

The Impact of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict on Perceptions of Modern Warfare among Young Generations in Divergent Geographical Contexts: Insights from Indonesia and Turkey

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Abstract

The Ukrainian-Russian conflict of early 2022 marked a pivotal shift in global perceptions of post-Cold War peace, particularly for younger generations. This study delves into the perceptions of modern warfare among youths, assessing the impact of ongoing conflicts on their perspectives. Geographically distant nations, Indonesia and Turkey, were selected to explore potential differences in outlook. Turkey's proximity to conflict zones juxtaposed with Indonesia's relative distance served as contrasting contexts for understanding these perceptions. Structured interviews with individuals aged 17 to 30 were conducted in both countries. The findings reveal a shared belief among the younger generation in both Indonesia and Turkey: a recognition of the perpetual existence of potential conflict in the future. Notably, differences emerged in assessing surrounding threats. Indonesian youths tend to perceive their region as more peaceful, while Turkish counterparts view regional escalation as an enduring threat. This study underscores the necessity for stakeholders to establish a global order centered on upholding international law. Such an effort is recommended to prevent future conflicts. Understanding the nuanced perspectives of young people from disparate geographical locations offers valuable insights for shaping policies and fostering a more peaceful global landscape.

Keywords: *Ukrainian-Russian war, young generation, international law, Indonesia-Turkey.*

1. Introduction

At the beginning of 2022, the international community was shocked by the outbreak of a military conflict involving Russia and Ukraine. Russia started its attack on February 24, 2022. This attack was announced directly by the President of Russia, Vladimir Putin, via broadcast speech through live broadcasting on tv channels. In an official statement, the government of Russia conveyed the reasons behind the attack on Ukrainian territory. Vladimir Putin specifically mentioned that the Russian military intervention addressed a special operation to ensure that Ukraine stopped its intention to become a part of the NATO defense alliance (Kusa, 2023; Mankoff, 2022; Mearsheimer 2022a; 2022b).

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The military attack was started by Russian troops and routed to Eastern Ukraine, namely Donbas (Kusa, 2023). Russia's deployment of troops supported by warships, and fighter jets has succeeded in conquering the cities of Luhansk, Donetsk, Mariupol, Kherson, and Kharkiv to Kyiv (Institute of Study of War, 2022). Russia controlled most of the Kyiv region. However, fierce resistance from Ukrainian soldiers prevented the Ukrainian capital from falling into Russia's hands.

The Russian troop's deployment, supported by military equipment, was broadcasted directly by the international media, so the general public could watch developments directly on tv including every minute of what was happening in Ukraine. Besides the live broadcast from the mainstream media, social media has also become a means for Russia and Ukraine to publish recent developments in the field. On one side, Russia published achievements in conquering the territory of Ukraine. Ukraine, on the other hand, showed debris of buildings and victims affected by the Russian attack. The Ukrainian-Russian war has become the most discussed topic on social media ever since the war began on February 2022. Young generations worldwide have become the segment that pays serious attention to the war between Russia and Ukraine. Based on the author's observation, the Indonesian and Turkish young generations followed the development of the Ukrainian-Russian military conflict. Regarding this, the researcher wants to deepen the notion of how the perception of the Indonesian and Turkish young generations related to the Russian-Ukrainian war.

The analysis of the young generation's perception towards war needs to be done considering national defense policy, in general, and also considering youth as subject to be assigned to carrying out a defense task in the form of conscription or component reserve. Despite the growing young generation at this moment, the millennials and Generation Z have different historical experiences than the previous generation, that is, the baby boomers. In addition, understanding the young generation's perception of war is also important to see how far the young generation's voice could influence national defense policy in each country.

Indonesia and Turkey were selected with the objective of making a comparison between two different countries; one neighboring military conflict zones and the other is distant from the military conflict zone. Indonesia and Turkey also differ in terms of conscription policy, one implements conscription, and the other does not implement it.

2. Theoretical Background and Literature Review

2.1. Analytical Framework: Human Security Theory and State Security

Barry Buzan, who has profound attention to security and is one of the scholars in international relations, divides the security level into three parts: individual security, national security, and international security (Buzan, 1983). These parts are interrelated. Individual security is a priority of countries worldwide because if individuals within the state feel threatened, it means a threat against the state. National Security refers to the welfare of the people, so when the state protects human security, thus it certainly will assure national security. It becomes a state's duty to protect all parts of it. In order to ensure the security of the state, whether in a situation of war or peace, state officials exert all their capabilities in the form of public policy, which can be in the form of political, economic or military policies to achieve this goal.

