by analyzing its role in strengthening identity and social cohesion. Using a qualitative approach grounded in a constructivist paradigm, the research draws on literature review and policy document analysis, particularly focusing on government regulations and popular cultural expressions. One example examined is koplo dangdut, a grassroots music genre that contains messages of unity and local wisdom. The study finds that cultural expressions like koplo not only serve entertainment purposes but also function as tools of ideological resilience. Cultural strategy, when integrated into national policy, becomes an instrument of soft power to reinforce national defense against intolerance and radicalism. The findings highlight the need to institutionalize cultural products in education and governance as a long-term measure. As cultural erosion becomes a strategic threat, adopting and managing local culture becomes a vital solution for inclusive, sustainable national security. Future research should investigate how such cultural strategies are applied across regions and how they impact radicalization prevention efforts in practice.

Keywords: cultural strategy; national resilience; radicalism; soft power; Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

It is becoming increasingly difficult for Indonesia, a country that is rich in diversity, to maintain its national strength in the face of global cultural shifts, disruptions brought about by digital technology, and the dangers posed by radicalism and terrorism. The cultural landscape of the nation is constantly confronted with challenges from a variety of forces, both internally, as a result of the proliferation of intolerant beliefs, and externally, as a result of the growing influence of popular culture from around the world. The confluence of these influences has the potential to seriously undermine traditional values and weaken social cohesion, particularly in communities that are diverse and disadvantaged.

Young people in Indonesia have had their perspectives and ways of life drastically altered as a result of the introduction of foreign cultural artifacts through the mediums of social media, entertainment, and contemporary consumerism. On the other hand, radical ideas have established themselves in certain sectors of society, capitalizing on the anxieties that are associated with social issues and religious sentiments. Indonesia is in a highly significant position in its journey of nation-building because of the combination of radical ideologies and cultural uncertainty that permeates the country.

A cultural strategy is becoming increasingly well-known as an important means to promote national identity and counter radical ideas, despite the challenges associated with it. A cultural

strategy is more than just a symbolic gesture; it provides Indonesia with a national framework for utilizing its heritage, customs, and communal values in order to combat ideological threats and cultural control from outside sources.

To strengthen its national identity, unite its citizens, and build collective resilience based on shared indigenous knowledge and values, Indonesia needs a comprehensive cultural plan. This is because the invasion of foreign culture and ideological radicalization are contributing factors that create cultural problems for the country. In this era of globalization, it is impossible to prevent the rise of ideology-based radicalism that opposes the national culture and traditions, as well as the popularization of foreign cultures like *K-Pop*, *Arabic* fashion, and other forms of culture. Understanding the strategic power of national culture strategists is essential to managing this circumstance.

The study of culture is no longer merely a minor component of defense and national security; rather, it has become an essential component of the formulation of long-term strategies. This study investigates the ways in which Indonesia's policy on resilience incorporates a cultural strategy. Individuals may be better able to comprehend the significance of collective defense if they are exposed to the expressions and values of their local culture.

Since it is commonly accepted that terrorism is a cultural problem (Serafim, 2005), it is essential that strategic interventions also consider its cultural aspects. The implementation of Presidential Regulation No. 114/2022 concerning Cultural Strategy makes it abundantly evident that the Indonesian government views culture as a crucial element in the process of building national resilience. This study aims to assess the role of cultural expressions, values, and local identities in the national defense process, as well as to develop a model of cultural strategy that aids in halting the spread of radical ideas.

As cultural disorientation intensifies, there is growing recognition of the need for a strategic response rooted in culture. Cultural strategy, in this context, is not merely symbolic, but serves as a framework for national defense, leveraging Indonesia's rich cultural heritage to counter radical narratives and promote unity. This strategy emphasizes local wisdom, traditional values, and community-based resilience as instruments of soft power that can enhance ideological resistance.

The regulatory framework reinforcing this approach is found in Presidential Regulation No. 114/2022 concerning Cultural Strategy. This policy recognizes culture as an essential aspect of national development and explicitly positions it as a strategic asset in countering identity-based threats such as intolerance, sectarianism, and extremism. This provides a clear mandate for incorporating cultural elements into the national resilience agenda.

Despite the growing policy focus on culture, previous studies have largely underexplored the practical role of cultural expressions—such as music, local rituals, or popular media—in shaping resilience narratives. There is also a lack of integrative models that bridge national policy with community-driven cultural practices in the fight against ideological threats.

This study aims to fill that gap by analyzing how cultural expressions, particularly through *dangdut koplo* music, can act as a vehicle for promoting national identity and preventing the spread of radicalism. The novelty of this research lies in its use of cultural performance as a defense strategy framework, highlighting how everyday cultural expressions can be mobilized as tools of ideological resistance.

The purpose of this study is to explore and conceptualize a cultural strategy that supports national resilience in the face of radicalism, using Indonesia's unique cultural ecosystem as its foundation. The benefit of this research lies in its practical contribution to policy development,

cultural education, and deradicalization programs by providing a replicable model that links cultural practice with national resilience.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study explored how cultural strategy contributed to strengthening Indonesia's national resilience against intolerance, radicalism, and terrorism. By employing a qualitative methodology, the research analyzed literature and policy documents to understand how cultural expressions, values, and traditions—especially those rooted in local wisdom—could foster social cohesion and reinforce national identity. The study adopted a constructivist paradigm and interpretive analysis to reveal how regional customs and cultural elements, such as *dangdut* and *dangdut koplo* music, served not only as entertainment but also as tools for ideological and psychological resilience.

