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Foreword by
GUNAWAN BUDIYANTO

Social and Political Issues in Asia: In the Context of Global Changes

Editors
Eko Priyo Purnomo
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BUKU LITERA

Asia Pacific Society for Public Affairs
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**Social and Political Issues in Asia:
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Foreword

Assalamualaikum Wr, Wb,

Greetings,

Asia is one of the important terms not only as a region but also as an academic sphere. As a region, Asia is the biggest populated areas in the world. Asia's contribution to world production of automobiles around 50%, smartphone 86%, machinery 46%, and the digital camera 100% (ERIA,2014). In term of academic sphere, around 31 Higher Educations-HEs in Asia included in 100 world reputation ranking list (THE,2016). It means that Asia's HEs is recognized by scholars in the world and contribute to the developing ideas and knowledge. In another word, the connection among the scholars, countries, and societies is highly vibrant in the current situation. Any particular idea or phenomena would be easily spread out around the Globe.

In response to the dynamics of the social and political situation in Asia, this book tries to portray and describe Asia's potency and challenges in dealing with the global changes. The Authors come from Indonesia, Malaysia, Taiwan and Thailand who concern Asia's issues. Each author explains their country phenomenon and suggests who to archive their national benefit and as well as support Asia's Community.

This book is expected to solving Asia's problem by analyzing their own contexts. It is no doubt that cooperation and collaboration among scholars is a must as a key important to develop Asia together. I do believe that interrelation in Asia has a potency and also challenges. Therefore, research interdisciplinary and collaboration either Scholars or HEs in Asia can boost the potency and reduce the challenges. Moreover, this book is essential to academia, scholars, students who want to know and learn more about Asia.

Wassalammualaikum Wr Wb,

Yogyakarta, 17 May 2017

Dr. Ir. Gunawan Budiyanto, MP.

Rector of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

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INTRODUCTION

Economic development is viewed as a set of interrelated changes in the structure of an economy that are required for its continued growth. The role of the state in the economic development has been implicitly tied to the individualistic, political process that assumes that there are no goals or needs outside of those of the individual citizens. Many books have been written on the history of the Philippines that traced the development of the economy of the Philippines from the year of Pres. Corazon "Cory" Aquino era up to the Pres. Benigno Aquino III administration. The researchers advanced to an evaluation of the effect of economic policies on different terms in the Philippines.

For a broader exposition of historical events that gave significance to each period, a listing of the important incidents is presented in comparing different important periods in Philippine History such as the following: Background, Socio-Political Condition and Socio-Economic condition. Specifically, the study is anchored in the following sub-problems: (1) What were the key economic issues that the Post- Marcos have encountered? (2) What economic goals and policies did the previous Philippine Presidents set in to respond to the said issues? And, (3) How effective were the programs adopted by the government in addressing the said economic issues?

The study done by the researchers is done through the process of obtaining and analyzing the data and records of the economic policies of the administration of Pres. Corazon to Pres. Benigno Simeon Aquino III administration that came to different sources.

BACKGROUNDS

After the downfall of Marcos' dictatorship, the Philippines, aside from the returning of democracy, also experienced political, social and economic dilemmas. In his, downfall, the Post-Marcos Presidents shall deal with problems, economic and political issues.

A. Brief Background Pres. Cory Aquino's Administration:

Pres. Cory Aquino's rise to the power needs to be seen in the context of both the anti-dictatorship and social justice demands of the opposition of the predecessor, Pres. Ferdinand Marcos. Once in power, however, Aquino saw her primary duty as restoring the structures of pre-martial law democracy. In the analysis of Alfred W. McCoy (1989: 120), he call this period a mere restoration of pre-martial law democracy, however, only goes so far, given (1) the degree to which Philippine civil society was far more active and organized after 1986 than it had been prior to 1972; and (2) the degree to which the Philippine military had become a much more politicized force over the course of the martial law years.

B. Brief Background: Pres. Fidel V. Ramos Administration

Fidel V. Ramos served as the 12th President of the Philippines. His presidency as marked by relative political stability and by economic liberalization measures, which were embraced by the US government and international financial institutions. President Fidel V. Ramos was able to uplift the economy of the country through focusing on people.

C. Brief Background: Pres. Joseph Ejercito Estrada Administration

Estrada rode to overwhelming victory in 1998 with strong populist rhetoric and the enthusiastic support of millions of poor Filipinos; many whom felt that Ramos had ignored their interests. It was in the words of one Philippine political analyst, "the revenge of the masses." (Rood, 2002:150). They are tired of being led by smart people. "The victory of Estrada was part of a continuing post-1986 political trend for the electorate to reject the discredited traditional politician, or at least its stereotype. "Though possessing a long political career as a local official," explains Emmanuel de Dios, "the actor Estrada's rise to prominence had passed the customary route of obvious patronage and horse-trading that typified the traditional politician's career at the national level, relying instead on media-driven national name recognition. (de Dios and Hutchincroft 2002.

D. Brief Background: Pres. Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's Administration.

Vice President Arroyo became president in January 2001 when People Power 2, a huge four-day mass action, persuaded the military to withdraw support from the Estrada government. Joseph Estrada quickly lost the support of key sectors of the elite and the middle classes when he brazenly siphoned off billions of pesos of public money to his private bank accounts. Estrada was brought down by a coalition of civil society groups, segments of big business, media, and the Catholic Church and reformers within the military and civilian bureaucracy.

The Supreme Court affirmed the legality of Arroyo's assumption of the presidency in several decisions. But as a method for removing an elected president, People Power 2 was, without a doubt, extra-constitutional. As a result, the mandate and the authority of the Arroyo administration leave much to be desired. After taking office, President Arroyo was assailed by coup rumors and destabilization plots. She made matters worse by refusing to be firm in disciplining corrupt and incompetent military officers.

E. Brief Background: President Benigno Aquino III

President Benigno Aquino III is the son of the former president Corazon Aquino and the former senator Benigno Aquino Jr., who had served as the 15th president of the Philippines. The rise to the presidency of President Benigno Aquino III has created high expectations among Filipinos longing for good governance, better condition of the national economy (52%) and the improvement in the quality of life based on the Social Weather Station (SWS) survey conducted in May 2010. Simply put, the President's economic vision can be condensed into four words: "A Philippines that Works" by pushing for a just government with lower tax rates for all and plugging leaks in the tax collection system to revitalize the nation's economy. He enjoined every Filipino to pursue the path of righteousness towards a corrupt-free Philippines.

To sustain the country's momentum, the Aquino administration had been continuously improving upon the good governance reforms it has established, which includes strengthening the mechanisms necessary for the swift and efficient delivery of services to Filipinos. The government has reformed its procurement and budgeting processes to promote efficiency and reduce opportunities for corruption, preventing the waste of billions of pesos in taxpayers' money.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study is anchored to the opinions of economists who are significant in different economic policies. The performance of the Philippine economy has been directly linked to the fortunes of the policies being implemented by the government in different sectors in the country. Parker (1999) stated that in the Philippines, the social welfare objectives of policies are likely to be not simply concerned with the pursuit of economic efficiency but with wider goals to promote sustained efficiency and with wider goals to promote sustainable development and poverty reduction.

Kraay (2005) argues that following the apparent success of market liberalization programs and the evidence of the failure of state-led economic planning in the Philippines, the role of state policy was redefined and narrowed to that of ensuring an undistorted policy environment in which efficient markets could operate. Economic development can be assessed regarding the criteria for good governance. Guasch and Hahn (1999) argues that a well-functioning economic system is one that balances accountability, transparency, and consistency.

RESEARCH METHODS

The researchers used Historical method because it was significant to the aim of this study, which is to provide a critical evaluation of the Economic policies in the Philippines during the Post-Marcos Presidents' term in government. Historical research utilizes historical sources like documents, remains, etc. to study events or ideas of the past, including the philosophy of persons and groups at any remote point of time (Kothari, 2004).

The methods are used to explore the process which contributed to different outcomes of study in terms of growth, poverty and equity in the Philippines in relation to: (A) initial conditions resource endowment and economic structure, (B) national political institutions and (C) forms of economic policies including those which might have been undertaken. The usual major process of historical method of research has been adopted by the researchers. The procedure consists of the following steps:

a. Collection of data including consideration of such sources as documents and materials like primary and secondary materials.
b. Criticism of data using the process of external and internal criticism, therefore applying comparative analysis in different sources of data.
c. Writing of historical text, including the problem of organization of materials and using specific schools of historical interpretation.

The researchers used primary and secondary data because they are both relevant to the study in assessing economic policies from President Corazon Aquino to President Noynoy Aquino. Primary resources such as government official reports, speeches of each president and journals of some of the outstanding department secretaries of NEDA are considered relevant in this study. A secondary source, such as books, and internet sources which are related to economic development and policies are also being utilized by the researchers.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This part of the paper deals with the presentation of data gathered from the books which came from different libraries and the interpretation of data to answer the problems. The presentation of the result followed the arrangement of questions posted in the introduction. Specifically, the following questions were answered:

A. The economic issues during the Pres. Cory Aquino to Pres. Noynoy Aquino administration

1. *President Corazon Aquino's Administration*

A serious economic crisis faced the country when the Aquino administration took over in 1986. In the last year of

Marcos' rule, the Philippines experienced its worst economic crisis, prompting the newly-installed Aquino Government to plan for immediate economic recovery. According to Cayetano Paderanga (NEDA Secretary), the Aquino Administration adopted the Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP) that targeted a 6.5 percent growth rate for the period of 1987-1992. The plan is to address fundamental social problems and economic crisis in the Philippines.

However, the Aquino administration suffered from certain setbacks such as the following:

a. Economic Slowdown: The economic in 1991 was at its weakest point since 1986. The budget deficit was almost double the previous year's level, as the expenditures of the government increased. Massive funds were needed both for the implementation of programs, and the rehabilitation of disaster-sticker areas.

b. Double-digit inflation: By 1989, inflation rate reached double-digit levels and continued to rise, reaching 17.7 percent in 1991. The current account deficit also increased to 6.1 percent of GNP in 1990, from 3.5 percent in 1989.

c. Drop in investment. Investment in the Philippines during the Aquino administration decreased by 19.1 percent in 1991 due to the contraction in private construction by 32.3 percent. Private investments were dampened by the imposition of the import buy, low domestic demand, natural calamities and uncertainty over the Gulf Crisis and the negotiations regarding U.S. bases in the Philippines.

Meanwhile, in terms of Macroeconomic trends in the Philippine Aquino Government experienced economic decelerated. Based on the study of Ateneo De Manila University, Department of Economics in the Philippine Economic condition, (1987-1991), Aquino faced economic problem in sector performance. The industry has suffered the most in the last couple of years. It is because of the problem that is experienced in the country including high costs of production (High Oil Prices), high costs of credit (High-interest rates), and high costs of importation (the 9% import buy).

Agriculture has maintained a positive level but has lacked when it comes to growth rate. Given the disruptions brought by the Mt. Pinatubo eruption and other calamities, plus the regular climatic hazards in the country. Agriculture may be expected to register only slow growth. The economic recovery during the Aquino Administration depended mainly on government spending and the personal consumption expenditures it generated.

d. Prioritizing the Marcos Debt

The overall budget has been annually in deficit during the Aquino years at an average of 2% of the GNP. The public domestic debt is also an indicator of the vulnerability of the government financial condition. According to Arillo (2000), when the US congress in 1986, she misses a historic opportunity to ask the American government to write off the $26.3 billion indebtedness that Marcos regime bequethed to her administration, as was the case of Poland, Egypt and other economically distressed countries." The opportunity that the Aquino administration missed had an aftermath on the other administration followed by her. With her administration priority on paying debts, other essential in the development like public expenses that may help boost up infrastructure simply neglected. Budget cuts due to deficit and payment of debts truly slows down economic growth.

e. The neglect of Physical Infrastructures

Prioritizing of paying debts of Marcos administration lead to less allocation of budget on physical infrastructures made the Philippines repellant to foreign investors. Investors needed infrastructures like roads, bridges, dams, power plants, and many other reduce transaction cost. These policies the

Philippine government chooses to venture lead the country to low foreign direct investment. Compare to other neighboring Southeast Asian Countries, the Philippines foreign are tagging behind to Malaysia and Thailand.

f. Economic Nationalism: Anti-Foreign Investor Constitution

The foreign equity in which the constitution of 1987 that the Corazon Aquino administration promulgated serves to be a hindrance in the capital accumulation coming from abroad due to strict policies of the government in conformity to foreign investments.

2. Economic Issues during President Fidel Ramos' Administration

When the Ramos administration assumed office in 1992, the Philippines, in analysts' view, remained the sick man of Asia. Per capita income growth continue to lag because neighboring economies. In a region where most other economies were growing robustly ,the domestic economy, weighted down, most other countries are growing robustly, the domestic economy, weighted down by large public debt inherited from Marcos regime, coup attempts and a severe power shortage, had failed to keep up with output even contracting in 1991.

a. Crisis

Like many growing industries, the Philippine industry has its share of problems. In 1993, the chief complaint of most handicraft producers related to the long power outrages experienced daily in the metropolis and in the countryside. Prolonged power outrages caused them to miss many of their delivery deadlines, resulting in cancelled orders from their buyers and substantial losses.

b. Rising Cost of Raw Material

Another problem of the industry is the constantly rising cost of raw materials. These rising costs are the combined effect of a number of different factors: the continuous depletion of resources without replacement, the seasonal nature of raw materials, the lack of peace and order in the country side and the lack of specialization in the raw production.

c. Macroeconomy: Continue to slowdown

Because of different currency crisis in the Asian Region and the debilitating effects of the El Nino, the economy is slowing down. From the average growth rate of 3.8% during the past twelve years, GDP posted only an average increase of 1.7% growth.

d. Fiscal Sector: Growing Fiscal Deficit

The government is facing a growing fiscal deficit attributed to the declining government revenues during the Ramos administration, the public sector deficit reached P46 billion, half of which, or P24 billion, represents the deficit of the national government.

e. Monetary and Fiscal Sector: High Costs in Doing Business

The currency crisis has rendered doing business in the country less attractive compared to the pre-crisis financial market environment. The value of the peso continued to decline from the P28.38 to a US Dollar in June 1997 to P40. 40 in June 1998.

f. External Sector: Hampered by Anticipated Slowdown in Export and Huge Foreign Debt

Export grew by 20.3% from January to May of 1991 may be expected to grow, but a declining rate imports amounted to US $10.5 billion (1998) continue to outpace export. Trade imbalance reached US $1.4 billion for the same period, hence, adding pressure on the country.

3. *Economic Issues during President Joseph Ejercito Estrada's Administration*

As President Estrada assumed office in 1998, he already experiences problems brought by both external and internal economic issues.

a. External Issues

Externally, the Estrada administration are trying to achieve full recovery from the Asian financial crisis, while they manage to prevent a recession, the effects of the crisis in the Philippines capital and investment flows and on the overall confidence of the markets are still lingered.

b. Unemployment

The rate of unemployment also went up slightly from 8.7 percent last year to 8.9 percent in the first semester of 1998 as more than 1700 establishments closed shop, forcing a total of 83,000 workers either out of jobs or with less working time.

c. Fiscal Deficit

The deterioration of fiscal deficit from 3.5% of GNP in 1999 to 3.9 % in 2000 should be a cause for utmost concern. As mentioned, slower output growth and the sharp nominal depreciation of peso constrain fiscal flexibility, as goes the initial high level of debt.

d. The Downward trend of the Economy

Medalla (2001) indicated that the economy carried on a downward trend as the country continues to be affected by the Asian currency crisis and the El Nino weather phenomenon. Since the outbreak of the currency crisis in July 1997, the peso has plunged by 65%. Inflation remained barely in single-digit at 9.4 %.

Hence, the only alternative the new government has to make is a strong push for a substantial improvement in tax administration. Together with the need to enhance the tax administration, these issues emphasize the need to improve governance in this country.

4. Economic Issues during President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's Administration

When Gloria Macapagal Arroyo assumed Presidency in after the People PowerII in 2001, the economy was going to a turbulent period. Economic growth was modest, and poverty continued to be a major problem; the government budget was getting out of hand, and investor badly faltered. According to Ibon Foundation (2010), the period 2001-2009 is the longest period of high unemployment rate averaging some 11.2%. Some 877,000 jobs were created annually since January 2001 to reach 36 million in January 2010.

However, the quality of jobs created is very poor: 3.8 million are unpaid family workers, 12.1 million are own account worker and around 12.6 million are wage and salary workers. There were a lot of issues in the country either politically and economically that the Arroyo administration had faced. The economy of the Philippines during Arroyo administration also contended with spill-over effects of the United States-Iraq conflict and faced the challenges of SARS outbreak, El Nino, and the Oakwood Mutiny.

5. Economic Issues during President Noynoy Aquino's Administration

It is clear that the main cause of the lower growth in 2015 is the large fall in the growth of exports and increase in the growth of imports. This made net exports fall quite hard. The marked slowdown of China, stagnant economy of the European Union and slower growth in East Asia – all had an adverse impact to Philippine exports. This could be partly because of the strong slowdown in exports, and the lack of government initiative to try to make manufacturing a leading sector -- in a sense, a lack of industrial policy.