Temporary international security is the result of the countries' efforts to protect the balance concerning the order in the status quo position; each country is responsible for protecting her nation so that they find alliances to get protection. Alliance is one method to create balance in an anarchic system (Buzan, 1983).

On another occasion, Buzan also underlined the importance of understanding the significant change in the international system. International security issues have changed dramatically in the post-Cold War process. Even if, in the past, the terminology of the First World, the Second World, and the Third World could be accepted, today the condition has changed. Buzan is leaning toward the terminology of "Center" and "Periphery". Countries that are labeled as superpowers are in the center position, while states that do not own the ability to manage their economy and polity and are weak enter the periphery category (Buzan & Hansen, 2009; Buzan, 1991).

Buzan (Buzan, 1991) has been elaborating the five supporting dimensions in realizing security holistically as military security, political security, economic security, social security, and environmental security:

Military security concerns the two-level interplay of states' armed offensive and defensive capabilities and states' perceptions of each other's intentions. Political security concerns the organizational stability of states, systems of government, and the ideologies that give them legitimacy. Economic security concerns access to the resources, finance, and markets necessary to sustain good welfare and state power levels. Societal security concerns the ability of societies to reproduce their traditional patterns of language, culture, association, and religious and national identity and custom within acceptable conditions for evolution. Environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other humankind depend. These five sectors do not operate in isolation from each other. Each defines a focal point within the security problem and a way of ordering priorities, but all are woven together in a strong web of linkages.

Based on this security theory, the war in Ukraine had a severe impact on Ukraine, either in the economic, social, or political fields. At the same time, this conflict triggered a reaction from countries in the European region, which is marked by the enhancement of military budget, financial aid, and humanitarian aid, as well as the weapons delivery to the battleground. This means that the war that took place in Ukraine directly affected the society in Ukraine, but also damaged regional and global society.

Meanwhile, the main reason for Ukraine to incorporate with NATO is based on defending the country from the threat of other countries' militaries. The Ukrainian Foreign Policy, especially under President Zelensky's leadership, is leaning toward joining the European Union and NATO. This policy is undoubtedly connected to changing dynamics since the year 2014.

2.2. Literature Review: The Influence of the Ukrainian-Russian War on International Security

Many studies related to the conflict between Ukraine and Russia have been done, however, those written out since February 2022 are relatively less. Research about the Ukraine war is mainly in the following areas. First, the Ukrainian-Russian war was considered a consequence of the expansion policy of NATO to Eastern Europe, which Russia considered a potential threat (Mearsheimer, 2022b; Kuzio, 2022). Second, the Ukrainian-Russian war is a method by Russia's leaders in nursing the memory of the Soviet Union, that Ukraine in the past was part of the Soviet Union and expected will still stay in close connection with Moscow both at the societal and the government level. The political crisis that led to the military conflict that occurred in 2014 involving the Ukrainian military and Russian-backed separatist groups is also an integral part of Russia's strategy to ensure that Ukraine remains in a status quo position. In other words, Ukraine is expected to maintain a collective memory of its historical relationship with the Soviet Union. (Mankoff, 2022; Kusa, 2023).

And third, explaining the widespread impact of the Ukrainian-Russian war on humanitarian, economic, financial, and international security became one of the most

preferred title for the articles (Astrov et al., 2022). The Ukrainian-Russian war directly impacts human mobility, who are forced to evacuate their home towns due to the war. The war in Ukraine contributed to the increase in the number of refugees in mainland Europe. Meanwhile, the economic impact of this war is the closed access for Ukraine to sell agriculture and metal products; thus, it automatically bothers the global chain supply. The war in Ukraine also contributed to the economic depression in the European Union caused by the disturbance of energy supply, such as oil and gas, so industrial activity was disrupted in some way or another.