The research utilized thematic analysis to identify recurring patterns in cultural expressions and their role in national defense. Sources were selected based on their relevance to themes like cultural identity, national resilience, radicalism, and strategic culture, with a focus on peer-reviewed articles and government regulations. The findings showed that cultural strategy, when systematically integrated into national policy, could function as a form of soft power and ideological resistance, providing a practical model for linking cultural practice with efforts to prevent radicalization and strengthen national unity.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Cultural Strategy: Concept and Implementation

The discourse of nation building is not only aimed at physical aspects that are material, but also non-physical aspects. If physical infrastructure is built without being balanced with character and mental-spiritual formation, then the essence of the nation's goals will experience disorientation. That is why a cultural strategy formulated by Indonesian people in a fundamental and visionary way to face various crucial threats in the life of the nation and state is needed. Before discussing the meaning of the terminology of cultural strategy, the etymological roots of 'strategy' and 'culture' will first be reviewed.

Strategy is commonly known as a comprehensive plan of action designed to achieve long-term or overall goals in a variety of fields, most notably business and management. Scholars have emphasized its multifaceted nature, citing ambiguous outcomes and the dynamic interaction of internal and external factors. Porter provides a clear definition of strategy as "the creation of a unique position involving a different set of activities" (Plant, 2009). This emphasizes that strategy includes the distinct decisions that an organization makes in order to define its competitive advantage over others in the market.

Strategy is a fundamental concept in business and management, serving as the overarching framework that defines how organizations achieve their goals and maintain a competitive advantage. It represents a set of actions and decisions that help an organization navigate its environment, meet stakeholder expectations, and adapt to market changes. Baporikar defines strategy as a structured approach to aligning an organization's resources with its goals, which is critical for long-term sustainability and success (Baporikar, 2013). Strategy is not only about the plans set but also about engaging various stakeholders in the process of strategy formulation (Hersperger et al., 2019).

Udin & Djaelani (2001) in "*Principles and Strategies of Dakwah*" said that strategy is based

on planning and management for a purpose. It is clear that “strategy” is always tied to a purpose and it requires planning of resource management and detailed steps in the form of tactics.

In line with this understanding, Sutrisno (1983) stated that strategy has characteristics, namely focusing on goals, looking at time and the environment and summarizing problems from events according to the context of strength and steps chosen towards the goal is very clear. Thus, everything called following the word "strategy" is everything that has a goal, has a formulation of steps, and considers every strength in making decisions to move.

Cultural strategy in national resilience systems is a multifaceted approach that incorporates cultural dimensions into the larger framework of resilience. This concept is about leveraging a country's cultural assets to improve its ability to adapt and thrive in the face of challenges. Cultural strategy's core components include the promotion of cultural heritage, the integration of community values, and the promotion of social cohesion, all of which play critical roles in cultivating national resilience.

Cultural heritage preservation is central to the cultural strategy because it represents a community's historical context, collective memory, and shared values. According to Holtorf (2018), while many people advocate for the preservation of cultural heritage as a resource for fostering cultural resilience and assisting with disaster recovery, it is also critical to recognize the role of adaptability and transformation of heritage in enhancing cultural resilience during crises. This means that preserving cultural narratives and practices promotes resilience while also instilling a sense of identity and belonging, which is essential in national frameworks (Mutia et al., 2019)

Furthermore, by emphasizing community involvement and cooperation, the incorporation of cultural strategies into national resilience systems promotes social cohesion. Research shows that organizational culture, which frequently mirrors national culture, has a big impact on resilience and innovation tactics (Bolaños-Valencia et al., 2019) According to Fietz et al., organizations seeking to improve resilience must have a thorough understanding of cultural quirks. They contend that a culturally aware approach facilitates efficient communication and teamwork within communities, resulting in a strong support system in times of crisis (Fietz et al., 2021).

Beyond building resilience, cultural strategy also involves creating a unified identity that can bring disparate groups together in the face of shared challenges. Countries can develop a population that is involved and ready to tackle problems as a group by fostering cultural norms and values that prioritize collaboration, empathy, and social responsibility (Roza et al., 2022). In order to promote national resilience, Mardhani et al. stress the significance of incorporating ideological and sociocultural elements, pointing out that a common cultural identity facilitates efficient resource mobilization and strengthens community resolve in times of crisis (Mardhani et al., 2020).

Strategy is not only developing in the discourse of war, it has now penetrated the fields of economics, politics, as well as social and cultural fields. Strategy is no longer the monopoly of war thinkers, it has also become the expertise of marketing, communication thinkers, and many others. Griffin calls strategy a comprehensive plan to achieve organizational goals (Anoraga, 2004). Strategy is said to be comprehensive thinking because it places ideas, planning, and execution, an activity within a certain period of time to achieve certain goals.