Furthermore, the loss of confidence in the PNoy government due to the Mamasapano fiasco, the worsening traffic situation in Metro Manila, and the uncertainties of the May 2016 presidential elections might have reduced businessmen's initiative to invest and further expand into manufacturing. The lower growth in OFW remittances may become even more serious in 2016 as low world oil prices may drive many Middle Eastern countries (especially Saudi Arabia) to retrench and lay off many Filipino workers contracted to oil companies and their affiliates.

B. Economic Goals and Policies that the Previous Philippine Presidents set in to respond to the said issues

1. *Major Economic Goals and Policies under the Corazon Aquino's Presidency*

The presidential management staff of the Office of the President highlights some important economic policies raised by Cory Aquino in which it is compiled in the book "The President's Report 1986-1992." Some of the highlights of the economic policies are being highlighted below:

a. Strengthen Agricultural Sector: A Market-Oriented Economic Policy

One of the greatest goals of President Cory Aquino in the economic development is the restoration of market-oriented economy and dismantling of crony capitalism and economic cartels in two major agricultural industry of the country (sugar and coconut industries). For Aquino administration, agriculture served as the safety net as it proved to be more efficient and consistent earner and saver of foreign exchange.

Aquino administration also raised reform by removing agricultural export taxes and exemption of all primary agricultural products from the value added tax (VAT), lowering tariff rates on fertilizer, reduction of tariff rates on fishing vessels and animal breeders, and privatization or leasing of government-owned post-harvest processing facilities to the former association.

b. Foreign Investment Policy: Liberalized Investment Policies

To further improve the business inflow of the country, the Cory Administration initiated investment-related reforms otherwise known as liberalized investment policy. The intention of the policy was to attract more foreign investment and re-orient the BOI (Board of Investment) to give greater emphasis on investment promotion rather than an incentive administration and reputation. The review of equity limitation on foreign investment is conducted with the aim of liberalizing through an increase in the maximum allowable foreign equity participation in non-priority areas up to the limits.

c. Agrarian Reforms (Addressing Land Problems in the Philippines)

The Aquino administration took full consideration of the problem being faced by the farmers and farm workers that are why the government promulgates a new program known as Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law or R.A. 6657 to achieve political and socio-economic stability, especially in Agrarian sector.

d. Other Economic Policies

Privatization Program. As a part of the government corporate reform program, the Aquino administration embarked a successful privatization of government-owned and controlled corporations (GOCC) and transferred assets.

*Small and Medium Enterprise (SME).*The administration focused on strengthening small and medium enterprise because it generates investments, create employment opportunities and provide livelihood program and projects in the rural areas.

2. *Major Economic Goals and Policies under the Fidel Ramos' Presidency*

President Fidel V. Ramos made a political and rapid economic change in the Philippines, and he was more than determined to keep up. The globalization of the means of production, labor, finance and services, and the increasing interdependence among economies gave Ramos his cue. Through foreign policy, Ramos embarked on what was called Development diplomacy, diplomacy aimed at enabling the country to access new markets and attract investors and tourists alike.

According to Roman (1998), President Ramos complemented whatever local initiatives with economic diplomacy, other termed as Development Diplomacy. This effort only emphasized the priority placed by his administration on the importance of economic development and the kind of strategic initiatives ventured upon. Ramos administration was also regarded as a reformist government. He made Filipinos responsible for their own fate, fostering closer ties with neighboring economies, exploring other avenues for expanding international trade and investment.

a. Domestic Policies

President Ramos recognized that for the Philippines to catch up with its neighbors, domestic policies must be reformed. Decentralization, which devolved power from the national government to local government unit, was basically a political process. But its ultimate objective was to give provinces and municipalities greater command over a wide range of socio-economic policies, environmental regulation, infrastructure development, investment attraction and revenue generation. Both deregulation and liberalization aimed at leveling the field for both local and foreign investors. Deregulation encouraged competition in the market by removing policies that inhibit new investments.

b. De-monopolization of Telecommunication

Attributed to Singapore Senior Minister Lee KuanYew the line “The Philippines is a country where 98 percent of the residents are waiting for the telephone, and the other 2 percent are waiting for a dial tone” best describes the situation of the domestic telecommunications industry in 1992. An estimated 800,000 applicants, 75 percent in the country’s capital, Metro Manila, were queuing for a telephone line.

The Ramos administration has to eradicate monopoly in telecommunication which is one of the famous legacies which the previous administration did not solve. At the time, Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company (PLDT), which was owned by the nationwide transmission backbone, was a virtual monopoly, controlling over 90 percent of the country’s telephone lines.

c. Economic diplomacy (Foreign Policy)

Ramos government complemented whatever local initiatives with economic diplomacy, otherwise termed as development diplomacy. Specifically, economic diplomacy was aimed at enabling the country to access new markets and to draw foreign investors and tourists to the country. Economic diplomacy was conducted through country-team approach, whereby state visits, trade missions, trade shows, business meetings, and related activities were facilitated, resulted in investor confidence and expansion of local enterprises access to foreign markets. One of the greatest achievements of Pres.

Ramos is when he holds the 4th APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) leader’s summit in the Philippines in 1996. The hospitality and vigor showed by the Philippines to the other APEC leaders thus created a better image for the country.

d. Export Promotion Policy

The vision of President Fidel V. Ramos summarized in the slogan “Philippines 2000” was built on the premise of sustained export growth. Anchoring every successful export-oriented program are the export promotion policies carried out by the different public and private export promotion organizations. These policies stimulated export entrepreneurship and helped to make the business community more highly aware of the profit potential of the export market.

e. Energy Deregulation Policy

Ramos convinced Congress to create an Energy Department to plan and manage the Philippines' energy demands, along with special constitutional powers for him to resolve the power crisis. He used these powers to issue licenses to independent power producers to construct power plants.

f. Fiscal Policy

As the administration sought to balance the budget in the medium-term, it had to protect core values like health, education, shelter and infrastructure. To do this, a combination of prudent spending and tax enhancement measures had to be undertaken. The tax included an upward adjustment in the excise tax on cigarettes, withholding VAT or value-added tax on government contractors and suppliers, and the establishment of large taxpayer's unit in the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

3. *Major Economic Goals and Policies under Joseph Estrada's Presidency*

The highlights of the economic policies of President Estrada are being presented in the book "Joseph Ejercito Estrada's Presidency" of the University of the Philippines. The economic policies of the Estrada administration are the following:

a. Prioritized Promising New Industry

The Estrada administration approved the investment priorities plan for 2000. The IPP outlines the plans of the priority industries and service areas which are eligible for incentives. The new IPP includes information technology as an industry are separated from the electronics sector and is given pioneer status.

b. Pursued Investment Promotion from Abroad

To attract more investments into the country, the Estrada Administration discussed and promoted our market in bilateral and multilateral bodies abroad. The Estrada administration discussed major reforms and measures to enhance the trade and investment climate. The Estrada administration pursued these efforts during our visits and meetings in China, Japan, United States, Europe and the ASEAN and APEC. The Estrada administration also installed the Honorary Investment and Trade Representatives (HITR) to cater to interested investors and further attract new investments.

c. Formulated laws and Simplified Regulation (Retail Liberalization Act of 2000)

In terms of domestic trade, industry, and investment, the Estrada administration signed the Retail Trade Liberalization Act of 2000 (R.A. 8762) which opened the retail trade sector to foreign investors up to 100% ownership, depending on their paid-up capital. The new law allows a foreign retailer to do business in the country, provided they meet certain qualifications.

d. Developing Rural Industries and Village Enterprises (DRIVE) Program

Estrada administration seeks to link clusters of rural industries and village enterprises to large and long-term projects to effect economies of scale and to reduce inefficiencies in the trading systems. Under the DRIVE program, the Estrada Administration are transforming the consciousness of small producers from the modality of subsistence to one that caters larger markets and greater attention to customer satisfaction. The DRIVE program facilitates training in human resource development that was focused on improving productivity and raising production outputs and management standards.

e. Supporting Rural Industries and Small Medium Enterprises

The Estrada Administration promoted the development of the countryside, where the majority of the poor live by providing financial, training and technical assistance to enterprises engaged in rural industries. Estrada administration released financial assistance under "Sa Tulong-Sa-Tao Micro Financing Program" amounting to P64.5 million to 170 non-government organizations, which benefitted 9722 9entrepreneurs and generated 14,653 jobs.

f. Supported development of E-Commerce

Estrada administration promoted the development of electronic business (e-business) through the Electronic Commerce Act (RA 8792) which established the basic legal framework for e-business in the country. It aims to facilitate domestic and international dealings, transactions, arrangements, contracts and exchanges and storage of information through the utilization of electronic, optical and similar medium, mode instrumentality and technology.

g. Strengthened Partnership between Government and Business sector

Estrada administration established the Economic Mobilization Group to enhance coordination among key economic players and expedite the implementation of measures to stabilize and sustain the economy's growth.

h. Prioritized IT for investments

Under the 2000 investment priorities plan, the Estrada administration prioritized and provided incentives to information technology-related activities to direct foreign and domestic investment flows into this field where the Filipino has a comparative advantage in skills and expertise. These incentives include income tax holiday for a maximum of eight years and exemption from export requirements.

4. Major Economic Goals and Policies under the Arroyo's Presidency

President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo adopts a policy that is concerned about pro-active microeconomic reforms. These reforms clearly set a direction for action in addressing economic issues that her administration have faced.

a. Macro to Microeconomic Reform Program

President Arroyo stressed that for her country to be developed, it must shift its emphasis to microeconomic reforms which are basically the industry-to-industry type of reforms. These are hard reforms because, at each stage, there are well-entrenched, vested groups and bureaucratic inertia that stand in the way.

b. Agricultural Policy

In agriculture, examples of microeconomic reforms would include the removal of quantitative restrictions for tariffs (rice, sugar, and corn). Tariff on rice, for example, is expected to lead to the stabilization of domestic prices at some level above world prices, the generation of tariff revenues that can be used to support farm productivity, and the enabling of the rice industry to become more responsive to market conditions.

c. Industrial Policy

President Arroyo introduced a Productivity-Enhancing Reforms and Strategies that support for small and medium enterprises (SMEs). Filipino micro-, small-, and medium-scale enterprises (MSME) are collectively the biggest employer of Filipinos, but their contribution to national economic growth has hardly been maximized. MSMEs have the potential to contribute to higher output, widening of the export base, and increase employment. Therefore, MSMEs should provide access to adequate low-cost sources of financing, assisted in establishing mutually beneficial linkages with larger enterprises, and supported by local government units for business-friendly policies among other measures.

d. Service policy

In services, further railway development was being undertaken. A modernized railway system will accelerate the rate of growth of areas adjacent to Metro Manila, and strategically link Metro Manila to Economic zones and industrial areas.

e. Mobilizing Funds Policy

Domestic funds mobilization was likewise crucial. This entails a focus on tax collection (the BIR as a center of excellence) and tax evasion (the proposed internal revenue management act) to jail tax evaders. With regards to the banking system and private sector, non-performing loans are starting to be tackled by recently enacted law on special purpose assets vehicles, and the securitization bill can help raise counterpart funds for housing construction.

f. Information and Communications Technology Development Strategy

The Arroyo Administration acknowledges information and communications technology as a key to finding the country's niche in the global village of the 21st century. ICT was identified to play a major role, through e-commerce and e-governance, in improving government efficiency and enhancing the competitiveness and productivity of economic sectors.

g. Balanced Regional Development Program

Crucial to the government's overall agenda is the reduction of the disparity between Metro Manila and the rest of the regions. To enhance the roles of local government units as economic units, the local development watch project was put into place to complement the physical infrastructure programs being pursued in areas outside Metro Manila.

5. Major Economic Goals and Policies under the Noynoy Aquino's Presidency

Partly counterbalancing the unattractive external markets were the high government spending, stirring the growth rate of fixed capital (or total investments) because of the government's high investments. Again the PNoy government used domestic ammunition to try to counter the difficult external environment. Thus, since 2012, the PNoy government had been using fiscal stimulus to counter an unfriendly global economy. This intentionally or unintentionally made the economy more dependent on domestic demand, which should have been conducive to industrial policy.

The government seems to have concentrated its economic policies on gaining macroeconomic confidence and increasing the GDP growth rate by increasing government investments and expenditures. This is a worthwhile endeavor, but will not lead to long-run economic development if the economic sectors and firms do not improve in terms of employment absorption, productivity improvements, interconnectedness, and upgrading to more sophisticated technology and innovative products – a more sectoral and microeconomic achievement.

C. Effectiveness of the programs adopted by the government in addressing the economic issues

1. During Corazon Aquino's Presidency

Considering the record of the Aquino Administration with respect to its macroeconomic targets, the major objective of Cory Aquino administration economic program was to affect economic recovery in the short run. But unfortunately, in economic advancement, the economy never met the indicated targets for economic recovery. There are questions of consistency in the economic policies adopted by the administration; one of this was the administration's commitment on revitalizing the free market which is evidently seen in its move in dismantling of the monopolies in sugar and coconut industries. In terms of trading, the administration has adopted a policy of trade and import liberalization. For these reasons, it can be said that based on the plans for economic development, the general direction in which the Aquino administration is leading the economy in not good condition, perhaps it is because of the P0olicy that resulted to ineffective in addressing the economic problems or issue in the Philippines.

2. During Fidel Ramos' Presidency

Even with so many policies raised by Ramos administration just to address the economic issues and problems of the country, its benefits have not reached the majority of our people who are mostly poor and in the countryside. Hence, there is still an economic downfall and the problems in terms of the social conditions of people such as the widening gap between the rich and the poor.

However, Ramos administration show a bit of economic changes because of its policies, the outcomes of some of their policies is it dismantled monopolies, and the cartels and the business playing fields are leveled, and the medium-term development program sparked an infrastructure boom. Facilities were upgraded in highways, telecoms, transport, energy and other public infrastructure. On the other side, a foreign relations campaign based on economic diplomacy and internationally shared goals of freedom and prosperity restored the country to a place of respect in the community of nations.

The ineffectiveness of the policy is shown by different factors like in terms of agricultural growth program. It is a failure because the policy is insufficient to promote food security and support poverty alleviation. On the other side, in terms of our industry and domestic investment, despite the Ramos administration effort to create a conducive climate for investment, yet still the Asian financial crisis and worsening fiscal position dampened investors' interests. While Ramos administration is raising a policy of liberalization, deregulation, and decentralization on our transportation, telecommunication and energy sectors, our physical infrastructure remains insufficient for the developmental requirement and for the liberalization environment to flourish. This is evidently seen by limited access to rural infrastructures such as irrigation, farm-to-market roads, and electricity.

3. During Joseph Ejercito Estrada's Presidency

The economic policies enacted by Estrada administration include the Retail Trade Liberalization Act which opens retail trade to foreign investment, and the e-commerce law provides the basis for transactions conducted over the internet, and the regional headquarters law grants additional incentives to multinational corporations establishing regional headquarters in the Philippines. Through the following economic policies, it resulted in a good performance in the Philippine economy.

4. During Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's Presidency

The economic policy raised by the Arroyo administration is effective in addressing the economic issues and problems. Looking for what is being accomplished, the Arroyo administration emphasizes two things which are still happening. First is the economic growth. However, it is not sufficient, yet it is still there. Secondly, the different sectors of the economy which are not doing so badly. Some of the performance of Arroyo administration that contributes to the Philippine economy is unfortunately located mainly in the export zones, which has been provided by foreign direct investment rather than Philippine industries. The extent of the economic growth during the Arroyo administration is concentrated in the export-processing zones. In terms of the micro-economic and macro-economic policies, there is some progress on the micro side of our economy.

What really contributed to the development of the economy is the Philippine labor market policies. One is the OFWs, since their remittances that enter the country increase the country's economic growth. Because of the acknowledgment of the information and communication technology of the Arroyo administration, the ICT industry in the Philippines proved itself to be the fastest growing sector, particularly in the cellular mobile telephone systems development. Arroyo launched a strong republic nautical highway which featured the construction of roll-on-roll-off facilities in major ports to connect islands and regional centers. This is very advantageous as it reduces the cost of transporting goods and at the same time promotes domestic tourism especially in Visayas and Mindanao.

4. During Noynoy Aquino's Presidency

In the recent Social Weather Stations (SWS) surveys on joblessness, 25.4% of adults interviewed said they were jobless on the average in 2014 (GMA News 2015) not statistically different from the 25.2% corresponding figure in 2013. On Q4 of 2014, the unemployment rate was 27%, not significantly better than the 27.5% in Q4 of 2013.

On the production side, it can be seen that the latest growth rates of industry and manufacturing in 2015 showed a marked decrease compared to the corresponding growth rates of 2014. Instead, services grew very fast and became the engine of growth in 2015.

The PNoy government also did not generate a general perception that the high economic growth it achieved translated into better quality of life for the majority of the lower income groups. This is associated with the perceived lack of regional and local development of backward areas, the apparent lack of improvement in health, education and other social services, and most strikingly, the failure to finally end the agrarian reform program with massive and widespread distribution of agricultural lands to the small peasants and tenants.