From the existing research, the explanation of how the war that took place in Ukraine affected the perception of war of young generations in other countries is never mentioned. This research limits its study to analyzing the perceptions of Indonesian and Turkish youth towards the war that is currently happening in Ukraine. This research is significant to be done considering that Indonesia and Turkey geographically separated at distant positions; Turkey represents part of the NATO alliance while Indonesia is not involved in the military alliance. Moreover the opinion of the young generation, which is called by many as millennials or Generation Z, are inclined to have antipathy to statehood affairs and they need to be heard. Especially their perceptions regarding the war, in which the information has been spread through social media networks and television, have to be taken under consideration.

3. Methodology

This study analyzes the perception of Indonesian and Turkish young generation's attitude towards war in the 21st century as the impact of the Russia -Ukraine war by utilizing primary data through interviews and observation. Thus, qualitative method is used to evaluate data. After the data is collected, it is then analyzed to give further explanation, exploration, and meaning to the examined issues.

Researchers used case study approach to see precisely the younger generation's perceptions. Researchers conducted in-depth interviews with 12 sources from Indonesia and Turkey. The informants were aged between 19 and 35 years. The selection of sources with an age range of 19 to 35 represents the millennial generation born in the 1980s and Generation Z born in the early 2000s. This generation has a relatively more peaceful life experience than the Baby Boomers, who witnessed many war events from World War II to the Cold War.

Meanwhile, the millennial generation and Generation Z live in an increasingly integrated society due to globalization factor. Millennials and Generation Z have open and fast access to the outside world. Therefore, it is essential to understand their perception of war.

Turkey and Indonesia were chosen because of their different geographic locations. Turkey, on the one hand, is in the Eurasia zone, which is close to the military conflict in Ukraine. The Turkish government also has contacts with the Ukrainian and Russian sides in economic and defense military affairs. Meanwhile, Indonesia is geographically located in the Asian region, far from the military conflict zone in Ukraine. The European region is more dynamic than the Asian region in matters of military conflict. The war in Ukraine emphasized the differences between these two regions. Therefore, it is crucial to see the younger generation's perception in two different countries, one is from the region and the other is totally outside the region.

4. Empirical Results and Discussion

4.1. Domino Effect of the Russia- Ukrainian War

The war in Ukraine impacted the dynamics of relations between countries in the region, especially the Eastern European region. After Russia's military attack on Ukraine, European countries imposed sanctions on Russia. Energy contracts previously agreed upon with Russia were terminated (Astrov et al., 2022). The European Union provides financial assistance to Ukraine to support efforts to maintain its sovereignty. Northern European countries that previously chose a neutral path have recently turned towards becoming countries that intend to join a military alliance. Countries that are members of the NATO Alliance increase their military budgets (Kusa, 2023).

The growing reaction suggests that the Ukrainian war is impacting the surrounding country. If you look back, the war that occurred in 2022 cannot be separated from the events of 2014. In 2014, Russia launched an attack on the Eastern region of Ukraine, namely Crimea. Russia was able to take over Crimea without significant resistance from Ukraine. Since 2014, Russia has declared Crimea a part of the Russian Federation. Between 2014 and 2022, Russia was involved in a "cold war" with the NATO alliance. NATO, on the one hand, sees Russia's maneuvers in Crimea as endangering the security of their alliance, so they decide to place troops in areas directly adjacent to Russia; the NATO alliance also conducts regular military training in countries close to Russia while on the other hand, Russia considers NATO carry out expansions that are deemed to endanger Russia's national security (Mankoff, 2022; Kuzio, 2022; Allison, 2022).

From the Ukrainian point of view, under the leadership of Vladimir Zelensky, he chose the option of joining the NATO alliance to prevent the story of the conquest of Crimea from happening without a fight. Ukraine's policy of leaning towards NATO and Western alliances was one of the triggers which then led to the military conflict that has been going on since February 2022. Under President Volodymyr Zelenski's leadership, Ukraine is trying to defend its territorial sovereignty with all its resources. Even though Ukraine's military strength is not as big as Russia's, Ukraine can slow down the pace of the Russian military in controlling the territory. Ukraine chose to defend itself and occasionally counterattacked by utilizing the Bayraktar TB2 drones they had purchased from Turkey in the last five years (Kunertova, 2023). Besides using drone technology to slow the advance of Russian troops, Ukraine is also calling on eligible citizens to come down to help defend Ukraine. Even retired army officers were asked to train reservists to prepare them to fight the enemy directly.