In terminology, culture is the Sanskrit word "buddhayah", from two words: "budi" and "daya." "Budi" refers to reason, mind, understanding, opinion, and feeling, while "daya" refers to the accumulation of capacity and effort to use "budi" to revitalize and achieve perfection. Culture

can be defined as a combination of "reason" and works of art, the whole tradition and customs, and habits by each individual and community of people who form a society or tribe.

There is an argument that the term "*cultura*" means cultivating the land, maintaining and growing crops, refinement of behavior, decorative patterns, respect, and worship. According to Simon (2006), this understanding develops into the idea of the unique customs of a particular society. While for Suwardi Suryaningrat or Ki Hadjar Dewantara, culture, which means "*fruit of human intellect*", is the ethos of human struggle against two strong poles in themselves: nature (nature) and time (people). For "*safety and happiness*"—peace and happiness—in human life and livelihood, culture can show evidence of "*the glory of human life*".

According to the *Indonesia Ministry of Education and Culture (2016)*, analysis of cultural concepts can begin by dividing them into three categories of expression:

- 1) *Cultural System Expression*: Consists of ideas, concepts, values, regulations, and others that regulate, control, and direct human behavior in society.
- 2) *Social System Expression*. Consists of human activities interacting with each other in certain ways based on mutual cooperation, collaboration, deliberation, etc.
- 3) *Physical Cultural Expression*. Culture is manifested through human interaction that many tools are used to achieve goals. This is the result of human work, such as temples, inscriptions, classical manuscripts, etc.

(Surajiyo, 2010) in his book "*Philosophy of Science & Its Development in Indonesia*" (2007), explains cultural strategy as an effort to handle culture, especially in diverse Indonesia. To know this, we need to discuss what the function of national culture is and how cultural experts in Indonesia use cultural strategy.

1) The Functions of National Culture:

Indonesian culture has two vital purposes: first, it fortifies our national identity and serves as a framework for promoting unity among Indonesians. Secondly, it aids in the advancement of contemporary science and technology.

According to Koentjaraningrat, national culture consists of two parts: first, a system of ideas and symbols that let the various Indonesian people connect with one another with the goal of strengthening their sense of unity; and second, ideas and symbols that give the Indonesian people an identity.

2) Indonesian Cultural Strategy

According to Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana, the national culture of Indonesia, also known as *Great Indonesian Culture*, ought to be created as something unique by fusing different aspects of western culture with characteristics like science, technology, economic orientation, and organizational abilities. Sanusi Pane asserts that as Indonesia is an Eastern civilization, its national culture need to place a higher value on cooperation, feelings, and spirituality. Thus, Indonesians must remember their history (Widyosiswoyo, 1987).

The existence of a strong strategy is needed to create Indonesian national culture as an action and process for the interests of the goals of the state and nation. According to Sutrisno (1983), there are five approaches used in the strategy of advancing culture.

- a. Acculturation or blending that emphasizes togetherness
- b. Progressiveness; or having a future orientation
- c. Instilling culture in the Indonesian education system
- d. Strengthening the national language.

e. Internalization of Pancasila as the basis of the state through education.

C.A. Van Peursen said that "*cultural strategy is a human effort to learn and design its own culture*", thus, questions within humans are the basis of cultural strategy (Uhi, 2016). For example, questions such as how people respond to big questions about the purpose of life, the meaning of life, the rules of human interaction, and society. A person must go through a learning process to understand all of that naturally. Here, culture is seen as an instrument because it is considered an important part of human life and to plan.

The concepts of "cultural strategy" and "strategic culture" play critical roles in shaping national resilience systems, particularly regarding their core elements and functional capabilities. In particular, "strategic culture" refers to the deeply rooted *practices, convictions, and presumptions* that shape a country's strategic decision-making (Saba Kiran, 2024). It includes components like the goal of military force, perceptions of threats, and established alliances within the international legal system (Munier, 2021). Kiran highlights how the strategic cultures of India and Pakistan are shaped by historical narratives and geopolitical realities, impacting their security policies and military doctrines (Saba Kiran, 2024).

In the other hand, "cultural strategy" is a deliberate method that incorporates cultural elements into resilience frameworks and national policies to improve effectiveness and adaptability. According to Miller and Pescaroli, incorporating cultural sensitivity into resilience tactics has a big impact on how well recovery efforts work in disaster response. Both writer emphasize National resilience systems can more effectively connect with residents and stakeholders by acknowledging local beliefs and practices, which will promote a stronger and more unified response (Miller & Pescaroli, 2018).

Both ideas stress the importance of culture in national resilience, despite their differences. Cultural strategy and strategic culture both recognize that a country's identity has a significant influence on how well it responds to crises. The components of strategic culture, like collective memory and threat perception, also influence cultural strategy, in which a country modifies its plans for resilience in light of past experiences and cultural norms (Fietz et al., 2021). For instance, Georgescu et al. claim that integrating cultural considerations into strategic human resource management (HRM) practices is crucial to fostering mutual trust and adaptability as well as individual and organizational resilience (Georgescu et al., 2024).