In the end, the PNoy Administration's 'Daang Matuwid' Program is being threatened with the possible victory of a new Administration that will reverse whatever achievement it has achieved, possibly bringing back a regime rocked with corruption charges and bringing down whatever gains were won in bringing confidence to the Philippine economy.

CONCLUSION

The study reveals that the economic problems of different administrations started to form the term of Corazon Aquino up to Noynoy Aquino had similar problems. Mostly, it is brought by common factors such as national calamities, global economic crisis, etc. that affected the country's economic development.

To address the different issue and problems, the government set in various policies to attain equitable growth. From Cory Aquino's Market-oriented policies to Ramos' liberal economic policies foreign diplomacy and up to Estrada's continuation of the economic policy being initiated by the previous administration and President Arroyo's MTPD program that over, neo-liberalization on trade and free market.

The effectivity of the government implemented programs and policies from the administration of Corazon Aquino to Noynoy Aquino resulted to the effectiveness of their programs. The outcomes of the policies are not enough to attain sustainable growth. Cory Aquino and Ramos' economic programs are both failures due to the inconsistency and insufficiency of the policies that they had been implemented. Moreover, Estrada's policy of continuing what the previous administration did has resulted to slight effectivity in the economic growth but only in short run program. Arroyo's program is effective due to her accomplishments such as concentrating on the microeconomic sector, improving labor economic policies and institutional, economical method.

Promoting reforms on Tariff and financial system, strengthening the small-scale business program and intensifying foreign investment policies are the economic programs that the current administration should adopt to respond to the current economic issues in the country effectively. If a government claims it is affecting big economic and political transformations in the country, the weight of the allegation must be matched by intense scrutiny and strict evaluation.

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NEW MEDIA LITERACY AND SPREAD HOAXES: WHY IT MATTERS?

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INTRODUCTION

The objective of this paper is to give an explanation from new media literacy perspective why hoaxes can be an epidemic, particularly in Indonesia. This paper will provide an overview of new media literacy concept and its relation with spread hoaxes. The internet and other new media give users abilities to disseminate information quickly. A research by Situngkir (2011) on social media twitter shows how rumors on the death of well-known persons propagated vastly in a very short time. The uniqueness nature of Twitter creates a collaborative networking structure enabling information to massively spread from person to person. Other social media and instant messengers, like Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, Line, and Whatsapp also facilitate users to propagate messages in the much efficient way. In the reign of digitalization, users have control over media contents. Users can freely consume, produce, create, evaluate, and share messages. Anonymity and Pseudonymity are "great wall protectors" to hide identities. One-way or less interactive communication which is offered by radio and television and web 1.0 are truly outdated.

The interactivity nature brought by web 2.0 technology is really attractive and tempting. Unfortunately, this fast change of technology does not go along with most users' understandings on how to use it wisely. At this viewpoint, we should agree that certain abilities, in this case, literacy competencies, are seriously needed. We may reflect on some facts, that to digital natives, using electronic devices is a common thing. They have various communicative online accounts. From gaming to social messaging. Yet, it is a pity that they might not have sufficient skills to analyze, evaluate, or know the social/ cultural impact as logical consequences of using new media.

Thus, is hoax dangerous? What can potential impact emerge? Is every hoax made based on intentional hatred and abhorrence? The war against hoaxes (Hantam Hoax) that currently declared by the Indonesian government and other institutions shows that spread hoaxes have become a national concern. Detiknews.com as one of notable news portal has progressively promoted "Hantam Hoax". President Joko Widodo, as quoted by designers (9/2/17), said that social media caused a lot of bothering to his administration. A week later, Wiranto, a Coordinating-Minister of Politic, Law, and Security announced a new-established workforce to fight provocation, agitation, and propaganda (Satgas Lawan Proapro) (Tribunjogja.com, 16/2/17).

Hoaxes have existed long before the era of new media. The story about Drummer *of Tedworth* written by Joseph Glanvill was considered as the earliest history of a hoax. Merriam-Webster dictionary defines hoax as *to trick or deceive* or *an act that is meant to trick or deceive people*. The hoax is probably originated from the word "hocus" which means to perpetrate a trick or hoax on. As fabricated lies, hoaxes can appear in some forms: fake news, modified pictures/ meme, etc. Some influential factors may be put into a list: the development of information and communication technologies; the internet user penetration worldwide which is getting higher; the massive use of social media, including information accelerated diffusion processes; and the socio-political circumstances. Hoax, then, has turned out to be an interesting topic for many parties. Masyarakat Telematika Indonesia (Mastel), for instance, has recently conducted a survey on “Wabah Hoax National”. Mastel’s concern is based on the fact that hoax contributes to political instability which causes dissensions.

The respondents were asked some questions about their comprehension about hoax; their attitude and action when dealing with hoax; hoax formats and channel to share it; the impact of hoax; and how to cope with the hoax. Even so, the discourse related to the existence of hoaxes, digital lies, gossips, or rumors cannot be discussed without describing the media nature itself. New media has become a fertile field where hoaxes live and feed. Hoaxes, according to Remington (2004) “relies on a more malignant mixing of truth and untruth” (p. 200).

Media (R)evolution

The 20th century perhaps can be seen as an early beginning for Information and communication technology’s (ICT) evolution. Many earth-shaking basic inventions that influenced major changes in humans life were created over this period of time. Marin Vlada and Alexandru Tugui (2006), in their article *Information Society Technologies: The Four Big Waves of Information Technologies*, wrote that the historical milestone in computer science evolution was started from early 70’s when microprocessor first is shown to the public and used in personal computers. The invention of this tiny artificial brain has brought a big leap in the history of computing technology. And present day, smartphones and tablets are used by almost 2 billion people worldwide.

Before computers and internet had not been massively used like today’s, media (referring to conventional ones such as newspapers, radio, and television) are much considered as a balancing power towards established political power, namely state and political parties. Besides that, (mass) media can be a medium for citizens to directly supervise the government. Its ability to collect, modify (to frame, actually), and distribute information has built a general description in our mind of its power. Therefore, at that time mass media were labeled as the fourth estate. In the theory of Trias Politica which was presented by Montesquieu, we may acknowledge that power to govern separated into three divisions. This doctrine of power separation which now is being implemented in many democratic countries originated from the constitutional theory by John Locke. The ability of mass media to build public opinion and to set the public agenda might become their lethal weapon.

Mass media, as an integral part of man's culture, has also undergone big changes as its logical consequences. Media are not merely tools to distribute news or advertisements. The extent of media platforms modifies the contents and the way people taking advantages on it. Conventional mass media like television and newspaper, for instance, retain their ability to spread messages broadly to many audiences at the same time. But today, its broadcast attribute may not have strong influence to change people's perception or attitude. In accordance with this paper objective, media should be acknowledged as a platform with which people get and share information.

Media may give a strong impact to one's cognitive, affective, and behavior. Our perspective about selling and buying; how we think, our communication patterns; and our style in spending money and leisure time, slowly but sure, have changed. Nonetheless, the power that media have to shape and create a theater of mind in people's head, as stated by Harold Innis, can be communication biases if utilized to reach political and or economic domination (in West & Turner, 2007). When mainstream media collaborate with new technology, the influence is much bigger and varied. Its existence has not only changed how people interact one to another, but also how people construct their social, cultural, and political views. Winston (2004) as quoted by Firmanzah (2008) proposed digital/ virtual democracy terminology to describe how democracy takes place on the internet. And nowadays, we have noticed how issues, campaigns, and conflicts of interests have moved to virtual spheres. The awards are represented by how many thumbs you got for shared pictures or blogs. Heroes are those whose social media followers are over others'. The saints are those who always remind you about good deeds by sharing religious messages. The abundant media messages, said Potter (2001) in Burke (2008: 29), make us in danger having the reality taken away from us.

It goes without saying that ICT technologies enable us to do or to not to do something. Thanks to the internet, people are interconnected one another in a complex virtual sphere that creates a cyber-communities. Social and technology innovations, along with tight competition and political pressure, have forced mass media to transform in some ways. Newspapers and magazines, even radio and TV are now also going online. We may say that most people prefer to read news from news portals rather than spending some pennies to buy a printed newspaper. Roger Fidler (2003) called such media evolution as *mediamorphosis* (p. 35). In Fidler's framework, mediamorphosis is not just a theory. It enforce us to comprehend all forms of media communication as an integrally interconnected system. He argued that the existence of new media does not actually replace the old media. For instance, television set will not eliminate radio, like radio does not kill newspapers. It is a fact that old media have been affected by the emerging of the new ones. Nevertheless, Fidler refers to the existence of the medium, not the industry. Some newspaper companies that could not follow the changes were bankrupt and fallen. In the US, the famous Newsweek magazine had to end its printed edition by 2012. It focuses on the online version. In Indonesia, reformation era gave a big influence on the media industry. SIUPP (Surat Ijin Usaha Penerbitan Pers) issued by Department of Information was an effective instrument to control the press.

In Media Determinism theory, McLuhan's thesis about media determinism is conformable to an essential reality. Men create technologies and in turn, the technologies slowly change men's perspectives. Technologies manipulate human's ways of life, habits, attitudes, and also communication patterns (which is a very basic foundation in shaping the culture). Media covers every action taking place in societies. Therefore, McLuhan did not merely see media as information diffusion tools. He argued that all things having practical utility used by humans are also media. It is not an exaggerating opinion to evaluate that human being has become dependent towards media. When Johannes Gutenberg invented printing press in the 15th century, the era of printed messages began. Western people (European) started to produce, distribute, and get written information. The printing press made news and knowledge spread widely through Europe in forms of books, scrolls, etc. The machine enables publishers to print many books faster than ever. Yet, the time interval for the next information technology to emerge was quite long. It took more than 400 years until Marconi, an Italian, invented the radio.

According to Vlada and Tugui (2006), future society will be based on information, knowledge, and communications. For many people, Google has become their "virtual holy book" to find any information. Toffler, in his phenomenal book *The Future Shock* that was published in 1970, had deeply predicted the rise of varied sophisticated technologies, including the emergence of global communications networks. Indonesia internet users' penetration in 2016, according to the report of internetlivestats.com, is 20.4% of the population. It means that more than 50 million Indonesian are actively access the internet via any kind of devices (computers, smartphones, or online video games) in the past 12 months. We do understand that the internet has brought significant changes in our lives. As a new media, internet's broad accessibility is an attractive pull factor. It enables users to leverage their knowledge and skills by exploring many things that may not be provided by conventional media.

A study by Ilana Gershon about internet utilization in America found out that to Euro-Americans, the internet offers wonder and horror (Gershon, 2011). The Internet allows users to connect *intimately* from distance. And horror, at the perceived risks that may emerge from these kinds of connections. We probably can assume that social media represents modern public sphere as stated by Jurgen Habermas. Social media, according to Habermas, have fulfilled some important institutional criteria. Those criteria are a disregard of status, domain of common concern, and inclusivity. Vivian (2008 in Nasrullah, 2015) stated that the emergence of new media is beyond traditional media. Internet enables people to communicate with their remote relatives and colleagues cheaply and in a real time. There are not geographic boundaries nor any interaction capacities block the messages, except technological errors. Above all, the most significant thing that differs new media to old media is its interactivity character. Interactivity covers some details which are spread, two-way communication, less control to the source, media facilitate every audience, the audience can show their own identity, and media ability to involve audience experience in space and time (Nasrullah, 2014: 14).

Fidler, with his thesis on mediamorphosis wrote that new media, which is the result of media transformation, is built on three basics principles. (a) *Coevolution*. This term is used to delineate that every single communication tools are an integral part of our culture. The ideas of coevolution can be drawn from logical fact that men create and develop artifacts, instruments, and other systems of technologies to facilitate their lives. Every new technology, according to Fidler, is built over the old ones. As a matter of fact, newer technologies will not suddenly replace the old ones. This condition is called a *coevolution* and *coexistence*. For instance, television has not been an obsolete technology. Instead of being archaic, television technology is getting highly developed and complex. The integration of TV and internet generate smart TV, which is a real sample for coexistence.

Coevolution is composed of *communicator codes* and *communication domains*. Communicator codes is a system of languages which are used to convey the messages. Language is unarguably the most influential agent of change in technology evolution history. The ability of the man in developing their societies is achieved by knowledge and learning (Vlada and Tugui, 2006). And the main instrument of knowledge and learning is language. We must stay clear the term language is not merely common daily written and spoken symbols. Language broadly covers mathematical codes or algorithmic which are used in computer programs.

Therefore, it is very logic as Fidler argued that basic character of media is basically manifested by language. In other words, a new form of any technologies, including mass media, will not exist without the language, either spoken or written. Technologies are built on continues researches where scientist interact and communicate in scientific conversations by means of language. Hence, it is an essential part of organization construction and survival as well as a scientific institution (Scolari, 2009). On the other side, communication domains consist of three, namely, interpersonal domain, broadcast domain, and document domain. These domains describing the developmental process of human communication.

The second and third parts of mediamorphosis are convergence and complexity. The basic concept for convergence was first presented by Nicholas Negroponte with his MIT colleagues (Fidler, 2003: 39). He brought out the idea of integrating three different kinds of industries into a single medium. The construction of convergence proposed by Negroponte was based on three big industries, i.e., motion picture and broadcast industry; printed and publishing industry; and computer Industry. Integration means that all those three industries would create a new potential field for new media. It is more to the transformation of some different entities to a new one that is caused by the mixture process among them.

Present day, we have seen before eyes that Negroponte's structure of convergence has come true. Meanwhile, complexity is to describe an unavoidable chaotic situation that may appear as a side-effect of mediamorphosis. Nonetheless, human's system of lives (e.g. communication system) is adaptive. This special characteristic allows changes taking place in media transformation. All media formats may operate in a dynamic socio-cultural atmosphere.

The Characteristics of New Media

What is new media? Lister, Dovey, Giddings, Grant, and Kelly wrote in their book *Social Media: A Critical Introduction* (2009) that new media are part of the much bigger landscape of social, technological, and cultural change (p. 11). It is an epoch-making phenomenon. Chen, Wu, and Wang (2011) broadly define new media in terms of computer and communication technologies. Digitalization is the basis. Some media scholars like Roger Fidler (2003), Chen et al (2011) have constructed some characteristics of new media to distinguish it with the old ones.

The Majority of new media researchers like Anderson and Balamo (2008), Nichols (2008), and Pratt (2000) as quoted by Lin, Li, Deng, and Lee (2013) define new media in its technical aspects, including its digitally which has special characteristics that differ it to conventional media. Those digital characteristics are hypertextual, dispersal, virtuality, modularity, multimodality, hybridity, interactivity, automation, and variability. Lister et al emphasize the term "essential qualities" to define the characteristics of a medium in question. In general, the characteristics of new media can be divided into two, namely, Technical characteristics and Socio-cultural characteristics (Chen et al, 2011). The first ones are modularity, multimodality, hybridity, and interactivity. Modularity means that it is built on complicated program modules.

The characteristics of new media should have given us a clear picture to highlight the interaction of two or more parties in the same time where those involved are at the same level, albeit they could be different in many aspects in the "real life". Ilana Gershon in her essay entitled *On the Internet Everyone Knows You're a Dog* (2011) wrote that ethnographers (social media researchers) are dealing with the complexity of internet users, especially those digital natives. The complexity includes the freeing potential of the internet and the inability to distinguish and demarcate public and private information. It means that the digital natives have the knowledge and skills to operate their gadgets and surf the web but less concern in determining the goals. Nevertheless, the digital natives according to Livingstone have been uniquely sided both vulnerable as well as deft internet users (in Gershon, 2011). Children's ability in dealing with new technologies such as the internet are somehow far exceeded the older generations', although they are also easy to get hurt mentally and emotionally.

Lister, et al (2009: 10-11) mentioned that new media are associated with social, economic, and cultural changes. It means that new media plays a significant role in the processes of changing *an sich*. The indications are: (a) A shift from modernity to postmodernity. New media is considered as a key market to the structural changes in societies and economies with respect to aesthetic and economic distinguishing traits. (b) Intensifying processes of globalization. Globalization is generally defined as a dissolving of national states and boundaries in relation to the corporate organization, custom and cultures, trade, and identities and beliefs. New media are an essential part of it. (c) A replacement of an industrial age of manufacturing by a post-industrial information age. (d) A decentering of established and centralized geopolitical orders.