4.2. Trends in Militarization in the European Region

The Ukrainian-Russian War also impacted increasing escalation and the trend of militarization in the European region. Militarization in this context refers to state efforts to increase military capacity for war and defense (Naidu, 1985; Thee, 1977). The Ukrainian-Russian war sparked a military power struggle between the NATO alliance and Russia. In addition to the parties directly involved in the conflict in Ukraine, there is a trend of increasing military spending by countries in Central Europe and Eastern Europe which are geographically close to the center of the conflict. This can be seen from the statistics between 2021 and 2022, where Central European and Eastern European countries will increase weapons spending. Even in 2023, the Polish government has plans to increase its military budget to 4% of GDP (Georgiana Cavendish, David Chinn, Nadine Griebmann, Hugues Lavandier, and Tobias Otto 2022). The increase in arms imports to Europe has increased to 47 percent, especially in 2018-2022, higher than the 2013-2017 period (Wezeman, Gadon, and Wezeman, n.d.).

Indeed, the policy of increasing the military budget of countries in the European region will impact the budget allocation for development. Whereas previously, the United Nations had urged countries to increase budget allocations to sustain economic growth

and development. Austria, for example, previously this country was the country with the lowest military spending among European countries, but recently after the invasion of Russia, Austria increased its military budget. Moreover, Finland and Sweden, previously known as countries that uphold neutrality in military affairs, decided to submit themselves as candidates for members of the NATO security alliance (Gannon, 2022; Sundelius, 1990). The change in the attitude of the Scandinavian countries, which previously chose to be neutral, decided to join a military alliance, emphasizing the tendency of militarization in the region.

Before joining NATO, Finland, and Sweden had relations with NATO through a scheme for sending troops on joint military training missions. However, after seeing Russia's actions in Ukraine, Finland, and Sweden registered as permanent members of NATO. Sani Marin as Prime Minister of Finland, in his public address in May 2022, said that Finland's choice to join NATO received a strong mandate from the Finnish people. Strong indications of support for joining NATO can be seen from the speech by Prime Minister Sani Marin, accompanied by Finnish President Sauli Niinisto (Government Communications Department Office of the President of the Republic 2022). Niinisto, in his speech, said that the choice to join NATO was a historic act for Finland because it had gone through 30 years of debate about its neutral military position. However, a military alliance was needed to keep the mind safe so they could work and build safely.

After Finland, Sweden also took the same step. Swedish Prime Minister Magdalena Anderson conveyed the Swedish government's decision to join NATO. Anderson considers that their joining the NATO alliance marks the arrival of a new era and leaves behind an old era in security affairs (NATO, 2022). Sweden has always been a partner for NATO because Sweden adheres to the principle of neutrality, which they have held for 200 years. However, the escalation in Ukraine is the main reason for the Swedish government, with parliamentary support, to bring Sweden into a permanent member of the NATO alliance and accept all the consequences of its membership, starting from increasing the military budget to being directly involved in military operations when one of the members is under attack.

Changes in the attitude of the leaders of the Scandinavian countries confirm a change in perceptions about the future war. The leaders of this country consider that it is impossible to build a country without considering the defense aspect. Moreover, they are territorially directly adjacent to Russia. Membership in NATO for Finland and Sweden is a guarantee for their national security. Based on the existing statute in NATO, in article 5, it states that an attack on one or several NATO member countries means an attack on all members of the alliance. Even though the administrative process to become a member of NATO takes quite a long time, for Finland and Sweden, the existence of NATO will prevent a similar incident in Ukraine.

Apart from NATO, regional organizations such as the European Union are also taking quick steps to respond to the impact of the war in Ukraine. The refugee crisis to the energy crisis has become a new problem that has emerged for European Union member countries. In order to respond to the ongoing crisis, the leaders of the European Union decided on several joint policies to respond to the war. The policy coming out of Brussels emphasizes the importance of European Union member countries looking for gas energy sources other than Russia. The European Union is expected to rely on something other than energy supplies from Russia. European Union leaders also agreed on distributing weapons and reconstruction assistance to Ukraine. The European Union activates the role of the EPF (European Peace Facility) to assist Ukraine (European Commission, 2023).