For both frameworks to successfully integrate their individual components, a systemic approach is also necessary. According to Fietz et al., in order to improve their resilience, organizations need to take cultural influences into account. This means that it is necessary to align cultural strategies with current strategic cultures in order to successfully navigate challenges (Fietz et al., 2021). For effective national resilience, organizational culture and resilience strategies must coexist and enhance one another, according to similar perspectives on the subject (Koronis & Ponis, 2018; Rehman et al., 2021)

In the context of the physical form of culture in Indonesia, *dangdut* music is one of the cultural products, however, more than that, *dangdut* apparently contains a culture in the form of a (meta) social system. This situation caught my attention, because many Indonesians like this type of music which forms a unique interaction within it. *Dangdut* also has lyrics containing moral messages, for example, *dangdut* music in the Koplo genre has become an identity for Indonesian culture, especially for the people of East Java. This must be recognized and institutionalized as a tool to maintain culture. Several *Koplo dangdut* songs contain protests of the injustice of

development and reflections on life that emphasize unity and nationalism. *Koplo dangdut* songs emerged because of the spreading sectarian reasoning. These songs convey messages of popular humanity and nationality.

In 2022, former Indonesian President Joko Widodo signed *Presidential Regulation Number 114 of 2022* concerning *Cultural Strategy* in which the Cultural Strategy can be explained by the existence of a document containing Cultural Advancement based on the potential, situation, and conditions of culture to realize national goals. Meanwhile, in the description of the article, Cultural Advancement is an effort to increase cultural resilience and the contribution of Indonesian culture to world civilization by protecting, developing, utilizing, and fostering culture.

On the appendix page of the Presidential Decree, 7 (seven) main problems that are national strategic issues related to culture that need to be answered for the advancement of culture in the future are mentioned, one of which is primordial identity and sectarian sentiment. Narrow national identity gives rise to social problems ranging from passive forms such as discrimination and intolerance, to aggressive forms such as radicalism and terrorism that do not tolerate diversity at all.

The Concept of National Resilience

The concept of national resilience previously referred only to a country's military capabilities, but now includes political-psychological aspects (Kimhi & Eshel, 2009). National resilience is defined as a country's ability to cope with challenges and crises such as natural disasters or national security events such as war or terrorist attacks by changing and adapting without endangering the basic institutions and principles of society (Friedland et al., 2005). Kimhi & Eshel (2009) stated that community and national resilience are manifestations of intertwined public resilience, providing a sense of belonging, social identity, and security to its members.

Every country has its unique set of values that are influenced by literature, science, religion, and local knowledge. The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and the *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* concept serve as the foundation for Indonesia's value system. (Supandji, 2012, in Rahatmawati, I: 2012). Geographical location/position, natural resources, human resources, ideology, politics, economy, social and cultural characteristics, and defense and security comprise the eight (8) components that make up the notion of Indonesian national resilience.

National resilience in the Indonesian context is a dynamic condition of the Indonesian nation state that encompasses all integrated national life and contains tenacity and resilience. It also contains an understanding of the strength to face various challenges both domestically and internationally, guarantees of identity, integrity, and sustainability of the nation and state and the struggle to achieve national goals (Prayitno et al., 2004) .

According to Prayitno (2003), Indonesian resilience is an idea on developing national strength through the implementation of harmonious welfare and security in all aspects of national life in an integrated and comprehensive manner based on Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and the Archipelago Outlook. Conceptually, the national resilience scheme has 3 (three) "faces", namely: a) National Resilience as a fact; b) National Resilience as a concept; and c) National Resilience as a way of thinking.

National resilience, citing Joesoef (2014), is the mobilization of strength, ability, endurance and tenacity, which becomes the direction of a nation in responding to challenges, threats,

obstacles and disturbances, both internal and external, which directly or indirectly threaten the survival of the nation.

Usman (2003) in his work *National Resilience, National Resilience Study Program*, it is defined as "a dynamic part of a nation that encompasses all aspects of life that enable a nation to survive amidst the regulations and changes that always exist." The concept of national resilience is supported by the strength of the nation and state so that it is able to survive. The strength that must be possessed by a nation and state so that it is always able to maintain its survival despite experiencing various disturbances, obstacles, and external and internal threats, national resilience remains victorious, and comprehensively supports the essence of order and stability.

National resilience is a total situation of various dimensions of national life based on national insight to create resilience, resilience, and resilience to interact with the environment at a certain time so that a nation can guarantee the sustainability of life and the development of its life in accordance with the goals outlined (Hardjosoedarmo, 1994).

National Resilience has many principles contained in the diversity of its dimensions.

1. *Principle of Wellbeing and Peace.* Both cannot be separated, and serves as a benchmark for national resilience.
2. *Principle of Integrated Comprehensive.* A way of behaving and resolving problems that arise in a country with broad and comprehensive insight. This is rooted in society is a collection of people who are interconnected to achieve common goals.
3. *Principle of Internal and External Awareness.* Awareness is an effort to maintain the country's resilience from internal threats and external awareness aims to protect the country from any threats of other countries.
4. *Principle of Family.* Tolerance, togetherness, cooperation, social justice are values that contain the principle of family.