New Media Literacy Framework

Merriam-Webster online dictionary plainly defines literacy as the ability *to read and write* and *knowledge that relates to a specified subject.* As a matter of fact, the meaning of literacy is far more complicated, especially if relates to socio-cultural contexts. Kern (2000) outlined literacy as:

> *The use of socially, and historically, and culturally situated practices of creating and interpreting meaning through text. It entails at least a tacit awareness of the relationships between textual conventions and their context of use and, ideally the ability to reflect critically on those relationships. Because it is purpose-sensitive, literacy is dynamic – not static – and variable across and within discourse communities and cultures. It draws on a wide range of cognitive abilities, on knowledge of genres, and on cultural spoken language, on language of genres, and on cultural knowledge.*

Kern's denotation on literacy may give us a deep thought that literacy is away far complicated than we ever think. It involves a large landscape of social, historical, and cultural contexts which interrelated each other. To find the relation between literacy and (old/new) media, the five principles of literacy by Bailey (2004) can be used. As stated by Bailey, literacy is (1) *an action*. It is a set of actions and transitions in which people use reading and writing for a personal and social purpose. This means that social environment where the persons live is an integral part in doing literacy actions. There is an intended purpose when one reading newspaper or watching TV, or texting. (2) *A move within a discourse practice*. Encoding and producing text are not only basic things when an individual committing a literate action. There are sets of expectations and social conventions involved. This point shows that one's frame of reference determines their actions when accessing media. A gadget freak would be more attracted to techno and gaming magazines, rather than recipes books. (3) *becoming literate depends on knowledge of social conventions and on individual problem-solving*. Everyone has competencies in media literacy. Yet, the level of literacy may be different. In a religious community, being literate can be having skills in memorizing God's holy book. (4) *The basic foundational skills in learning to be literate are the skills one needs to read situations; to plan, organize, and revise; to build and negotiate meaning; to use and adapt conventions, and to figure out what the new discourses expect and how to enter them*. (5) *The literate action opens the door to metacognitive and social awareness*. Literacy as a social, cognitive act create some opportunities for strategic thinking and reflection that are absent in pedagogy of textual conventions and correctness.

Those principles show that literacy concept is in strong relation with discourse practices (which are disseminated through media): texts, knowledge, social awareness, and social conventions. Livingstone (2004) said that literacy "covers the interpretation of all complex, mediated symbolic text broadcast or published on electronic communication networks; at the same time, because historically it has been tied to particular media forms and technologies..."(p. 3). Workshop on Media Literacy held in Indonesia in 2011 resulted in a new definition of media literacy. It is "a competency to take advantage from media critically, consists of media knowledge, the ability to search and choose media content and to produce media content for special purposes" (in Hendriyani and Guntarto, 2011). Another definition is the sum of knowledge, skills, and attitudes which citizens need to act in a conscious, critical, and active way within a complex, changing, and the fundamentally medialised world (RvC as quoted by Nijboer and Hammerburg, 2009: 37). It is very clear that there is not a big different between media literacy and New Media literacy. The term new is more to technological aspect embedded in media which is caused by technology developments.

Kellner said that new technologies demand new literacies. Media literacy gives a broad concept on the standard competencies one should have. It covers all types of media. On the other hand, new media literacy concept is specifically limited to new media. Cervi, Paredes, & Tomero (2010 as quoted by Lin et al, 2013) said that literacy has developed generally from classic literacy (e.g. reading and writing), to audiovisual literacy (e.g. related to electronic media), to digital literacy (e.g. related to digital media), and to new media literacy (e.g. related to internet and web 2.0). According to Lin et al, theoretically, the framework of new media literacy has not yet been profoundly developed. Lin et al pointed out that many scholars define new media literacy 'as a combination of information skills, conventional literacy skills, and social skills (p. 162). Thus, new media literacy is, in fact, multiliteracies.

Chen et al in their article *Unpacking New Media Literacy* (2011), offered a theoretical framework to assess new media literacy skills. The proposed NML by Chen et al was the preliminary framework. It is simply divided into four categories. Meanwhile, Lin et al (2013) tried to provide a complex conception on NML based on the previous framework. Lin et al admit that the extended NML framework is exploratory. The refined framework focuses on two limitations in previous NML concept. Those limitations are on the unclear division among the four types of NML and the absence of differentiation between web 1.0 and 2.0 whereas the distinction is important to distinguish culture of media (p. 163).

As attested by Chen et al (2011), new media literacy framework is divided into two categories. First is from *consuming* to *prosuming* literacy and the other is from *functional* to *critical* literacy. Each category contains two types of literacy: Functional Consuming (FC), Critical Consuming (CC), Functional Prosuming (FP), and Critical Prosuming (CP). The consuming literacy is the ability to access media message and use media at various proficiency levels, while prosuming literacy is the ability to produce media content (e.g. messages) in addition to consuming level (Chen et al, 2011: 85). Furthermore, Chen et al argued that all aspects are integrated one to another. This means that they are interrelated. Therefore, consuming aspect should be implied in prosuming aspect. For example, before responding to someone's ideas on Twitter of Whatsapp by creating messages, one should read and comprehend the ideas.

Chen et al quoted Toffler (1980), called one who has the prosuming competency as "prosumer". A prosumer is both producer and consumer. A prosumer produce media content whose half of the production is for exchange and half is for self-use. So, media prosumption complies two aspects, creating and producing media content and participating in media usage (p. 85). Chen et al (2011) underlined that one's new media literacy does not only consist of neutral technical skills but also social and cultural practices. Functional literacy is an individual's textual meaning making and use of media tools and content. Critical literacy, on the other side, is the ability on analyzing, evaluating, and critiquing media. Functional literacy is a substantial element of critical literacy.

The New Media Literacy Framework by Chen et al and Lin et al consecutively as follows:

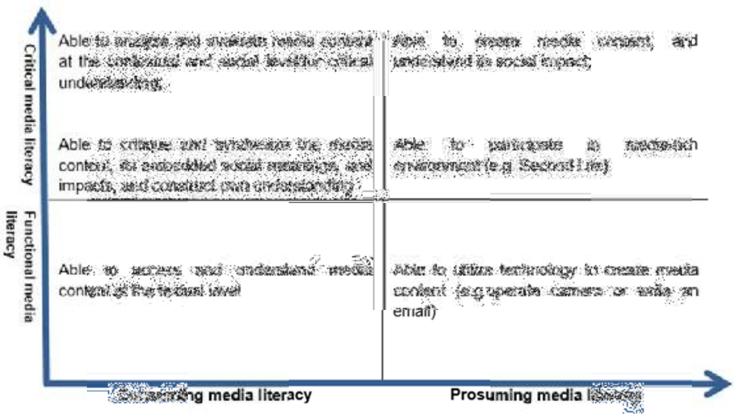

Figure 1. NML Framework by Chen et al (2011).

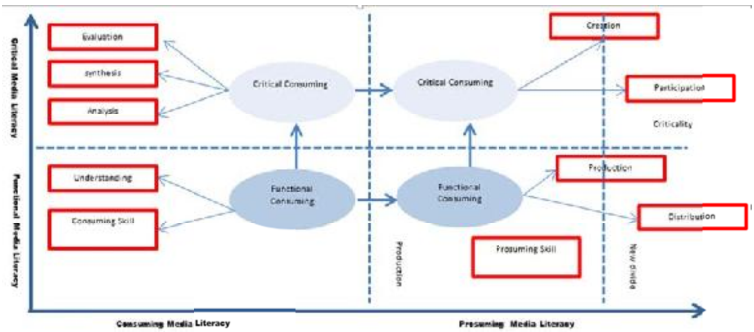

Figure 2. A Refined NML Framework by Lin et al (2013)

NEW MEDIA LITERACY AND SPREAD HOAXES

NML model built by Lin et al provides more comprehensive indicators for each competency. The framework is based on the previous model of Chen et al. There are still four types of NML with a detailed explanation for each skill. The functional consuming skills are the lowest competence that composed of functional and critical literacy. Consuming skill is one's ability to access new media to get intended information. Consuming skill means that one can utilize hardware and software to search and locate information. One's ability to make use of search engines and finding some information through it is kind of consuming literacy. And today, the search engine has become users' favorite to find out answers to everything. Hence, users can operate devices and know what they ought to do before doing so. They know kinds of sim cards, how to insert it, how to add credits, and install applications.

Consuming skills. Most of the new media users, whether adults or digital natives, practically acknowledge the "how to" but not "why and what". They know to switch on/ off computers or smartphones; they know the changes of android nomenclature; they know kinds of social media and instant messengers, but they are not aware of the similarities and differences between web 1.0 and web 2.0. Nonetheless, few of those digital users are really care if messages or information they got from social media, webs, or instant messengers come from trustworthy sources. When an individual is capable of grasping messages from media at the literal level, it means that he/ she understands what he/she is doing. Lin et al said that one's ability to get other people's ideas in different types of media (books, blogs, etc.) as well as to interpret the meaning of new short forms or emoticons are included in this skill. At this point, most of the netizens may not have difficulties in interpreting messages. They concern only with what is apparently provided. An individual with this type of literacy is likely to share what they read and believe without serious effort to find out whether it is true or false.

Another type of NML in consuming literacy is critical consuming. Its skill level is higher than of functional literacy although they occupy the same locus. Critical consuming has three skills: evaluation, synthesis, and analyses. Analyses mean that one is capable of deconstructing media messages (Lin et al, 2013: 164). It is more to semiotic textual analyses. One occupied with analytical skill is able to comprehend that media content is not neutral. All messages are framed and constructed based on certain purposes. If an individual has the ability in doing such skill, they will check and re-check the messages they read before deciding to share it or not. Synthesis refers to one's capability in remixing media content in a meaningful manner (Lin et al, 2013: 164). This ability is related to individual's skill in reconstructing media messages. Comparing the information about the same news from different types of media is the example. So, if someone gets a broadcast screenshot on the adultery deed of a famous religious figure, she or he will not directly confirm it as a truth. Evaluation refers to one's ability to question, critic, and challenge the credibility of media content (Lin et al: 164). When interpreting media messages, ones shall evaluate the content by deconstructing and reconstructing it. By doing so, they will know what issues (e.g. ideology, economic and political hegemony) used to construct the messages. If we notice, it is a little hard to differentiate those three skills. Evaluation, as stated by Lin et al, involve decision-making process which is not underlined in analyses and synthesis.

Prosuming media literacy consists of Prosuming skills, Distribution, Production, Participation, and creation. In general, prosuming skill refers to individual's technical capability of producing media content. This technical skill is composed of the ability to set up an online account (e.g. email, social media, and instant messenger); to create and modify digital artifacts by using certain software (e.g. pictures, videos); to make programs with computers or gadgets (e.g. tablets, smartphone). Distribution indicator refers to individual's ability to directly propagate media messages. Buckingham's point of view regarding this indicator, as quoted by Lin et al (2013: 165), is that the most significant developments in recent years have been to do with technologies of distribution rather that of production. At this level, we get a clearer viewpoint why new media content can spread nearly in time and place. For instance, we like and share our friend's postings on Facebook after finding out that it is in accordance with our own attitudes. Production is related to one's capability in making an exact copy (duplicate) of media contents partly or completely. Participation indicates a circumstance when a media user is capable of participating interactively and critically in the complex nature of new media. The last indicator of prosuming media literacy is creation. It refers to individual's abilities to create media content with a critical understanding of socio-cultural values and ideology issues (Lin et al, 2013: 166).

CONCLUSION

According to our point of view, hoaxes may be considered as irresponsible information that tends to propagate lies and to build misperception, especially through social media. This paper has come to a conclusion that new media literacy framework is applicable to categorize the characteristics of new media users. There should be serious attempts to implement the new media literacy education in formal institutions. It is useless to fight hoaxes, hate speech, pornification, or other fraudulent actions on the internet without eliminating the causing factors.

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JAPAN NEW SECURITY POLICY OF 2015: THE REASONS BEHIND AND IMPACT TOWARD JAPAN DOMESTIC POLITICS

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INTRODUCTION

As Japan World War 2 lost, the Allies particularly the United States held the highest authority of Tokyo during the vacuum of power. As the highest authority, the United States major action during the control was reformulating the constitution of Japan. The most significant part of the constitution to be talked about in this paper is the *Article 9* about Japanese Military Policy. This article, which was agreed by the Japanese society at that time and came into effect on May 3, 1947, contains a fact that Japan was not allowed to have military forces but *Jeitai* or Self Defense Forces (Umeda, 2006). Since the date, Japanese society lives under the pacifism with almost no significant protest regarding the constitution. This pacifism was strongly supported by the fact that United States will put their military base in Japan to be known as United States Force Japan (U.S Forces Japan Official Webpage).

After a long conduct period of Article 9 among Japanese society, the Japanese government was surprisingly formulated a new security policy that is not in line with the Article 9. Shinzo Abe Parliament was successfully passed the new security policy democratic process to end Japanese pacifism by enabling Japan to dispatch its troop abroad to protect other states especially close ally such as the United States other than self-defense only (Economist, 2015). During this 7 decades, Japan is only possessed their right to protect themselves as individual-defense other than collective defense to protect other states. Prior to that, it was predicted that the amendment would create a big shock toward Japanese society that is peacefully living their pacifism over 7 decades. We may start to wonder why the Japanese government is "suddenly" formulating a new security policy despite to stick with the constitution that was legitimate among the Japanese society over decades and how Japanese society is affected by the huge shock.

This paper discusses the reasons behind the new security policy and analyzing what are the further implications toward Japanese society. To find the reason behind new security policy it includes the 3 level of influence in shaping foreign policy; *global influence, state influence and individual influence*. In global influence, this paper discusses how Japan is pushing by the fact that Japan cannot avoid terrorist attack even though it has not involved in armed conflict and also the pushes of global along with regional security peacekeeping. The pressure to do more active participation under the campaign of UN Peace Keeping Operations (PKO), ISIS attack, and Senkaku-Diayou dispute and North Korean nuclear improvement will be the main cases. In state influence, this paper will argue that Japan was influenced by its demand to keep the existence of United States in Japan strong since the United States starts to decline. On the individual influence, it was supported by the Shinzo Abe ambition to create a better military relation with the United States and make his grandfather ambition in the past come true. Then this paper will analyze that this new security policy has created a big debate and major visible rejection from Japanese society that the public opinion could shape the foreign policy, in which the revision of Article 9 has less possibility to happen. At the end, this paper could conclude what is the new security policy impact toward Japanese society domestic politics and the reason behind new security policy.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper lies on two theories, the first one is Charles Kengley 3 level of influence and David Easton decision making process theory. First, according to Charles Kengley, there are three levels of analysis on how a country generates their behavior, they are a *global influence, state influence, and individual influence.* The global level of analysis emphasizes that the condition of the international environment may impact the foreign policy behavior of a state. State level of analysis is an approach that sees how internal conditions in a state could influence the state foreign policy. The individual level of analysis is an analytical perspective that concerns the psychological and personality variable that pushes people to do something, such as making foreign policy, on this case is the influential foreign policymaker and leader on the state (Charles Kengley, 2013).

Second, according to David Easton system theory, a political system is about input from society (demand and support) that is proceeded by the government through a political system that leads to an output (decisions and policies). After that, those decisions and policies that are presented to the society will lead to another input that is feedbacks and critics toward that policy (Budiarjo, 1977).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research was done using qualitative research method by collecting information from reliable sources and analyzed using the theoretical framework mentioned in the previous part.

FINDING AND ANALYSIS

Pushes toward Japan: Policy Making Multi-Level Analysis

In September 2015, it is such a huge distinctive step of Japan under Shinzo Abe leadership and Liberal Democratic

Party passed new security legislation that allows the Japanese army to fight abroad if Japan mainland or close ally is under attack. Prior to that, Japanese Article 9 was being reinterpreted some points to be allowing Japan to participate the overseas military operation. What are actually the factors that push Japan? Behind the current situation, there are reasons for that.

The First is *the global level* of influence. Since the very beginning, Japanese existence in the world peacekeeping is already been very appreciated and high expected. This high expectation and appreciation at the same time create a huge pressure toward Japan to participate more in the peacekeeping. It is known that in 2005 Japan along with Germany, India and Brazil are conducting a joint campaign in the United Nations Security Council Reform in the expansion of UNSC members. France, United Kingdom, and the United States are strongly supporting Japan candidacy (National Archive of United Kingdon, 2008). Being the candidate member of UNSC is strongly showing that Japan was expected to participate on the highest level of peacekeeping as the member of UNSC.

The biggest and most significant global influence is the push toward Japan to increase its participation in the world security since the Japanese UN Peacekeeping Operation (PKO) needs to be improved by using collective self-defense. In 1991, Japan was introducing "International Peace Cooperation Law" that possesses Japan the right to send its troops for UN peacekeeping under UN Command. Regardless the fact that it was limited to logistic support only Japan did contribute there, since its first application of policy in 1992, Japan has contributed to UN peacekeeping operations in Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique, El Salvador and the Golan Heights (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1997).

However, even though Japanese participation in the PKO is highly appreciated, the global community, represented by the

United States sees that Japanese participation could be improved. Along 2015, United States showed a high pressure toward UN members to increase its UN peacekeeping participation those are: visiting Brussels in March to push EU member to increase in peacekeeping participation after retreating for 2 decades and pushing the improvement of the UN peacekeeping in the meeting of 50 member states in New York through lobbying. In September 2015, the Washington pressure paid off by the fact that dozens of countries were reported to prepare their troops to fulfill the pressure (McGreal, 2015).