Apart from assisting in military and reconstruction matters, the European Union also opened facilities for Ukraine in the form of EU membership (European Commission, 2023). President Volodymyr Zelenski stated that pressure from Russia would not stop Ukraine from joining the European Union. Ursula von der Leyen conveyed that During

his visit to Kyiv, the position of the European Union was very clear regarding the acceptance of Ukraine into the European community. The commitment of the European Union was also evident from the amount of funds provided for reconstruction due to the war. Von der Leyen also presented a scheme for Ukraine's involvement in the European market.

4.3. The Impact of the Ukrainian-Russian War on Indonesia and the Attitude of the Indonesian Government

The Ukrainian-Russian War had a direct impact on Indonesia. In the midst of the ongoing conflict, Indonesia in 2022 will host the G-20 Leaders Summit. As the host, Indonesia is responsible for facilitating the presence of all G-20 member heads of state to attend Bali. Indonesia, as the host, is in a dilemma situation because, on the one hand, Russia as a member of the G-20, has the right to attend. On the other hand, the presence of the Russian leader is not expected by the G-7 member countries, including the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Canada. If Russia is present, the G-7 member countries will boycott the G-20 activities in Bali. The Indonesian government then took the initiative of a middle ground by meeting President Zelensky and President Putin to open a dialogue that could end the war.

Another impact is that there is concern regarding changes in threats in the future. The Minister of Defense of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto, in his statement at a seminar held by the Indonesian Air Force in November 2022 stated that the ongoing war impacted rising world food commodity prices and disrupted global food supply chains (Air Force, 2022). This is because Ukraine is a wheat producer while Russia is a fertilizer producer. Prabowo also emphasized the importance of preparing to face future threats.

At the forum attended by Air Force officers and other high-ranking military officers, Prabowo Subianto specifically criticized Indonesian military officers who were not aware of potential threats that might arise in the future: "Our elite are not alert enough. Some of our elites even do not want to think about the real threats facing nations. Prabowo asked that predictions about future wars not happening need to be revised. The Ukrainian-Russian war seemed to strengthen Prabowo Subianto's argument that war would occur, so Indonesia needed to prepare its defense forces by increasing the military budget as was done by Indonesia's neighboring country, Singapore.

The Ukrainian-Russian war provided its own motivation for Indonesia to learn from the experience of modern war from various sides, both from Russia's military superiority but could not dominant. At the same time, Ukraine, with minimal strength, could survive. To prepare for a more prepared defense future, the Minister of Defense of Indonesia asked his staff to develop a defense force supported by solid research at the Defense University.

In order to support Indonesia's defense and security, the Ministry of Defense is increasing recruitment activities for reserve components under the umbrella of Defending the State. During President Joko Widodo's reign, since 2014, Indonesia has started recruiting young people to be involved in State Defense and Reserve Component activities. This policy is expected to support Indonesia's defense when needed.

Provisions related to defending the country are contained in Law Number 23 of 2019 concerning the Management of National Resources for National Defense. This law regulates the existence of elements that support Indonesian defense and provides the difference between Main Components, Supporting Components, and Backup Components. This Law reflects that the Indonesian government has not considered conscription as an urgent option, so it sticks to the voluntary state defense scheme without coercion against citizens.

4.4. Views of the Indonesian and Turkish Young Generation on the Ukrainian-Russian War

The Ukrainian-Russian war that broke out on February 24, 2022, received international attention. Because developments every second from Ukraine are broadcast live by the mainstream media and become the subject of discussion on social media. The younger generation uses social media to monitor developments in the field.

The younger generation of Indonesia and Turkey consider that the war shows a paradox; they believe that the world in the 21st century will be a more peaceful place, but with this military conflict, they are asking again about the unpredictable prospects of the world.

Table. 1. List of Indonesian and Turkish Youth Research Source

No	Name	Age	Nationality
1	IW	30	Indonesia
2	SY	30	Indonesia
3	JR	31	Indonesia
4	AD	30	Indonesia
5	IL	25	Indonesia
6	CL	19	Turkey
7	ND	21	Turkey
8	MT	21	Turkey
9	ZR	20	Turkey
10	FT	21	Turkey

Source: Author (2023)

Indonesian millennials IW (30), SY (30), JR (31), AD (30), IL (25) see the war that occurred between Ukraine and Russia as a consequence of the European environment which has a history of hostility in the past. Meanwhile, Indonesia is surrounded by countries that tend to be passive and prioritize a diplomatic approach rather than a military one in resolving regional conflicts. So they argue there is no urgency to worry about the potential for war in the future between Indonesia and its neighboring countries.