In the concept of the Archipelago Insight and National Resilience, there are *Pancagatra* (*Five Milestone*) aspects, with the Socio-Cultural *Gatra* as one of them, along with the Ideology, Politics, Economy, and Defense-Security *Gatra*. In addition to the *Pancagatra* aspect, there is the *Trigatra* aspect (Natural Resources, Demography, and Geography). These two aspects complement each other and have an impact on National Resilience because they always follow the development of society since the elements of this *pancagatra* are always changing. These aspects are always related to each other. Other *Gatra* aspects interact with the Socio-Cultural *Gatra*. While *Trigatra* is natural, a gift from God.

Such insight also resided in the minds of Bung Karno (the first President of Indonesia) and other founding parents in strengthening their ideas about the concept of Indonesianness that would be built in the future. Insight, a combination of various traditions and cultural patterns creates unity between the homeland (land) and its people (people/nation), and this will be the main component that binds every citizen as part of the process of organizing and building the nation. *This process will build the character or identity of the nation* (nation character), *as well as the state system* (nation state) *within it* (Widjojo, 2016)

The lack of socio-cultural understanding will have an impact on the lack of understanding of other aspects, therefore, Indonesia's national resilience comes from integration, not from the resilience of each aspect. This is due to the ever-changing circumstances in the life of the nation in terms of ideology, politics, economy, socio-culture, and defense-security (Krisnawati, 2023).

The essential concept of national resilience is the orchestration of the implementation of welfare and security in a balanced, harmonious, and consistent manner in various aspects of national life. This concept is also related to the ability to elaborate national strength for the continuity of the nation and state for national goals. If the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia can be successfully applied in life to overcome radical understanding and terrorism, this will certainly be positive for national resilience. Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which are believed to be true and are internalized and practiced by all Indonesian people, will be useful in preventing the emergence of radical and terrorism.

Cultural Strategy in the Context of Indonesian National Resilience

The rapid development of information and communication technology has enabled global connectivity to develop beyond what was previously expected. We now live in a new reality called the folded world, according to Yasraf A. Piliang (1999). An American sociology-communication scientist, Marshall McLuhan (1960), said "*we are now living in the global village,*" to describe global connectivity along with the development of communication technology (McLuhan & Gordon, 2013).

On the one hand, the development of information and communication technology has revived many economic and social activities that previously never existed in a national community, but on the other hand, it has also shaken traditional boundaries without control. The Indonesian nation is currently facing challenges concerning the degradation of traditional values due to technological penetration. The way of thinking and behaving that is characteristic of the archipelago has even experienced disruption along with the entry of outside perspectives through the flow of the information revolution.

Therefore, Indonesia needs a comprehensive cultural formulation in our social and national space. Indonesian culture is a manifestation of cultural elements from various regions that are integrated. Indonesia's cultural strategy can be interpreted as a way to maintain and care for each regional culture to achieve national goals.

In his speech "*Tahun Vivere Pericoloso (TAVIP)*" on August 17th, 1964, President Soekarno first introduced the *Trisakti* concepts in one of which contained a mandate for the Indonesian nation to have a personality in culture (Soekarno, 1964). This mandate, when delivered, although it had a revolutionary nuance when the world was faced with a battle between two poles of great ideology and a spirit of resistance against colonialism-imperialism, had great significance in determining the next cultural strategy of the Indonesian nation. In his message, Bung Karno required the advancement of national culture, pride in national culture, so that the Indonesian nation remains steadfast in its identity, firm and strong in the Pancasila ideology in facing attacks by ideologies or foreign influences that are destructive to the sense of nationality, nationalism and the sustainability of the Indonesian nation and state in the future.

National Culture, which is the development of all cultures in the *Nusantara* community, becomes the basis for the formation of a diverse national personality. Of course, Indonesia must be interpreted that all aspects and varieties of *Nusantara* culture must grow not only into a national identity but also become a strategy for maintaining the integrity and standing of Indonesianness itself.

As a nation with a socialist spirit and a diversity of cultural characters, the Indonesian nation has strong capital in its socialist spirit. The spirit of Gotong-Royong which according to Bung Karno in his Speech on June 1, 1945, is the main feeling/essence of the basic principles that already exist in the identity of the Indonesian nation, namely Pancasila, the will to unite or "*le desir d'etre ensemble*", which according to Ernest Renan as quoted by Bung Karno, as the main requirement for the existence of a state has indeed been embedded in the Indonesian nation due to the feeling of unity and common fate. "*Eine Nation ist eine aus chiksals-gemeinschaft erwachsene charaktergemeinschaft*", thus said Otto Bauer as conveyed by Bung Karno (Indonesia, 1995).

With the spirit of cooperation, it is not difficult to re-develop the diverse and rich Nusantara Culture as a strategy to maintain the integrity of the Nation. To become a distinguishing identity to ward off ideologies that erode the integrity of the nation and state. Working together in culture becomes a personality that is indeed embedded in the DNA of the Indonesian nation. The next task is how to formulate concrete steps so that the strategy can be applied in facing the "typical" challenges of this era.

In defense and security studies, the cultural approach has inspired much research in international politics, state and regional political-war strategies, as well as strategic policy studies in the military and defense world, including terrorism.