The United States does not directly push Japan on this case, but we can see that the United States has been supportive toward Japan's rearmament since Cold War starts (Soeya, 1998). Since the United States and Japan is very close ally, we can read that since Japan is also on its way to deploying its military by reinterpreting its constitution to support U.S campaign of global peacekeeping above

Another global influence that affects Japanese policy was the security issue development inside the region. Basically, there are 2 major regional security pressures toward Japan; the development of China's assertiveness and North Korea nuclear project pressed Japan to participate in the peacekeeping in the region. One other major factor that worsens the situation is the declining of United States Military Power in the region, particularly in Japan.

The first pressure is coming from the China military reform in which they are doubling their military power. It was known that after the Cold War, the East Asian Leaders vocally stated the thing that they do not want: (1) the domination of China and (2) withdrawal of United States presence in East Asia as the containment of Chinese power (Goh, 2011). Recently, the first thing that East Asia does not want above is having a tendency to happen; Xi Jinping reform the Chinese military to be more assertive. The assertiveness is bothering Japan in two ways: (1) China claim on Senkaku-Daiyou Island and (2) China extreme claim in the South China Sea.

The China claim of Senkaku Island was actually a long-term problem compared to the recent new security policy issues. On the other hand, the diplomatic talk between Tokyo and Beijing regarding Senkaku Island hasn't been successful for decades (Goh, 2011). The possibility of military confrontation keeps increasing between both countries, but as long as Japanese military cannot join the arms race in the region, China will be always one-step ahead of Japan that could lead to a bigger assertiveness that nobody wants. Thus, according to security dilemma theory, this situation is possibly becoming a conflict since everyone has a weapon but at the other side creating deterrence effect from war since nobody wants destruction.

Meanwhile in South China Sea dispute, in the conflict, it is known that China is the most assertive country. China claim is extremely wide until it extended into the other countries border such as this picture beside says (Stearns, 2015). China claims 9 dash-line, it created U-shape and the size is about 3.5 million square kilometers. Those kinds of claim are based on historical record and geographical proximity. This kind of concept and map are declared on 1947 by Communist People's Republic (ABC News, 2016). In this time, China refuses to clarify the exact of their claims.

China's assertiveness has also built high-frequency radar, communication towers, and observation posts under construction on Cuarteron Reef (Reynolds, 2014). Besides the radar system, China also established airstrips in the Spratly Islands (Mchugh, 2015). The airstrip is equipped with the missiles on the surface and air of disputed island (Hunt, 2016). This is indeed triggered the higher tension with other states which its claim is going beyond their borders such as Vietnam, Brunei, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Philippine is known to be one who is the most threatened by China because its vital islands are being claimed.

Due to that extreme assertiveness, Philippines long-time close ally United States is into this conflict on the side of Philippines. Recently the United States was sending warplanes to push the China's assertiveness as an ally (Moss, 2016). To be remembered, United States is a close ally of Japan in which this condition pushes Japan to have its own military for peacekeeping, which is aimed to help the United States, the Philippines to push China's assertiveness (Cahiles, 2016). If there is a balance of power in the South China Sea, which Japan could prove its power there, it is more likely that Japan will get less any threat from China as the theory.

The other major global influence regarding regional security is the North Korea aggressive nuclear weapon improvement. April 2016, the rate of activity and movement of North Korea nuclear improvement has been doubled since March 2016, which strongly alleged to be the fifth nuclear test (Johnson, 2016). The Japanese new security policy might help the peacekeeping since it could improve the balance of power in the region against North Korea. For decades, South Korea and Japan was mainly relying on the United States presence in the region to counterbalance the North Korean nuclear improvement (Goh, 2011).

Lastly, there are many rapid changes of global security circumstances that Japan has to adapt. Japan has to be ready to the more assertive threats toward them. One of the major factors that triggered Shinzo Abe to generate a new security policy is when Japanese legitimacy in the world security is being doubted after the execution of the two Japanese citizens Kenji Goto and

Haruna Yukawa by the ISIS (Flacker, 2015). The inability of Japan to deploy its military forces abroad and its principal for not negotiating with terrorist creates paradox problematic situation for Japan. At one side, the G8 agreement in 2013 "not to negotiate with terrorist" will damage Japanese relation with close allies such as European countries and the United States if Japan decided to pay the $200 million ransom to the ISIS as well as encouraging the terrorist for more abduction. Meanwhile, Japan has no authority to deploy a military evacuation of the hostages due to the pacifist constitution that Japan has, since the Self-Defense Forces are only available to protect Japanese Mainland. Requesting help for an ally to do military evacuation such as the United States will be really hard for Washington itself since they will put their army members at risk for others' state citizen sake. Other than that, United States Forces in Japan is only authorized to maintain peacekeeping in the areas of Japan, according to Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and The United States of America in 1960 (Japan - U.S Security Treaty, 1960).

It was so unfortunate that Japanese government failed to save Kenji and Haruna at the end while ISIS stated that they will keep threatening Japanese and Japanese nightmare just started. In action toward this, Japan was attempting to increase the security in their embassies abroad which it is believed to give more protection toward Japanese outside their mainland. The increasing of the security is not seen as an enough decision to create deterrence toward Japanese threats. Thus, Shinzo Abe feels that Japan needs to adapt with the global security issue seeing the fact that being not involved in any conflict doesn't keep Japan from threats.

Second, the *state influence.* The major state influence of the Japanese decision to create new security policy from domestic aspect majorly supported by two major thing: (1) there is a demand from Japan to make the United States keep staying in Okinawa while United States power starts to decline while Japan needs it to balance China & North Korea and (2) the fact that Japan itself is powerful to protect himself.

It is known under Barrack Obama presidency, the United States has been shifting its foreign policy grand strategy from Primacy to Offshore Balancing. Offshore balancing grand strategy focuses on the resetting the strategic priorities of United States due to its economic constraint (McGrath & Evans, 2013). This strategy mainly concerns on the withdrawal of some military power that the United States was spreading all over the world and rearrange it over again. This paper sees that Japan is strongly affected by this grand strategy which could lead to some problematic circumstances. At one side, this grand strategy could decrease United States priority in Japan but at the other side, Japan still needs United States power presence in East Asia, particularly in Japan to balance the power of North Korea and China.

It is proven by the fact that on 2010 United States and Japan created a pact that stated Japan agrees to keep the spending on Okinawa Base to support United States military base in Japan (Slavin & Sumida, 2010). This is showing a declination of United States power in Okinawa then complemented with the Japanese economic ability. On the other hand, the United States on 2013 are reported to make more billion funding to military base around the world instead of troops reduction (CBS, 2013). This clearly represents the Offshore Balancing grand strategy since they start to reprioritize the military strategy in the world community under President Obama. The priority is quite extreme to the extent that people of United States are feeling threaten by the less-prioritized national security.

The Japanese active military for collective self-defense indeed could fulfill the Japanese demand for keeping the

U.S power in Japan to balance North Korea and China. The declining military power of United States is a huge loss both for Japan and United States itself, but a benefit for a 'rival' country in the arms race. At one time, the U.S rival Russia has been increasing its military budget by 30%, China has been building an artificial military island in the South China Sea but NATO as U.S ally has been cutting its budget for 15% (Bennett, 2015). So, United States highly welcome the new security policy of Japan as well as Japan feel secured by covering United States declination to balance China and North Korea.

The state influence of Okinawa at the other side also means that the United States burden to take the role as the active military actor of Japan decreased, which rationally beneficial for the United States. Proven by the fact, that U.S response towards the new security policy was the Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel statement that praised Japan for enforcing an aim "to make a greater contribution to regional and global peace and security." For addition, Pentagon Press Secretary, Navy Rear Admiral John Kirby, emphasized that the new security policy was "an encouraging sign for the Alliance moving forward." (Sasakawa USA, 2015).

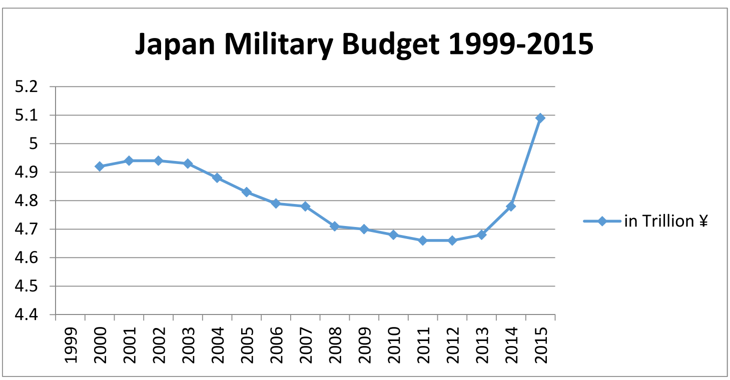


Figure 3. Japanese Defense Budget (in Trillion Yen) on 2000-2014 Fiscal Year

Proceed to the reason why actually Japan is actually self-sufficient to build its own military. It is known that Japanese prime minister Shinzo Abe immediately launched successful Abenomics, an economic master plan to improve the economic gain through 3 "arrows" those are monetary easing, fiscal stimulus, and structural reforms aimed at achieving long-term growth (Hausman, 2015). The ambition of Shinzo Abe in reviving Japanese economy that was accompanied by several Japanese policies in security aspect, the major ones was to increase its military power due to China military buildup (Gaens, 2014). Recently in September 2015 Japanese Ministry of Defense was proposing a record 5.09 trillion yen ($42.38 billion) defense budget for fiscal year 2016, 2.2 percent increased from the current fiscal year and accepted by Shinzo Abe in December 2015, it is known as the biggest military budget increase of Japan in 14 years (Gady, 2015). In addition to this fact, Japanese military is known as the 5th biggest spender in the military even though its expenditure is only 1% of GDP (Gaens, 2014).

Strengthen by the diagram on figure 1 that represents the increasing of Japanese military budget after 2012 (Bendini, 2015). The increasing military budget might be really major to determine a country military power in number, but it took more attempts to allocate its quantity into quality. Thus Japan needs to establish more bodies to achieve that and produce more military industry. Japan has also built National Security Council and lifted the ban on the arms export (Bendini, 2015).

These two things are essential as the parameter of a state military ability. Abe prominently sees that to generate powerful and strategic military outcome state need information to create an initiative of actions thus he established NSC. National Security Council is a military entity that aimed to gather information as much as possible, from low to high, from classified to open ones in the term to help a state to create a strategic military decision in a crisis. This signs that Japan is started to be aware of being an active player to face and solve the crisis, no longer a passive actor that lives under the major pacifism for decades.

If the two parameters above shows how Japan has its increasing military power and has its mastermind to control it through information gathering entity, Japan also does not forget to show the world indirectly that they are independently able to create a prominent military weapons which mean Japan doesn't stand behind any ally even though alliance is also important for them. It is also known that Japan is relaxing it's military export, On 1 April 2014, in the incoming time Japan is allowed to sell and distribute the prominent weaponry in the term for peacekeeping. The only exception is to sell it to a communist state or the state under United Nations Sanction (Sakaki, 2015).

Third, *the individual influence* of Shinzo Abe as a decision maker and leader. There are 3 major individual influences that affect Shinzo Abe decision: (1) Shinzo Abe ambition to always increase the military alliance with the United States and his ambition to bring back the 'great' Japan as a conservative and (2) Abe's ambition to realize its grandfather mission about Japanese military.

Revising the Article 9 was Abe personal ambition as a conservative. It is quite famous that Shinzo Abe has a strong conservative stance inside himself. This conservativeness is represented by his thought that is strongly willing to bring the 'Great Japan' back (Yellen, 2014). The prime minister and like-minded conservatives want Japan to become a "normal" country with only limited restrictions on military activities. They want

Japan to have a powerful military power as other big states, which they want to revise the Article 9. On the other hand, Shinzo Abe wants to have as a stronger military alliance with the United States to increase the balance of China. Even though Japan has increased military budget, it is still dwarfed by the China military budget (Bendini, 2015). The United States was always pressing Japan to be more proactive in the peacekeeping with Washington, regardless the fact that the United States is guaranteeing Japanese security. Abe fears that if Tokyo does not participate the United States will decrease its support to balance China in Senkaku- Diayou dispute (Yellen, 2014).

While at another side, there was a historical family personal ambition of Shinzo Abe. Shinzo Abe was the grandchildren of ex-Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke mKishi that passed away on 1987. His grandfather was the post-war prime minister that has the ambition to revive the Japanese military power. In 1960, there was a huge demonstration and protest in Japan against the United States – Japan Military Alliance that was preceded by Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi (Haberman, 1987). Regardless people of Japan really fear that Japan will be involved in another war (the same fear on Abe recently), Prime Minister Kishi did not see it as a significant threat for the treaty. Decades after that, his grandchild is becoming Japanese prime minister known as Shinzo Abe. So, Shinzo Abe wanted to actualize his grandfather ambition since he is now in office and has the power to do that in contemporary Japanese circumstances.

How Far Is It Impacting Japanese Society and Domestic Politics?

On this part, this paper is going to analyse how significant it impacted Japanese Society, the reason behind that and also to what extent it is predicted to influence the future Article

9 revision through public opinion. The new security policy is indeed something completely new toward nowadays Japanese society which living under pacifism for decades. As we can guess, a big objection from all spectrums of Japanese society is all concentrated toward this new security policy. This part is going to found out what is the reason behind the rejection and also found out what will be the predicted outcome due to the rejection. Is Abe still going to revise Article 9?

First, as everybody was guessing, it impacted Japanese society until the extend it involves all spectrum of society from all ages to reject the policy. Even before this policy was voted, there was a fight among the parliament members among the opposing and the ruling party (Mortimer, 2015). The debate among the opposition and the government is actually a natural thing in the democratic parliament, but when it goes to the physical fight inside the house there must be something really extreme and controversial happens there.

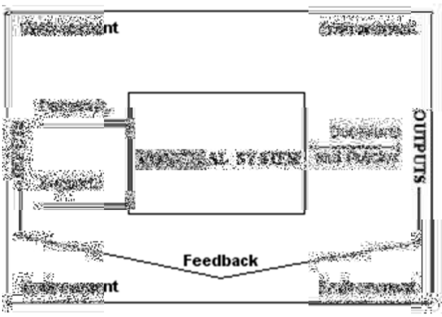
When the upper diet announced that Japan is now able to possess the collective self-defense right, society from all groups was coming to the street to voice out their objection. The group of society this new security policy impacted Japanese society also until the extent it improves the society participation in political matters, especially the youth. It was known that Japan has a low youth political participation is very low in Japan shown by only one in three people in their 20s vote in the recent Japanese general election on December 2014 (Economist, 2015). The Economist also reported that the demonstration also gained the participation from a group of mothers with their children, a group of academician and also a group of Buddhist religionist ones. It also impacted to the Japanese political participation shown by the fact that the rally in Tokyo involves 120,000 citizens and recorded as the biggest after Fukushima and nuclear weapon protest (Takenaka, 2015).

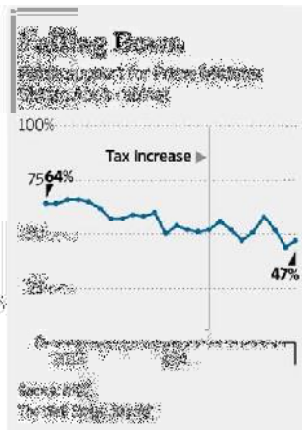
The biggest rationalization of this rejection of Japanese people is their fear of Japanese involvement in war since Japan is the only country in the world who ever suffered the atomic bomb. It is very well known that Japanese has gone through a lot in the matter of war; we can point out Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombing in 1945 as the case. In a matter of second, about 105,000 people became dust and 94,000 others were suffering the physical mutation and wounds (The Manhattan Engineer District, 1946). Besides that, Japan was also suffering in the economic depression after the bombing which caused the misery last longer due to the hunger and less medical assistance. Due to this extreme casualties and trauma, Japanese society builds its pacifism, since Japanese pacifism is not based on religion or moral either human rights but triggered on the Hiroshima attack and its remorse of initiating the war. Japanese pacifism is well known as 'Cult of Hiroshima' which described as black corps as the victim of the atomic war (Cai, 2008). Besides that, there are also huge criticisms such as the assumption that the government is being hyperbolic about the threats of China and North Korea; the situation was much tenser during the Cold War in which East Asia was the arena of proxy war among USSR-US signed by the fall of China to communism. Seeing the threat of ISIS toward Japanese "pacifist" citizen, makes some spectrum of Japanese society are afraid if Japanese still could be threatened under pacifism, the threat will get bigger if Japan has an active military.

Now we analyze how the rejection and fear formed a public opinion. According to David Easton famous Decision Making Process diagram, we can analyze that the Japanese public opinion could be legitimate to decide an issue in the government in this case. It was shown that the input will be preceded as demand and support in the political system of a state which will give the society an output as policies and decisions. The circle will always go in the matter of feedback.