However, the younger generation of Indonesia also believes that the war in Ukraine-Russia is an event that deserves the younger generation's attention. The Ukrainian-Russian War became a trigger that increased the awareness of the Indonesian people, especially the younger generation, about the potential for war in the future, with a more sophisticated scenario compared to World War I and World War II. It is predicted that future wars will involve all components of the strength of each country.

Furthermore, some of the younger generations of Indonesia believe that conflicts in Indonesia are more of domestic conflict in nature than international conflicts, such as issues of terrorism and separatism, which the central government is trying to resolve to this day. SY (30), a young man who participated in the State Defense program organized by the Indonesian government, highlighted the lack of attention of Indonesia's young generation to strategic issues related to nationalism and national affairs. He also considers that young people enjoy their time looking for entertainment, so they do not follow international news developments.

Even though conflicts in the Southeast Asian region are relatively low, it cannot be negated that there is a potential for war in the future between Indonesia and its neighbors. This is based on Indonesia's experience in the past when it was involved in military

conflicts with Malaysia during the Old Order and Australia during the political transition period in the 1990s. Likewise with the existence of China is increasingly actively conducting patrols in the disputed areas of the South China Sea. The Ukrainian-Russian war changed his outlook from a relatively more peaceful world to a potential war.

The younger generation of the Indonesian Army (30) also concluded that the Ukrainian-Russian war contributed to changing their perception of war. Specifically, Adlan sees that the relatively peaceful conditions in the Asia Pacific region can potentially experience military conflict. AD quoted Indonesian Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto during his campaign as a 2019 presidential candidate, saying that Indonesia would disband in 2030. Prabowo's statement quoted the fictional book "Ghost Fleet" by strategists Peter Warren Singer and August Cole. Prabowo's narrative underscores the importance of paying attention to potential threats from the surrounding environment.

"I see that Indonesia has no allies. Compare that with countries like Australia and Malaysia which are allies of the United States and Britain. The security policies of allied countries heavily influence the security policies of countries in the Asia Pacific region. If allied countries point left, they will go left; if allied countries point right, they will go right.." --AD (30), Indonesian Citizen.

As opposed to the views of the younger generation of Indonesia, who see a more conducive and peaceful future, the younger generation of Turkey sees the potential for war in the future. The young generation of Turks sees Turkey's geographical position as very vulnerable to being attacked or involved in military conflicts CL (19), ND (21), MT (21), ZR (20), FT (21). Turkey has a potential threat that could come from the European region, namely the Ukraine-Russia war. Meanwhile, from the Middle East region, the civil war that occurred in Syria had a direct impact on Turkey's security.

"..I do not know. Because, like I don't expect a war between Russia and Ukraine. Because It's already 2022. And there are many laws about the war. And the Europe is really safe for me. The people are talking about the nuclear weapons that Russia can use, and it's impossible for me to use nuclear weapons in 2022 or 2023. But we have come to a situation like that. There might be a war, but Turkiye will not be invaded" -- CL (19), Turkish Citizen.

The European region has been known as one of the safest areas in the world; for security reasons, international tourists choose cities in Europe as their favorite destination for a vacation. Unlike the European region, the Middle East region looks scary, especially in the last decade. Cities that were popular in the past because they were centers of Arab and Islamic civilization in the Middle East, such as Aleppo, Baghdad, Tripoli, and Cairo, were transformed into theaters of civil war as a result of the 2011 Arab Spring revolution. This portrait is the basis for Turkey's young generation to judge whether an area is categorized as safe or not. In addition, Turkey is geographically bordered by Europe, so the flow of information related to developments in Europe concerns the younger generation of Turkey.

"..In my opinion, Russia's policy to carry out attacks is due to considerations of future security strategies. Russia may feel threatened because of the developments around it. But looking at current developments, it seems that this is not the case, there are many victims from the civilian side, many children who are affected by military attacks make me not support this attack....Yes. Turkey is currently and in the future could be involved in war. Seeing the current conditions, the big countries are trying to put pressure on Turkey. At least the big countries in Europe are trying to put pressure on Turkey. Apart from that, Turkey is also geographically in a position surrounded by great powers. Therefore, Turkey may be involved in a war due to geographical factors"—MH (21) Turkish Citizen.