Schmidt & Zyla (2011) in "*European Security Policy and Strategic Culture*" describe the development (trajectory) of the strategic culture paradigm that has become a scientific study into 3 phases of development. The first phase (1970s) is referred to as the "national character" phase to explain the behavior of the nation and connect political behavior to personality. Scientists in this phase are interested in examining how language, religion, beliefs, and values shape the "national personality character" that underlies the struggle of nations during the Second World War. The intertwining of national personality (*strategic culture*) and politics (*political culture*) is still mixed up in it.

The second phase is marked by the separation between political culture and strategic culture. Strategic culture is placed as an independent variable and avoids tautological arguments. The specificity of the development of tested variables in the second phase was continued in the third phase during the trend of constructivist sciences (1990s). In the third phase, greater attention was paid to social actors.

Cultural factors have become a concern for defense, military, and international politics. The discourse of "*Strategic culture*" has long filled international political studies. Hudaya & Putra (2018) in "*Strategic Culture: The Answer of International Relations Study to Overcome Challenges in The Globalized World*" provide an important summary of how culture is viewed strategically in international political development during the Cold War, starting from the reactive, emotional nuclear era (1970s). Then followed by the next generation who placed attitudes and beliefs regarding political goals in the development of military strategy (1980-1990s), until it developed into thinking about an integrative symbolic system to determine comprehensive and long-term strategic preferences by formulating concepts about the role and effectiveness of military power in political affairs between countries (1990-2000s).

If Peter Schmidt & Zyla (2011), Helly (2018) placed the study of strategic culture in defense studies in the European Union, Lantis (2014) placed it in the study of Asia-Pacific regional security policy, while Andrew Scobell (2014) explained China's strategic culture with *A Great Wall of Imagination* as its defense and security strategy. Kim (2014) placed it in the context of the United

States defense and security policy, then it is appropriate to implement the same thing in the Indonesian context.

Intolerance and Radicalism as Threats to National Resilience

Tolerance is the key to national unity which effort can be hampered by various incidents of intolerance and radicalism. Security is not the only problem; there are socio-cultural problems as well. According to Andrian Waworuntu, dean of the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, University of Indonesia, radicalism and intolerance do not originate from Indonesia. Indonesia has not had a radical culture throughout its history. The spread of radicalism and intolerance shows that Indonesian culture is undergoing erosion (destruction).

Serafim (2005) a senior advisor to the Romanian Ministry of Defense, said that what people think, how they think, and how they react to an event is influenced by culture, even terrorists are cultural products. This member of the Working Group on Combating Terrorism emphasized that her cultural thinking is based on a socio-scientific approach to beliefs, values, and behavior. She specifically paid attention to religion as a core component of culture. On that basis, Sevarim believes that politically oriented Western societies will tend to assume that acts of terrorism have rational-pragmatic roots.

At the end of her paper “*Terrorism—A Cultural Phenomenon?*” Serafim (2005) said that contemporary terrorism has cultural characteristics and can be considered as a cultural phenomenon. But she added that 21st century terrorism is a manifestation of only one isolated part of a culture, not the whole of it. From this, we can say that opening other parts of the culture from the same core will present the opposite situation of what is feared.

In the discourse of thought and policy to overcome intolerance and radicalism, the legal and security approach (*hard approach*) has been dominated. In fact, the cultural approach (*soft approach*) such as art, music, and entertainment can be used as a medium to realize peace and unity. Thus, the problem of radicalism and terrorism does not only touch on downstream aspects such as anticipating terrorist attacks which are the domain of the security forces, but also upstream aspects such as strengthening community resilience. Community resilience as an integral part of national resilience can be based on native Indonesian culture starting from traditions and history.

According to Febrihananto et al. (2017) threats, challenges, obstacles, and disturbances to Indonesia resilience have changed. Outside of military aggression, Indonesia faces ideological, political, economic, and socio-cultural colonization.

Currently, the *philosophische grondslag* of the Indonesian State, Pancasila, is slowly being destroyed by many challenges, internal and external which can be seen from Lemhanas data through the Indonesian National Resilience Index (IKN). There was a decline in the ideological aspect between 2014 and 2015 (Rukmana, et al., 2020). According to BNPT, the terrorism risk index in Indonesia in 2023 decreased by 56% compared to the previous year Nampu (2023). According to the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) 2023, Indonesia is ranked 24th most affected by terrorism with 638 attacks occurring from 2000 to 2020.

However, the fact that the index of terrorism attacks has decreased does not mean that the Indonesian government and society can ignore the threat of terrorism. The threat of radicalism and terrorism continues to grow through various patterns of action. All state institutions must maximize deradicalization programs to neutralize radical ideology and terrorism which must be done with the pentahelix and between stakeholders such as law, psychology, religion, and socio-culture to address those exposed to radical and pro-violence ideology.

One way of deradicalization is through culture among which relevant examples is the music culture as the ancestral heritage of the archipelago. In Indonesia, music as an intangible culture is very diverse. One example; Javanese music, which contains noble values and noble Javanese ethics as a product of Nusantara culture, can be an alternative vehicle for spreading the narrative of virtue and peace while also conveying a message against radicalism and intolerance. The more specific example is *dangdut* songs with a Koplo genre which is popular with grassroots communities.