Contextualized with the Japanese political condition, here is how it will impact the Japanese political decision cycle:

- Demand: global and regional security pressures gets high
- Political system: upper and lower diet in the parliament accepted this proposal
- Outcome: Japan reinterpret the Article 9 so it could conduct more collaboration with U.S Forces
- Feedback: More than a half of Japanese rejected this new security policy(BBC, 2015)





Now we are analyzing what will this feedback gives to the further cycle run in the Japanese political decision on the revision of the Article 9. Since we know that more than a half than Japanese people rejects this policy, rationally this Article 9 would never be revised at the first place since it doesn't represent the people voice. Even if the Article 9 is revised, it is very possible that the mass rally will overthrow Shinzo Abe like people of Japan overthrew his grandfather Nobusuke Kishi in 1960 due to his Treaty of U.S-Japan Military Alliance (Hayashi, 2014). Moreover, the overthrow of Abe will be also possible because since 2013 (in the year he increased the military budget) the support already been decreased significantly as the graph below shows.

CONCLUSION

The reason why Japanese government passes this security policy could be understood using the 3 level of analysis in forming foreign policy: global influence, state influence, and individual influence. In the *global influence*, the changes of security condition in the global community make Japan can't avoid any threat even though it doesn't involve in any war, represented by the case of the ISIS murder of Japanese journalist. The global pressure to increase Japanese participation in UN Peacekeeping Operation was also the case. The regional security higher tension was also the major influence. In the *state influence*, there is a demand from Japan to keep the existence of United States in Japan strong since the United States starts to decline. The active military body is really welcomed by U.S since it could help both states. Besides that, Japanese capability of military budget, bodies, and technology is sufficient to establish military that is more independent. In the individual influence, the Prime Minister Shinzo Abe personal ambition of conservativeness and the legacy mission from his grandfather Nobusuke Kishi to build independent military in Japan majorly influence his individual as a leader.

It impacted to the Japanese society until the extend it increased the political participation of the people in the form of rejection of the policy. Going down to society, the demonstration involves all spectrum of society from all age and all group. They are very traumatic of World War 2 destruction. This rejection may lead to the not revised Article 9 since more than a half of Japanese rejected this. Nevertheless, if the Japanese government still revised fully the Article 9, the overthrowing of Shinzo Abe would be possible as his grandfather was also resigned due to the protest of US-Japanese Military Alliance.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF OPENNESS ELECTRONIC PROCUREMENT IN EAST KALIMANTAN IN THE 2011-2015

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INTRODUCTION

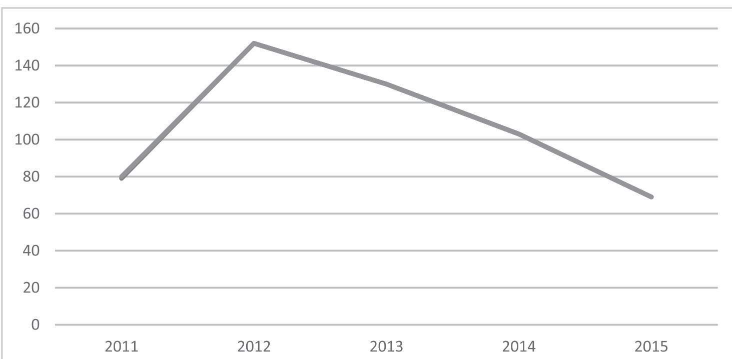
The procurement of the government is an important part of the process of the development of a country. The procurement of the government is activities to obtain goods and services by / ministry institutions / of regional taskforce / other institutional. It begins from the process of planning with the needs of the round until all the activities to obtain goods and services, by the use of budget revenues and state expenditures (APBN) and budget revenues and regional spending (Perpres number 4 2015). Government goods and services procurement in Indonesia is an activity that is very crucial. Government goods and services procurement are conducted every year by government agencies, to meet the need of activity the government and to improve public services can be achieved through the provision of infrastructure, telecommunication, health facilities, education, and even poverty reduction a supporting the economic growth the people in Indonesia.

Procurement in Indonesia had transformed from being electronic conventional for quite a long time. Indonesia new system e-procurement as a procurement started since 2002 until now. According to perpres number 4 years 2015, e-procurement is procurement conducted using technology information and electronic transaction by the provisions legislation. In 2010, there are 48 government agencies in Indonesia both at the center and in the regions have applied e-procurement (LKPP, 2010). Many benefits felt in on use e-procurement among the preparations are the system e-procurement, performance of government agencies can increase, because the purchase made with directly select items that are in the system so as to diminish a tendency error. Tenders selection goods and services the government is done in online over the internet to make the process effective, efficient, and transparent (Candra, accessed by http://sbm.binus.ac.id/2016/03/17/e-procurement-di-indonesia/ on 20th, August 2016).

East Kalimantan as a province that the number of procurement goods and services are many, from the data mixed by taking a sample 10% of the total number of procurement in the 2011-2015 which is 5350 procurement taken is 535 packages procurement of them in 2011 the number of package procurement of goods and services is 79 packages bidder followed by 2011 auction participants. In 2012 the number of package auction increased which is 152 packages auction and followed by 3434 auction participants. The following year, in 2013 the total number of package auction is 130 packages with total auction participants by 4312 participants. In 2014, total procurement of goods and services were 103 packages with total members that are 3734 participants who joined auction tender. Then, in 2015 is experiencing a few the decrease in procurement of goods and services as much as 69 packages with the total number of participants 2145 auction participants (data processed through website LPSE East Kalimantan, 2016).

Competitiveness or level competitive local company in East Kalimantan quite high especially competitiveness at the regional level or local. According to the LPSE, East Kalimantan number of a company that participates in the tender from 2011 up to 2015 the winner dominated by local company or area, where 2011 from 78 company who won tender, 64 of them won by of regional company and the rest company outside the region. In 2012 of 152 company who won auction 131 the company is the regional company, and 21 other participants is a company outside the region. In 2013, 115 the winning bidder are regional companies, and 15 other is a company outside the region. In 2014 than 103 the winning bidder, 88 the company is is the company regions, and 15 other companies from outside the area. In 2015 there are 69 auction participants, but only five company derived from outside the area, and 64 other are a regional company.

According to national data already processed in the 2011-2015 East Kalimantan is provincial has increased providers an area sufficiently high being with other provinces as West Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, Riau, etc. (data processed in national, 2016). Here the table of e-procurement fluctuating In West Kalimantan in the 2011-2015:



Fluctuating Number of E-procurement In West Kalimantan In the 2011-2015

Source: Data Processed by Website LSPE West Kalimantan, 2016

This data showed that e-procurement has been giving the impact toward the companies that involved in tendering process. It will become question why the procurement of government is come down In 2012-2015, besides the e-procurement give the benefits impact. Therefore, from the data, this research aims to analyze what the implications of the electronic openness procurement In East Kalimantan In 2014-2015.

RESEARCH QUESTION

How the implications of the electronic openness procurement with the decrease some e-procurement In the East Kalimantan from 2011 until 2015?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this research used the qualitative method analysis or qualitative approach. It is defined as an approach in research that uses interpretation as the method to understand the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The data collected is through deepened interviews with respondents related to this research and through library research. A literature study was done by reading and studying the materials literature related to the research by the author. Then, research will be conducted in East Kalimantan Province to collect data related to the implications of openness electronic procurement in East Kalimantan in 2014-2015. The Subjects used in research related to the implications of openness electronic procurement in East Kalimantan in the 2014-2015 are several providers Company for goods and services electronically which won the tender work in East Kalimantan, head of LPSE of East Kalimantan Province, and staff LPSE East Kalimantan Province.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

E-procurement

E-procurement was the embodiment e-government more than technical. In practice, e-government is important to simplify the process of working government agencies. Many services or immaterial things that e-government then applied in practice, which is e-procurement.

According to a list of words, X-Solution in E-Journal UAJY (2014) mentioned that "E-procurement is a term from procurement or purchase of electronically. E-procurement is part of e-business and used to design procurement processes based on the internet that optimized in a company. E-procurement not only relating to the process of purchasing but also covering electronic negotiations and decision-making over contracts with suppliers. The process of purchasing simplified to the management of electronic for tasks that deal with the operation, duties that deals with strategy be granted a larger role in the process".

According to the X-Solution word lists in e-journal UAJY (2014) states that "E-procurement is a term of procurement or purchase electronically. E-procurement is part of e-business and is used to design Internet-based procurement processes are optimized in a company. E-procurement is not only related to the procurement process alone but also includes electronic negotiations and decision-making on contracts with suppliers. The purchase process is simplified with the handling of electronics for tasks related to the operation, the tasks related to the strategy can be given a more important role in that process."

According to Sutedi (2014), e-procurement is an auction system in the procurement of government goods and services using information technology and Internet-based communications that can take place in an effective, efficient, open and accountable. Procurement of Government Goods and Services from now on referred to as the Procurement of Goods / Services is an activity to obtain goods/services by the Ministry / Agency / Regional Work Units / Institutions more process starts planning needs until completion of all activities to obtain goods/services (Module PBJ LKPP, 2010).

The process is regulated by Presidential Decree Number 54 The year 2010 concerning Procurement of Government Goods and Services. Organizing agency procurement of goods and services or commonly called LKPP RI (Public Procurement Agency of the Republic of Indonesia) which has been established under Presidential Decree No. 106 of 2007. LKPP is an institution qualified procurement policy, have the capability and authority to produce and develop a wide range of policies that can realize the procurement of goods and services are trusted in Indonesia (LKPP MoU signing with St. Louis, 2 April 2016).

Procurement of goods and services electronically in government is one powerful way to reduce corruption in Indonesia because its implementation is open and can coast at any time, other than it is an electronic procurement is also a process (Henriksen and Mahnike, 2004) in (Nurmandi and Kim, 2015) which increase the competition among those competitors (Mahmood, 2001) in (Nurmandi and Kim, 2015) and reduce human intervention in the process of the auction. Automation procurement and create an open competition for each supplier can monitor the auction process online anywhere and anytime involves human intervention in the bidding process will be lower because of the system of openness in e-procurement (Nurmandi and Kim, 2015). It also can encourage users of e-procurement in the auction process to monitor constantly, make procurement quicker and easier (Hanna, 2011) in (Nurmandi and Kim, 2015) and to get the best quality or price and ratio (Awang, 2009) in (Nurmandi and Kim, 2015). The hope with the e-procurement system that is designed more transparent could reduce the rate of corruption in the procurement program of goods/services in the government both at national and local levels.

According to Nurmandi (2013), E-procurement is an important instrument to prevent corruption in goods and services procurement budget. Indonesia has been implementing the e-procurement project since 2008 based on Presidential Decree. President has stipulating annual order (presidential instruction) has to be obeyed by all ministries and local governments to procure their budget through the e-procurement mechanism. However, until 2012 fiscal year, this research found that only around 10.26% of central government institution procurement budget, including ministries and 21.10% of local government procurement budget did procure through procurement method. The research by Nurmandi concluded that regulation, leadership, and procurement institution are challenging factors to make "status quo" e-procurement.

The Objectives of e-procurement

The purpose of e-procurement described in presidential regulation number 54 of the year 2010 on the procurement of goods and services the government on article 107:

1. increase transparency and accountability
2. Enhance market access and fair competition in
3. Processes improve monitoring and audit
4. Meet the needs of access to information real time

The principles in e-procurement

According to the president of the Republic Of Indonesia number 54 of the year 2010 on the procurement of goods and services the government in LKPP module for 2010, here is the principles to be executed in the conduct of procurement of goods and services the government:

a. Efficient means procurement goods or services must be planted using the funds and the limited to reach the goal which set in a period and can be accounted for.
b. Effective means procurement of goods and services must be in accordance with the needs which have already established and can be beneficial for dependence the mark that has been set.
c. Open and competitive, means procurement shall be open for providers of goods or services meet the requirements and done through competition between providers of goods or services equivalent and meet certain criteria according to the rules and procedures clear as well as transparent.
d. transparent, means that all the provisions and information on the procurement of goods or services, including technical requirements administration of procurement, procedures of evaluation, the evaluation results, the determination of prospective providers of goods or services which are interested as well as for society in general.
e. Fair and not discriminating, means give equal treatment for all prospective providers goods or services and not leading to give an advantage to certain parties in a manner or whatever reason.
f. Accountable, means have to reach the goal of either physical financial and benefits for the smooth operation of a common task, the government and community service in accordance principles and regulation in acquiring goods or services.

The objective of the implementation of e-procurement in the public sector is reformation process of goods and services procurement. From the various studies done based on the experience of the countries around the world, the implementation of eprocurement is to prevent or to reduce the level of corruption (Neupane in Nurmandi, 2013). E-procurement can improve the efficiency over traditional procurement methods (Chang, 2011 and Hanna, 2010). The process of goods and services procurement electronically has obviously omitted the use of paper for the providers or the budget users. The providers just upload all documents by the existing website without coming to the office. E-procurement can also reduce the less necessary projects (Achterstraat in Nurmandi, 2013).

With e-procurement, only the projects needed by the people need be sold at auction. However, this assumption is only valid in the economically advanced countries. In developing countries, many projects are proposed by politicians for their personal interests (Murray in Nurmandi, 2013).

Tony Bovaird (2003) noted that implications of ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) implementation, particularly e-procurement, namely:

a. The new generation of ICT driven reforms has interacted with a number of other important movements which have implications for organizational arrangements in the public sector
b. ICT drivers for changes to organizational structures, processes and behaviours in public services
c. New organizational configurations in public services
d. he role of ICT in achieving organizational integration.

Application of ICT in public procurement also has important implications on organizational structures, processes, and behaviours in public services. Bovaird (2003) expain that improved use of databases in the organizations. The stocks of knowledge in the organization should help both in improving the decisions which get made and in implementing decisions more consistently. Secondly, Bovaird (2003) explain that better communications in an organization improved decision-making in an organization, partly through the use of the organization's databases.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Procurement of government goods and services are switching from convention to e-procurement. The impacts are so significant to reduce the budget of APBN and APBD, proved in 2014 recorded 88 thousand packages have been tendered electronically with a value of more than Rp 227 trillion, which means that the transaction has been save more than Rp. 10 trillion (LKPP, 2014). It is indirectly also affect companies providing goods and services to compete to win the tender in government e-procurement the so-called e-tendering. E-tendering is the process of procurement of goods or services, followed by the provider of goods/services electronically through one means or with the public tender offer (Presidential Decree No. 4 of 2015).

The implementation of e-procurement system in East Kalimantan Province raises the implications both provider and the government. In the other hand, e-procurement has given not only the positive impacts but also negative impacts toward the implementation of procurement. Basically in this study described procurement into four types:

a. Goods, which every object either tangible or intangible, movable or immovable, which can be traded, used, used or utilized by the user of goods (Module LKPP, 2010). For example: raw materials, semi-finished goods, finished goods / appliances, living creatures.
b. The construction work, it is all work related to the implementation of the construction or the manufacture of other physical form (Module LKPP, 2010). An example is the work on the building includes work architectural, civil, mechanical, electrical and environmental arrangement along with the accessories, building construction ships, aircraft or combat vehicles, work related to land preparation,

excavation and/or land arrangement (landscaping), assembly or installation component fabrication, demolition (demolition), and cleaning (removal), reforestation and etc.

c. consultancy services, namely professional services that require specific expertise in various fields of science that put their mind (brain ware) (Module LKPP, 2010). Examples: engineering services (engineering); planning services (planning), design (design), and control (supervision) for work other than construction; such as transportation, education, health, fisheries, forestry, marine, environmental, aerospace, agriculture, business development, trade, human resource development, tourism, post and telecommunications, industrial, mining, energy; membership service professions, such as advisory services, assessment services, advisory services, technical assistance, management consultants, and legal consultants.
d. Other services, ie services that require certain capabilities that prioritizes skills (skillware) in a system of governance that has been widely known in the business world to complete a job or any employment and / or the provision of services other than consulting services, execution of construction works and procurement goods (Module LKPP, 2010). Examples: catering, hygiene services, insurance services, flight services, and others.

Procurement of goods and services electronically (electronic government procurement) is the process of procurement of government goods and services that the implementation is done electronically based website or internet by utilizing information and communication technology. One of the purposes of the procurement of goods and services electronically (e-procurement) that improve transparency or openness. Openness is expected by the e-procurement system is all the procurement process from start to finish procurement procurement walk openly, society can easily monitor via computer online. One example is the announcement of the electronic auction (e-procurement) other than through the notice board announced the executing agencies also announced the provision of a national portal via LPSE. With the development of technology and information systems, the announcement of the auction conducted on this day, at the same time has also been spread in cyberspace and can be accessed by any person (LKPP, 2010).

Here are the implications of Openness e-procurement in East Kalimantan Province, 2011-2015:

1. Clearer Terms and Information

   Clarity that the government is able to explain to the public in this case is good for providers of goods/ services that have been registered in LPSE East Kalimantan province and the general public who want to know the type of procurement that have been held or are being auctioned by the government that ULP. Explained from the beginning that e-procurement aims to increase transparency, because the information and all the provisions are open to providers of goods / services that are interested and able to participate in the auction without any discrimination. As for the legal basis and the implementation of technical regulations in the procurement of goods and services electronically open in East Kalimantan province by:

   1) Presidential Decree Number 54 Year 2010 concerning Procurement of goods/services of the Government which has been updated to Presidential Decree No. 4 of 2015 on the procurement of goods/ services of the Government.

   2) Regulation of the Procurement Agency Goods/Services No. 1 of 2011 regarding the procedure of e-tendering.