The younger Turks also have their own assessment of Russia's attack on Ukraine. They argued that Russia's actions to attack Ukraine for national security were initially

acceptable; however, when they saw the events that occurred on the ground, especially the number of victims from civilians who continued to increase day by day, they changed their assessment of Russia. They consider Russia's actions unjustifiable.

4.5. Attitudes of the Young Generation Regarding Government Policies Towards War

The younger generation of Indonesia and Turkey have different attitudes regarding government policies on security issues. The younger generation of Turks tends to support the Turkish government's defense policies in responding to regional dynamics, both for military operations and humanitarian interventions. The younger generation of Turks considers that Turkey is in an area that is vulnerable to being affected by military conflicts, both coming from the Middle East, such as the Arab Spring, which gave birth to refugees. The same thing also happened in the military conflict between Ukraine and Russia. Considering these conditions, it has contributed to the attitude of the younger generation of Turkey to support the government's policy of being involved in military conflicts.

Meanwhile, the younger generation of Indonesia tends to reject the involvement of the Indonesian military in military conflicts abroad. The younger generation of Indonesia basically gives appreciation to the Indonesian National Armed Forces so they support increasing the military budget for defense purposes. However, at the same time, they refuse if the Indonesian military is involved in an offensive military conflict.

The different attitudes between the younger generation of Indonesia and Turkey can also be understood due to the factor of the defense system adopted by the two countries; on the one hand, Turkey has a policy of compulsory military service for youths who are 20 years old, while on the other hand, Indonesia does not have a policy of compulsory military service for Indonesian youths. As for the current policy, Indonesia is still developing a reserve component that has been going on since 2019 through Law Number 23 of 2019 concerning Management of National Resources for National Defence. A policy that is not directed at imitating the conscription model and still targets a limited group that is voluntary.

5. Conclusion

Based on the studies that have been conducted, the younger generation of Indonesia and Turkey have the same views about the potential for future war. That entering the 21st century, the world is not experiencing a more peaceful situation; the world is instead heading towards a more sophisticated and deadlier war. The younger generation of Indonesia and Turkey follow every development that is happening in various parts of the world; they have fast and open access and no longer rely on mainstream sources such as newspapers and television news as sources of information. The younger generation in Indonesia and Turkey rely a lot on social media as a reference for their information.

The younger generation of Indonesia and Turkey have different views regarding potential threats and sources of threats. On the one hand, Indonesia's younger generation considers that neighboring countries in the Asia Pacific region do not show the potential to be a threat to Indonesia's national security, even though the escalation in the South China Sea, which involved considerable powers such as China and Australia has not influenced them to see a potential military conflict around Indonesia. In comparison, the younger generation of Turkey sees that Turkey's geographical location is the biggest reason why war cannot be avoided. Reflecting on current conditions, Turkey is directly affected by military conflicts in the Middle East and Ukraine.

Another aspect that differs between the younger generations of Indonesia and Turkey concerns their support for the government's defense policies. On the one hand, the young generation of Indonesia does not support the national army being involved in military

operations abroad. In contrast, the younger generation of Turkey supports the government because of regional conflicts and the rules for military conscription that have been stipulated.

Defense policy has a significant contribution to shaping the paradigm of the younger generation. The younger generation of Turks perceives their surroundings with a perception of threat because of Turkey's geographical conditions, which are surrounded by areas prone to military conflict from both the Middle East and Europe. Especially with the mandatory military service rules for youth aged 20 and over, making them always prepare themselves when they reach the age of 20 to join the military as an obligation from the state. The younger generation of Indonesia does not consider the surrounding area to be dangerous because since the Cold War ended until now, the Southeast Asian region has been relatively more peaceful; most of the threats that arise come from non-state actors in the form of threats of terrorism and transnational organized crime. The Indonesian government has established a state defense mechanism involving civilians, which is referred to as a reserve component, a reserve component, which is different from military conscription. If conscription in other countries is mandatory for citizens who have reached a certain age and imposes sanctions for those who do not participate, while the reserve component in Indonesia is only voluntary for citizens who are willing to be trained in training facilities managed by the Indonesian national army, for those who are not willing to join will not get any sanctions.

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