Placing variables on how Indonesians think about Indonesia, how Indonesians think about Indonesianness, and how to behave as Indonesians in national resilience studies will strengthen the nation's defense and security strategy. Important cultural variables in defense need to be explored further so that isolated cultural variables that are entry points for radicalism and terrorism (Serafim, 2005) can be addressed early on.

CONCLUSION

Cultural strategy plays a crucial role in maintaining Indonesia's national resilience against contemporary threats such as radicalism, intolerance, and cultural erosion by integrating local wisdom, national identity, and cultural expressions like *dangdut koplo* music to foster unity and psychological strength. Beyond serving as entertainment or tradition, culture acts as a form of soft power that helps counter ideological extremism, and its systematic implementation within defense and educational frameworks reinforces the social fabric while preventing the spread of divisive ideologies. To further enhance these efforts, future research should investigate the effectiveness of specific cultural instruments—such as music, traditional arts, and local rituals—in deradicalization, and encourage the institutionalization of cultural strategies through education and community engagement, with cross-sector collaboration between cultural, educational, and security institutions to maximize culture's preventive potential in sustaining national unity and resilience in the digital era.

REFERENCES

- Anoraga, P. (2004). *Manajemen Bisnis*. PT. Rineke Cipta.
- Baporikar, N. (2013). CSF Approach for IT Strategic Planning. *International Journal of Strategic Information Technology and Applications*, 4(2), 35–47. <https://doi.org/10.4018/jsita.2013040103>
- Bolaños-Valencia, I., Villegas-Palacio, C., López-Gómez, C. P., Berrouet, L., & Ruiz, A. (2019). Social perception of risk in socio-ecological systems. A qualitative and quantitative analysis. *Ecosystem Services*, 38(65), 100942. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecoser.2019.100942>
- Febrihananto, E. W., Abdullah, I., & Zubaidi, A. (2017). Partisipasi Pemuda Purna Paskibraka Indonesia Dalam Kegiatan Bela Negara Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Ketahanan Wilayah (Studi Tentang Purna Paskibraka Indonesia Kabupaten Klaten Provinsi Jawa Tengah). *Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional*, 23(1), 68. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jkn.22413>
- Fietz, B., Hillmann, J., & Guenther, E. (2021). Cultural Effects on Organizational Resilience: Evidence from the NAFTA Region. *Schmalenbach Journal of Business Research*, 73(1), 5–46. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41471-021-00106-8>
- Friedland, N., Arian, A., Kirschenbaum, A. (Avi), Amit, K., & Fleischer, N. (2005). The Concept of Social Resilience. In *The Concept of Social Resilience* (Issue December).

- https://www.neaman.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2005/12/Report_The-Society-and-National-Security.pdf
- Georgescu, I., Bocean, C. G., Vărzaru, A. A., Rotea, C. C., Mangra, M. G., & Mangra, G. I. (2024). Enhancing Organizational Resilience: The Transformative Influence of Strategic Human Resource Management Practices and Organizational Culture. *Sustainability*, *16*(10), 4315. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su16104315>
- Hardjosoedarmo, S. (1994). *Suatu Gagasan Tentang Model Ketahanan Nasional dan Upaya Pengukurannya*. SESKOAL.
- Helly, D. (2018). Scenario configurations for the EU as a cultural heritage protection actor in armed conflicts. *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, *33*, 271–277. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2018.05.010>
- Hersperger, A. M., Grădinaru, S., Oliveira, E., Pagliarin, S., & Palka, G. (2019). Understanding strategic spatial planning to effectively guide development of urban regions. *Cities*, *94*, 96–105. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2019.05.032>
- Holtorf, C. (2018). Embracing change: how cultural resilience is increased through cultural heritage. *World Archaeology*, *50*(4), 639–650. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.2018.1510340>
- Hudaya, M., & Putra, A. T. (2018). Toward Indonesia as Global Maritime Fulcrum: Correcting Doctrine and Combating Non-Traditional Maritime Threats. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, *10*(2), 177. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jhi.v10i2.7304>
- Indonesia, S. N. R. (1995). Himpunan risalah sidang-sidang dari Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (BPUPKI), tanggal 29 Mei 1945-16 Juli 1945, dan Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (PPKI), tanggal 18 dan 19 Agustus 1945 yang berhubungan dengan penyusunan Un. In *TA - TT -*. Sekretariat Negara, Republik Indonesia. <https://doi.org/LK> - <https://worldcat.org/title/34076509>
- Joesoef, D. (2014). Studi strategi : logika ketahanan dan pembangunan nasional. In *TA - TT -*. Penerbit Buku Kompas. <https://doi.org/LK> - <https://worldcat.org/title/890113577>
- Kim, J. (2014). Strategic Culture of the Republic of Korea. *Contemporary Security Policy*, *35*(2), 270–289. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2014.927675>
- Kimhi, S., & Eshel, Y. (2009). Individual and Public Resilience and Coping With Long-Term Outcomes of War. *Journal of Applied Biobehavioral Research*, *14*(2), 70–89. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9861.2009.00041.x>
- Koronis, E., & Ponis, S. (2018). Better than before: the resilient organization in crisis mode. *Journal of Business Strategy*, *39*(1), 32–42. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JBS-10-2016-0124>
- Krisnawati, E. (2023). *Apa Saja Aspek Trigatra dan Pancagatra dalam Wawasan Nusantara?* Tirto.Id. <https://tirto.id/apa-saja-aspek-trigatra-dan-pancagatra-dalam-wawasan-nusantara-gaZQ>
- Mardhani, D., Runturambi, A. J. S., & Hanita, M. (2020). Security and Defense In National Resilience Studies To Realize A National Security System. *Jurnal Pertahanan & Bela Negara*, *10*(3), 267. <https://doi.org/10.33172/jpbh.v10i3.1112>
- McLuhan, M., & Gordon, W. T. T. A.-T. T.-. (2013). *Understanding media : the extensions of man* (NV-1 o). Gingko Press. <https://doi.org/LK> - <https://worldcat.org/title/852757515>
- Miller, J. L., & Pescaroli, G. (2018). Psychosocial capacity building in response to cascading disasters: A culturally informed approach. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, *30*, 164–171. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdr.2018.04.018>