2. Creation the fair competitivenes With the disclosure of the clarity of the information related to the procurement

of goods and services electronically can create healthy competition, because if it is not time for the procurement of goods / services were announced on the portal LPSE East Kalimantan province, it is like the committee as well as company providers who participate in the auction procurement and services are not going to know the goods / services procurement anything that will be held in East Kalimantan provincial government agencies. This course can guarantee transparency in the procurement of government goods and services electronically for information relating to the procurement of government goods / services will be announced directly to the public melali portal LPSE East Kalimantan province so that all providers who participate in the auction and even the public can access and viewed directly online (Sagita, 2016).

3. Reducing corruption in the procurement of government goods / services

   This clarity and conditions and information disclosure to the public of a technical nature and can reduce cases of administrative corruption, collusion and nepotism in the procurement of government goods / services, especially electronically.

4. Meeting the needs of real-time information access

   Clarity in technical and administrative information can be said to satisfy the needs of real-time information access to the procurement committee, the application of e-procurement and the public who want to know the auction procurement of goods and services electronically. So the need for access to real time it becomes automatic if you want to know information related to the auction of goods / services procurement of government. For the provider itself if there are schedule changes or information is important, and suddenly it will immediately enter into a corporate email their official recorded in LPSE East Kalimantan province that participate in the auction procurement of goods and services electronically (Interview with LPSE East Kalimantan Province, dated November 3, 2016).

5. Creating and improving active participant provider of e-procurement

   The openness of e-procurement system between the provider of the goods/services and the government will eventually create active provider where companies providing goods/ services will follow the auction procurement of goods/services of the government well. The company will be interested to register as applicators for their e-procurement system of openness in the procurement of goods and services auction. LPSE East Kalimantan Province is committed strive to procure goods and services in an open and transparent electronics. LPSE East Kalimantan province strives to always provide information procurement auctions are open from starting the job site, HPS, when registration is opened, until their rebuttal. Therefore, when no objection was not home to deliver a rebuttal, but actually counter that quality is not just a rebuttal.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion of the results of research that has been described in the previous chapter, then in research are:

1. The e-procurement has a positive impact on companies local providers to compete to win the tender of the Provincial Government of East Kalimantan.
2. Aspects of openness in implementing e-procurement in the province of East Kalimantan is already quite well with the clarity of information in every part of the auction procurement of goods and services electronically.

3. To ensure transparency in any auction system of procurement of goods and services that is the way to build a direct communication with the procurement committee, the auction participant companies, even society. So that the information submitted in accordance with the original.
4. The perceived benefits by openness is the lack of clarity associated with all kinds of auction information, can create healthy competition, can reduce cases of corruption in the procurement of goods / services of the government, can meet the needs of real-time information access, and can create and improve active participant providers of goods and services.

RECOMMENDATION

Based on research done electronically either through interviews and documentation and descriptions noted earlier, the researchers propose the following suggestion that the application of e-procurement in the system should be repaired in order to create greater transparency open to the public, so that later the escort of the public towards e-procurement more intensively.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BORDER MARKERS REVITALIZATION AND ITS POTENTIAL THREATS AND CHALLENGES FROM SOCIO-LEGAL ANALYSIS, AT LAND BORDER BETWEEN INDONESIA-MALAYSIA AS MANIFESTATIONS OF INDONESIA'S SOVEREIGNTY (CASE STUDY TEMAJUK VILLAGE, SAMBAS REGENCY, WEST BORNEO PROVINCE)

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INTRODUCTION

A sovereign state has absolute authority over its territory. As consequences, the state is able to implement the power considering the notion of state cannot be separated from sovereignty. The sovereignty of a state embodies matters related to territorial as well as state responsibilities in across sectors.

As previously mentioned, Indonesia as a sovereign state has responsibilities toward its territorial (Tsani, 1990). This definitely includes border region as state's front gate, since border regions are a paramount manifestation of territorial sovereignty. Further, territorial borders are an inseparable part of a unified state, as far as they are recognized by a treaty or commonly acknowledged without any formal state declarations.

Aside from that, border areas are also strategic and vital regarding the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) framework. In consideration, border regions have the promising opportunity due to geographical matters, with the potential of overflow natural resources as well as market opportunities for its proximity to neighboring countries. Moreover, the regions are politically vital, because they are essential to the extent of state sovereignty aspects thoroughly.

In fact, every border region has the potential of leading sectors. For example, richness in biodiversity, specific local commodity, local handicraft and commercial products, unique traditions and strongly maintained local custom, a natural landscape which can be a tourist attraction, as well as the potential lies on the human resources as a functional system and other supporting elements in developing border regions.

Hence, to shift the paradigm from the ones who assumed the border areas are mere as a backyard, then it would be crucial to guarantee a better primary needs, housing, education, health, and supporting infrastructure for these areas. Also, it is also necessary to alleviate developing areas by accelerating proactive state action within the area (Lamb, 1965). The constitutional rights compliance should be facilitated to its fullest and as equal as manifested in urban cities.

Up to today, the border regions remain as one of the crucial issues, including the one which located between West Kalimantan and Malaysia likewise. In the early years, before the introduction of modern state concept (after Westphalia Treaty 1648), there was no clear official border between countries due to their cultural background. It is in the view of Indonesia's Chronicle, which shares cultural similarities with Malaysia from ethnolinguistic family, namely Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) that has its same roots of languages and share historical experience (Lahnisafitra, 2005).

The border in a legal term was later introduced and created on the island of Borneo with a total length of 2004 kilometers. With the border markers existence on the field, it was expected both states can fully perform their sovereignty without any claims over certain section. However, since its establishment in 1970's, specifically in Temajuk village, there was no proper restoration of the border markers. Moreover, the condition of current physical border markers is in the worrying situation. Besides, their functions are often disregarded by the locals. Thus, it can be assumed that border markers merely act as a symbol without having its legal enforcement power. Accordingly, this devastating condition has an impact not only on legal and security issues but also social aspects (Soekamto, 2014). Also, this has even triggered a threat and transnational organized crimes to national security.

Among the problems occurred within the area are as following: cross-border land utilization, smuggling of commercial products and services, traffic of goods and services without customs tax, illegal logging, foreign influence infiltration, and undocumented residences. Aside from those problems, the most critical are border markers shifting. This occurrence might have a tremendous influence on territorial and sovereignty stability of Indonesia.

Therefore, based on this phenomenon, these problems are very repressive to have a high urgency to be explored further, primarily concerning the issue of border markers shifting. It is very crucial to draw the baseline upon the problems, considering border markers factual condition. Also, since they are only established in semi-permanent form, these markers are highly vulnerable to damages as well as can be easily moved by any irresponsible parties.

For the preceding reasons, in this research paper, the author will focus on the problems located in Temajuk, West Borneo, Indonesia which share a direct border with Kampong Teluk Melano, Sarawak, Malaysia, particularly on the significance of border markers revitalization. The authors will observe straight facts on the ground related to the previously described issue. Also, the author is going to provide data report and propose recommendations for the governments based on field research.

RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on the issues above, the authors perform a further analysis to obtain solutions to the following problems:

1. What are today's pictures of border region (including border markers) between Temajuk Village, West Kalimantan and Kampong Telok Melano, Sarawak?
2. What are the potential future threats as well as the challenges from socio-legal analysis concerning border markers revitalization in the effort of enforcing Indonesian sovereignty?

RESEARCH METHOD

1. Nature and type of study

This paper is a legal research which uses juridical-empirical approaches. Juridical-empirical studies discuss the principles in legal studies by further analyzing theories through fieldwork to look at the facts on the ground and perform interviews with parties related to the subject of the research. A subsequent-practice interpretation also enhances this study to understand materials drawn from books, journals, papers and articles as well as reports of previous studies to supplement materials from the international treaties related to the subject of the research (Ali, 2009).

2. Types of Data

The research focuses on literature research. However, field research is performed to analyze the factual situation further. Data collection methods are processed by obtaining primary legal materials, secondary legal materials, and non-legal materials.

3. Research location

Findings from this study are drawn from a field research in Temajuk Village, Sambas, West Kalimantan to support the primary data. Further, the author gathers secondary data from materials obtained in the library of the Faculty of Law Universitas Gadjah Mada. Besides, Author performs in-depth interview through state officials relating to border region managements which are as follows: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs, Geospatial Information Agency, Directorate Land Border Topography of Indonesian Army and National Agency for Border Management.

4. Data Analysis

In this research, the author performs a qualitative analysis with a statute approach, which involves collecting and selecting the data obtained both from primary and secondary sources which are relevant to the problems researched. The data collected will be further processed and analyzed in a systematic way, and eventually linked with bilateral border treaty as well as border regions management theory (Temajuk, 2016).

PROBLEM ANALYSIS

Temajuk village is comprised of Dusun Camar Bulan, Dusun Sempadan, and Dusun Maludin. This village is administratively located in the District (*Kecamatan)* of Paloh, Sambas Regency (*Kabupaten)* which has a total area of 23.683 km². Geographically, Temajuk is situated in the northwest of Borneo Island and share a land border with Sarawak, East Malaysia.

Demographically, it was populated by 2170 inhabitants in 2015. The majority occupations of locals are fishermen and farmers. Besides, there are locals who run small retail shops to add earnings. Regarding village infrastructure, there are four schools from elementary to high school level. Also, there are local public health, administrative office, border military post, traditional market, subsector police station, and multipurpose buildings. However, most of the teachers and doctors are assisted from province level due to insufficient local's intellectual capacity.

Besides, regarding educational background, most of the locals only achieved high school level at its highest, yet there is very few number of those accomplished higher education studies (Direktorat Jenderal Strategi Pertahanan- DEPHAN (Ministry of Defense), 2016). As one of Indonesia entrance gate, Temajuk surely requires accelerated development, particularly for unavailable both infrastructure and primary needs, for example, 24 hours running electricity, very limited telecommunication lines, internet provider, interconnected paved roads from district to neighboring state, terminals, fishing port, and proper bridges.

In term of daily needs, Temajuk locals rely heavily on Malaysian products, so it is not uncommon to see there are many Malaysian products sold by residents Temajuk such as gas, rice, sugar, flour, various food seasonings, and other products. Although there are Indonesian products that circulate widely, public preference for specific needs by selecting the Malaysian products such as habitual hereditary done because the quality is much better, more economical and condition of the product is still feasible since there is often a product Indonesia which has passed the expiration period.

Notwithstanding, this village has wonderful tourism potential which may attract tourists from foreign countries. Additionally, the potential in agriculture is also noteworthy. In Temajuk, the main commodities of the plantation are pepper, rubber, palm oil, and some vegetables. The pepper productivity is overflow, which is one of the largest in the province of West Kalimantan. Additionally, pepper and rubber are also included in one of five main commodities of West Kalimantan.

Further, due to its location that is geographically close to the shallow sea has allowed this village is very rich in marine products. Temajuk is one of the largest exporter of jellyfish in Indonesia with a total value that could reach billions of rupiah. Jellyfish harvesting conducted in April-May month during the harvest season of jellyfish.

Despite its potential, yet it requires extra effort to enjoy such facilities. It takes about 12 hours drive from Pontianak (capital city of West Borneo) to arrive in Temajuk, and 5-10 minutes to reach neighboring village in Malaysia. In fact, the traveling time can be reduced by half of the normal if the interstate highway has been built.

Seeing the facts today from above description, Temajuk remains left behind. Therefore, as what are stated in Nawa Cita, the current President Jokowi focuses primarily on rural areas development, it can be interpreted, this also covers Temajuk as one of strategic area list in government's action plan.

In Borneo, Indonesia and Malaysia share land borders to the extent of 2004 km from the western part in Tanjung Dato to Sebatik Island (separated from Borneo mainland). As two countries are now occupying the territory of colony predecessors, the succession of both states are following *Uti Possidetis Juris* principle. As consequences, regarding on either territorial sovereignty or border regions must comply with the former colonial area. This principle was acted as the cornerstone of both states to further demarcate upon their territory.

The demarcation process was conducted under provisions in delimitation agreements consented by both British and Dutch colonial governments. In the colonial era, delimitation process had been undertaken by both states to divide their occupancy. To signify legal status, three legal documents were agreed upon parties, namely: Convention in determining the boundary line in Kalimantan, signed in London on June 20, 1891; Protocol on the borderline of North of Borneo State and Dutch Territory in Borneo, signed in London, on 28 September 1915; and Convention related to the continuation delimitation of boundary line between the states in Borneo under British protection and Dutch in the island region, signed in The Hague, on March 26, 1928 (Jones, 1945).

In accordance to Stephen B. Jones on boundary making theory, there are four steps to divide state's border, which is allocation, delimitation, demarcation and management. Both allocation and delimitation process had been performed by Dutch and British colonials (F.Walter, 2006).

Hence, based on those three colonial legal documents, Joint Indonesia-Malaysia Boundary Committee (JIMBC) was formed by both Indonesia and Malaysia to apply provisions in related agreements on the field technically. Subsequently, field demarcation and technical survey were performed in the specific area as consented from east to west Borneo (Temajuk Military Post taskforce, 2016).

Specifically, in Temajuk, field demarcation and survey were executed by JIMBC from 1975 to 1978. The borderline was demarcated upon the provisions in Dutch-British Convention 1891, particularly in Article 3. The borders demarcation in Borneo was stated as follows: *"the boundary-line shall follow the watershed of the rivers running to the south-west and west coasts, north of Tanjung Datoe, and of those running to the west coast south of Tanjung Datoe, the south coast, and the east coast south of 4 ' 10° north latitude"*.

Border markers were constructed during demarcation process as separators of both states territorial sovereignty. JIMBC's field data reports and maps were formulated into three Memorandums of Understanding (MoUs) to enforce its legal supremacy. These three MoU are as following: MoU Kota Kinabalu on borders markers with a registered number from A1 to A98 in 1976, MoU Yogyakarta on A156 to A231 in 1976, and MoU Semarang on A98 to A156 in 1978. These legal documents were expected to underline definitive recognition and implementation of sovereignty on territorial borders between Indonesia and Malaysia. Also, these 221 border markers stretching from Tanjung Datoe to Camar Bulan area, were perhaps able to fully perform its function and be highly regarded by related parties.

The authors have conducted field research within the border markers from June to August 2016 in Temajuk. These table below are border markers list in Temajuk, based on author's field research as well as data collected from Border Military Forces, as summarized in the following table:

Table 1. Under task force of Temajuk Border Military Post – registered number from A1 to A105

Condition	Border Markers Registered Number	Type of Border Markers
Good	A.1, A.2, A.4, A.5, A.6, A.7, A.8, A.9, A.10, A.11, A.12, A.15, A.16, A.17, A.18, A.20, A.21, A.23, A.24, A.25, A.26, A.27, A.28, A.29, A.30, A.32, A.33, A.34, A.35, A.36, A.37, A.38, A.39, A.40, A.41, A.42, A.44, A.46, A.48, A. 49, A. 51, A.53, A.54, A.55, A.57, A.59, A.61, A.62, A.65, A.66, A.67, A.69, A.71, A.71/1 A.72, A.73, A.75, A.76, A.77, A.78, A.79, A.80, A.81, A.82, A.83, A.84, A.84/1D A.85, A86, A.88, A.89, A.91, A.92, A.93, A.96 A.97, A.98, A.99, A.100, A.101, A.102, A.105	A. (A. 35) B (A.66) C (A.97) and D (All other border markers)

Minor damaged	A.52, A.87 and A.70	D D
Heavily damaged	A.3, A.13, A.14, A.19, A.22 (in the form of wood), A.31, A.43, A.45 (in the form of wood), A.47, A.50, A.56, A.58, A.60 (in the form of wood), A.63, A.64, A.68, A.74, A.94 (covered by paved roads), A.103, and A.104	-
Not Found	A.90 and A.95	

Details:

1. Good condition: 82 border markers
2. Minor damaged condition: 3 border markers
3. Heavily damaged condition: 20 border markers
4. Not found: 2 border markers

Source: Camar Bulan Military Post, 2016

Table 2. Under task force of Camar Bulan Border Military Post-registered number from A106 to A221

Condition	Border Markers Numbers
Good	A.106, A.107, A.108, A.111, A.112, A.113, A.114, A.116, A.119, A.121, A.122, A.123, A.124, A.125, A.127, A.128, A.129, A.131, A.133, A. 134, A.135, A.136, A.137, A.138, A.139, A.140, A.141, A.142, A.143, A.144, A.145, A.146, A.148, A.149, A.150, A.151, A.152, A.153, A.154, A.157, A.158, A.159, A.161, A.162, A.163, A.165, A.167, A.168, A.169, A.170, A.171, A.174, A.175, A.176, A.179, A.180, A.181, A.182, A.185, A.186, A.188, A.189, A.190, A.191, A.192, A.193, A.194, A.196, A.199, A.202, A.203, A.205, A.206, A.207, A.208, A.209, A.210, A.211, A.212, A. 216, A.217 , A.218, A.220, A.221

Minor damaged	A.110, A.117, A.147, A.183, A.184, A.195, A.213, A.214, A.215, A.219,
Heavily damaged	A.109, A.118, A.120, A.126, A.130, A.156, A.166, A.197,
Not Found	A.115 (in the form of wood), A.132 (in the form of wood), A.155 (in the form of wood), A.160 (in the form of wood), A.164 (in the form of wood), A.172 (in the form of wood), A.173 (in the form of wood), A.177 (in the form of wood), A.178 (in the form of wood), A.187 (in the form of waterpipe), A.198 (in the form of wood), A.200 (in the form of wood), A.201 (in the form of wood), A.204 (in the form of wood,

Details:

1. Good condition: 84 border markers
2. Minor damaged condition: 10 border markers
3. Heavily damaged condition: 8 border markers
4. Not Found: 14 border markers

Details: marked with woods: 13 border markers

Marked with waterpipe: 1 border marker

Source: Kurnia, 2011

It has been more than 60 years since Indonesia's independence. Border regions managements remain one of the unresolved matters. The problems were still laying in various aspects. These facts indicate that the acceleration of development for the prosperity and welfare of border communities are not as simply as a general thought. Further, it requires paradigm reformation regarding development orientation perspective on border areas. The development should not rely on security approaches alone, but it should also take into account prosperity and welfare-oriented approaches.