- Munier, M. (2021). The Canadian national intelligence culture: A minimalist and defensive national intelligence apparatus. *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis*, 76(3), 427–445. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002070202111048430>
- Mutia, R. T. N., De Archellie, R., & Darmojuwono, S. (2019). Indonesia's Cultural Resilience Responses To China Belt and Road Initiatives: Sei Mengkei As A Case Study. *International Review of Humanities Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.7454/irhs.v0i0.197>
- Nampu, R. (2023). *BNPT: Indeks serangan terorisme 2023 di Indonesia turun 56 persen*. Antaranews.Com. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/3544938/bnpt-indeks-serangan-terorisme-2023-di-indonesia-turun-56-persen>
- Piliang, Y. A. (1999). Hiper-realitas kebudayaan. In *TA - TT -*. Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial. <https://doi.org/LK> - <https://worldcat.org/title/47669886>
- Plant, T. (2009). Holistic strategic planning in the public sector. *Performance Improvement*, 48(2), 38–43. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pfi.20052>
- Prayitno, H. A., Trubus, & Trisakti, U. (2004). Pendidikan kebangsaan, demokrasi dan hak asasi manusia (kadeham). In *TA - TT -* (Ed. 3). Penerbit Universitas Trisakti. <https://doi.org/LK> - <https://worldcat.org/title/224277319>
- Rehman, A., Ullah, I., Afridi, F.-A., Ullah, Z., Zeeshan, M., Hussain, A., & Rahman, H. U. (2021). Adoption of green banking practices and environmental performance in Pakistan: a demonstration of structural equation modelling. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, 23(9), 13200–13220. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10668-020-01206-x>
- Roza, P., Saepudin, E., Jati, A. G., & Qoriah, Q. (2022). Model of Character Education at Higher Education Institutions for Strengthening the National Resilience. In *Proceedings of the Conference on Digital Humanities 2022 (CODH 2022)* (pp. 75–94). Atlantis Press SARL. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-494069-69-5_9
- Saba Kiran. (2024). Strategic Culture of India and Pakistan and its implications for Strategic Stability. *NUST Journal of International Peace & Stability*. <https://doi.org/10.37540/njips.v7i1.159>
- Schmidt, P., & Zyla, B. (2011). European Security Policy: Strategic Culture in Operation? *Contemporary Security Policy*, 32(3), 484–493. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2011.626329>
- Serafim, A. (2005). Terrorism—A Cultural Phenomenon? *Connections*, 4(1), 61–74. www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26323155
- Soekarno. (1964). *Tahun Vivere Pericoloso (TAVIP): Pidato Presiden Soekarno 17 Agustus 1964*. Yayasan Pembaruan.
- Surajiyo. (2010). Filsafat Ilmu Dan Perkembangannya die Indonesia. In *TA - TT -* (Cetakan ke). PT Bumi Aksara. <https://doi.org/LK> - <https://worldcat.org/title/1158014105>
- Sutrisno, S. (1983). Sedikit tentang strategi kebudayaan nasional Indonesia. In *TA - TT -* (Ed. 1, cet). Liberty. <https://doi.org/LK> - <https://worldcat.org/title/21545932>
- Udin, R., & Djaelani, M. A. (2001). *Prinsip dan Strategi Dakwah*. Pustaka Media.
- Uhi, J. A. (2016). *Filsafat Kebudayaan Konstruksi Pemikiran Cornelis Anthonie van Peursen*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Usman, W. (2003). Daya tahan bangsa. In *TA - TT -* (Cet. 1). Program Studi Pengkajian Ketahanan Nasional, Program Pascasarjana, Universitas Indonesia. <https://doi.org/LK> - <https://worldcat.org/title/54530396>

- Widjojo, A. (2016). Pemantapan Nilai-Nilai Ideologi Bangsa Dalam Rangka Penguatan Ketahanan Nasional Dalam Aras Global. *Seminar Nasional Hukum Universitas Negeri ...*, 7–18. <https://proceeding.unnes.ac.id/index.php/snh/article/view/489>
- Widyosiswoyo, S. (1987). *Ilmu Budaya Dasar : Buku Pegangan Mahasiswa*. Pandegra Widya Caraka.