Therefore, border regions could not be easily handled by one or two institutions, but instead should be a responsibility of parties across sectors

(Jusnadi, 2005), See also on (Bappenas, 2004). The issues in the border areas are not only concerning aspects of border security. It should be undertaken holistically, as it also covers a wide range of aspects, especially in terms of economics, social, cultural and other sectors which are very closely related and having a significant role in constructing the pillars of NKRI sovereignty as a whole (Arsana, 2011) .

From defense and security perspectives, it is also critical to draw more intensive attention to this issue. As reported by the media, there have been problems due to border markers shifting. Also, it was reported, the annexation by neighboring communities as well as suggestions on coordinates of existing border markers are not at the same locations as they were during colonial era specifically in Camar Bulan area (Nik, 2011). Besides, it was widely broadcasted that Malaysia has unilaterally constructed a lighthouse in Tanjung Dato in 2014 (Eko Huda S, 2011). Within the area, there was a triangular marker labeled NKRI as well. The marker was believed to be the original A-1 markers (Berita satu, 2011). In addition, the historic cemetery of Indonesians was found. Locals believed that he was shot during confrontation against Malaysia in Pasir Merumput Area. This area was apparently part of Malaysia jurisdiction today (Zakaria, 2016).

Indeed, the accuracy of issues is still questionable. It certainly needs further investigation in terms of the reasons as the basis of claims by irresponsible parties who spread this untrusted issue. However, despite its controversy, this issue cannot be separated from various factors, one of those relates to improper conditions as well as the lack of supervision of the border markers. Hence, these facts are exploited by irresponsible parties to spread widely such issues and to provoke the locals who are lacking technical and juridical knowledge.

Based on the field report above about border markers, it can be concluded from 223 markers (including markers with type A.71 / 1 and A.84 / 1D), 166 markers were in good condition, 13 markers with minor damages, 28 were heavily damaged, and 16 markers were not yet found.

Despite in majority, it can be summarized the condition of existing border markers is in good condition. However, these border markers have been constructed since 1970, without any either proper physical repair or data reinvestigation regarding on border markers coordinate points. If it was said to be a "repair", the activities carried out, were simply to repaint few border markers and to clean surrounding area from bushes, conducted by border military forces during a regular inspection.

Geographically, most of the border markers are located in the hilly area and dense forest. Except, in Camar Bulan area, where the surroundings are planted with pepper, rubber and palm oil plantation. The farm itself may extend to dozens of hectares area. Further, the farm was owned by not only locals but also temporary migrants from various regions in Sambas Regency. The reason behind the temporary migrants is an expectation to seek better fortunes since Temajuk is very well-known for its pepper commodity. In fact, this commodity is considered as highly potential productivity as well as a profitable commodity in West Borneo Province.

However, in terms of sovereignty limitation, it is common that the locals may extend their crops crossing Indonesian border, regardless the border markers existence. The author conducted an interview with one of the local farmers at the time (Agency, 2016). It is said that he was obviously aware of the border markers existence.

However, he did understand on border markers consequences that he is not allowed to conduct any activities beyond the borders since it has exceeded Indonesia sovereignty. Further, he also realized that he had committed a cross-border farming. Moreover, he knew the consequences that may occur at any time as well. For example, a sudden inspection or perhaps further investigation by Polis Diraja Malaysia (PDRM). Despite, he and other farmers had an understanding as well as prior notice by irresponsible personals. Believed by local understanding that their current farming area was part of NKRI territory in the colonial era. Also, Camar Bulan was commonly known as outstanding boundary problems (OBP) area. Hence, due to its ongoing debatable, it would be better for them to exploit related area rather than to leave it abandoned. In practical, it can be assumed that the existence of border markers are frequently ignored and merely ssumed as a symbol.

Nevertheless, technological developments have allowed for both countries to define the border area both on land by using coordinate points. The existence of coordinate points which show the limits of state sovereignty seen from satellite images provides a relatively stable reference point legally. Further, it may prevent the loss of territorial sovereignty as well, since coordinate points are more favorable and legitimately safe to ensure state's territorial sovereignty.

However, in reality, the recognition of coordinate points as state borders is not sufficient to guarantee that the state could perform its sovereignty within the area. This is considering that, in practice, coordinate points are not easily interpreted by the locals. Therefore, they would traditionally rely on the physical borders, such as stakes, fences, rivers or other physical boundaries as a definitive reference point for the border areas.

Moreover, the locals are lacking the capacity to read Global Positioning System (GPS) or to detect the coordinate points of specific border markers on the field. Thus, it would be significant to accelerate the permanent border markers installation. This regards to border markers are not solely important in the legal framework, but they also play a vital role toward the locals in all aspects.

Another problem regarding the citizenship problem is a correlation with the flow of Indonesians, crossing to Malaysia to get employed. Ironically, the border traffic is relatively porous and has allowed a huge influx of illegal immigrant workers from Indonesia to Malaysia. It also includes the question of the citizenship identity. There are dual-nationality locals in Temajuk. It is proven by ownership of Malaysia identity card (IC). Therefore, the citizen above can freely pass the country border. This must be considered as a serious problem. Considering the reality is not only correlating with the weakness of citizenship administration but also correlates with the country's sovereignty and nationalism.

The other problem happened in Temajuk is about the status of land ownership, which remain questionable. This is because there are apparently illegal cross-border land transactions. Further, the transaction was granted limited clearance letter. Also, the procedure was undertaken informally upon both parties consent. The consensus was based on mutual trust, considering the verification on land status was merely relying on so-called land owner's trust. Hence, relevant agencies, in this case, Sambas Regency Land Agency (BPN) were not able to clarify the land status along the border line. Further, due to its location in Malaysia territory, as legal consequences, the lands are not able to be certified. This reality is indeed very detrimental toward the farmers (Pailah, 2007).

Since Temajuk was opened in late 1970's, cross-border activities had been executed for years, from illegal logging to illegal farming. As many years went, the area exploited were increasingly spread. However, from its opening to today, the supervision of border markers was not strictly conducted by border military forces and various related stakeholders. This is considering their work description, as well as functions, are practically overlapped and unclear in terms of which institutions possess such authority. Considering the facts, whether the residents of the neighboring village are comprise of less than 100 families as well as limited personnel of border guards, also land isolated access to the district. These facts may be the reason why repression action of the neighboring countries did not create any deterrent effect toward the Indonesian farmers.

The ignorance toward border markers does not only affect natural resources utilization. It is also linear with other sectors, such as human and goods traffic aspects. Both states had applied *Border Trade Agreement* (BTA) in 1970. This BTA allowed citizens of both neighboring villages to fulfill their daily needs by having import duty-free policy for basic needs with threshold limit value. Besides, both citizens are not required to show their passport when crossing into the neighboring country with certain sub-district as the limit and vice versa. They are only obligated to show their cross-border ID card through the border-crossing post (PLB) Temajuk.

However, in practice, the provisional rules are then exploited by locals as well as brokers to smuggle Malaysian goods and vice versa. The smuggling was done in huge amount, far exceeding the allowed threshold limit, either for personal needs or further trade to greater areas without customs tax. Until today, it is easy to get Malaysian goods, for instance, sugar, milk, rice, flour, cooking oil, snacks, and even cooking gas in Temajuk traditional market. Ironically, those goods entered Indonesia in an illegal way. Illegal as in the goods are beyond allowed threshold, under Customs Laws No. 17 of 2006, as an amendment of Laws No. 10, of 1995.

The Author has also directly observed the facts in the field. The supervision and law enforcement are very minimum. It was found that border-crossing post (PLB) is completely ineffective. Besides, there is no any running activities despite its physical buiding existence. Aside from that, the location of PLB is quite far from the border entrance. In contrary, there is in fact border military forces post guarded from 8 am – 5 pm every day. However, the activity of ID card checking and daily goods that crossed the border are rarely done. Even if there are regular-inspection, there will be no juridical control and law enforcement. Otherwise, there will be a direct settlement on the spot in the form of friendly warning. This condition even happens in an official cross-border where illegal export and import obviously took place.

The practice of human and traffic goods violations had, in fact, happened in an official cross-border. Therefore, it can be imagined how the practice in unofficial border crossing, where there are numbers of shortcuts access between the border markers without routine inspection. Thus, this phenomenon is very vulnerable to illegal activities. Even though, the today's practices are only daily needs and natural resources smuggling.

However, seeing the facts of border markers conditions with the height of only 10 cm's and their existence cannot give any expected benefit. Then, especially with the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) era and the goods and services, traffic become uncontrollable. In the next era, there will be unexpected potential threats toward the livelihood of local communities, such as the shortcuts can be used for drugs, weapons and humans smuggling, or even the worst scenario is terrorist infiltration as well as foreign influence.

Despite its breathtaking sunset landscape, mangrove forest tour, one of the longest coastline in the world with white sand beach and another tourism potential, yet tourism management are not well-organized. Hence, this situation may trigger threats toward locals such as cultural infiltration from neighboring countries which may diminish locals' nationalism. Further, the tourism potential can be completely exploited by foreign investors and expropriate locals' rights and interest. Hence, this possibility is certainly a huge matter that needs to be taken into account by relevant state institutions.

These occurrences surely can ruin the morality and the nationalism of border citizens in social perspective. Moreover, land access from neighboring village to the district will be soon opened within few years. Hence, Indonesia Government should brace themselves to guard the border region in various aspects, including the revitalization of border markers to give benefits as expected. Also, to make the border markers more functional, it requires appropriate border military forces quantity as well as supporting infrastructure.

In the end, this phenomenon can critically be considered by seeking the cause of the actual problem. As the author said in the beginning, the problems in the border region have to be observed holistically by transforming paradigm from the buffer zone of defense (security oriented) through prosperity approach. Additionally, border regions managements must be conducted from across the sector, especially about the urgency of revitalization border markers in terms of repairing or re-establishing through Investigation Refixation Maintenance (IRM) team.

Although with the shifting of border markers locations will not diminish state territorial sovereignty. However, the challenges are based on judging the facts on the field, with the local's lack of the understanding of juridical and technical aspects through coordinate points as well as the lack of socialization may lead them by absorbing irresponsible issues without any filter by irresponsible parties.

Moreover, the facts in the field regarding both the existence and function of the physical border markers are not spread known particularly to farmers as well as there are many border markers with an unfeasible condition or not found. Thus, it has become a critical concern for Temajuk to be prioritized in development regarding the revitalization border markers with more visible as well as fully functioning. These actions perhaps will be able to enforce legal certainty on the boundary.

Therefore, the authors are going to give recommendations to the government through the Ministry / Institution (K / L) relating to the management of border areas such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Trade, Geospatial Information Agency, the National Agency for Border Management as well as specifically the Local Government from Province to sub-district level. Besides, it needs to be encouraged with fully support and highly prepared Temajuk locals themselves, which are as follows:

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Defense and Security

a. Repair existing border markers, especially those which are in condition of heavily damaged or not found by the Investigation, Refixation, and Maintenance (IRM) Team as soon as possible and to upgrade border markers' type in several areas, especially in densely populated areas, and to re-establish new border markers with excellent quality which can last for years and is not easily damaged or removed by any irresponsible parties. The border markers should be more visible and fully function.

b. Ensure full understanding of the functions of border markers and coordinate points—based on the MoU between Indonesia and Malaysia—among the locals in Temajuk, as well as government officials at the village, district, regency, and provincial levels of thorough outreach to protect the sovereignty of Indonesia and address misleading information proliferated in the region, especially regarding border markers with registered numbers from A98 to A115. Further, all relevant entities, primarily residents, need to be provided with an official release delivered by the central government through a ministry or agency authorized by border management. Hence, the locals are no longer subject to misleading information regarding national boundaries.

c. Improvement of Border Security and Defense Forces as a security belt by increasing the number of security personnel drawn from the Army and Navy, Strategic Intelligence Agency (BAIS), and by constructing adequate security facilities for the Air Force. Procurement and improvement of security and defense equipment along the border, as well as optimization of the capacity of security forces, are also crucial.

d. Extra facilities and supporting equipment's of fundamental duty implementation as well as their functions of security and defense at the border, as well as improving the quality of the assigning border military forces. Meanwhile to maximize the participation of the locals through training on Pemuda Penjaga Batas (Youth Guard Borders), Pemuda Perbatasan, (Borderline Youth) and Forum Pemuda Perbatasan Kujang Temajuk, FPPKT (Youth Forum on Borderline of Temajuk . This is necessary to improve the performance of the security apparatus and defense synergized with local communities as a frontline for the stability of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.

e. In the future, when the population of both countries increasingly dense, the traffic of goods and people are more crowded and control towards the shortcut lines could not be performed optimally, so it is vital to building a bribed fence to replace the markers' role that exists today in order to give more legal certainty and stability of the Homeland security and defense of the boundaries. However, the idea has to be considering the interests and needs within a few years by taking into account the socio-cultural aspects of the local community.

f. The border markers in practice also have some implications on other aspects. Thus, it is crucial do a holistic settlement without simply focusing on the infrastructure from the border markers which are comprised of the following aspects.

2. Economy

Transformation of paradigm and approaches to the border areas from the buffer zone of defense (security oriented) of the potential threat from the outside (external threat) into prosperity oriented, comprise of the following measures:

a. As the 'front yard' of State and International gateway for the Asia Pacific region, by alleviating poverty and improving the welfare of border society. These are very highly crucial to be prioritized in the first place.

b. Providing adequate access and assets to market and distribution of local commodity to the greater area.

c. Assistance and training of craft products and handmade arts as unique souvenirs from Temajuk.

d. Assistance to the unions in Temajuk such as the Fishermen Unions and Women Unions (PKK) to promote and expand special marketing products from Temajuk to various regions.

e. Fulfillment of basic needs such as food supply to reduce dependence on basic food from neighboring countries.

f. The development of growth centers that have a response from the neighboring countries. Local Government is expected to cooperate with foreign investors to support and develop the Temajuk as industrial hubs and commerce.

g. Improvement of bilateral cooperation in the economic, social and cultural rights through the improvement of socio-economic programs Malindo (SOSEK Malindo) with neighboring villagers.

3. Infrastructure

a. The construction of state border posts with facilities of Customs Immigration Quarantine and Security (CIQS), as well as other physical infrastructure considering the widening and paving of the main road heading towards borders from Sambas Regency to Temajuk as well as parallel road jeep from Tanjung Datu in Temajuk and continue eastward Kalimantan, are now underway. Further, on the other hand, Malaysia is now working on the project of road access from Kampung Teluk Melano to the District in Sematan. This is highly significance to be installed since the traditional border-crossing traditional (PLBT) on its implementation both supporting infrastructure that must be possessed and functions are not by the mandate of Minister Regulation No. 18 of 2007 Standardization Facilities, Infrastructure, Services and State Border-cross. The functions should be carried out in the form of immigration, customs, quarantine, and security. Practically, it did not run as expected. Instead, the functions are replaced by Pos Pamtas (Military Border Forces Post) which only possess security function. Moreover, there has been a practice of the illegal export-import traffics and problems in another sector.

b. For current facilities and infrastructure, borders need to be standardized and be prioritized of quality improvement. Other physical infrastructures required are in electricity, communications, and information through the development of a relay station or radio and television transmitters, the tower of base trans-receiver system (BTS) to support improved network capacity to communicate as well as procurement of Internet access for residents.

c. Restoration of the road and bridges. Considering the facts are in an alarming situation in some areas, primarily during the rainy season that could endanger the safety of the riders or this lead to cut the access to the district.

4. Tourism

Temajuk Village has been acknowledged as a National Strategic Tourism Region, with programs have been planned by the central government to boost infrastructure facilities and tourism promotion. This requires a massive follow-up from relevant village government to accelerate programs implementations as well as transparency on programs goals and plans.

This automatically will enable the locals to boost economic growth through services, accommodation, entry fees, transportation services, facilities of tourist attractions, culinary and craft products as well as traditional foods as local souvenirs. If the programs can run as expected, it will indirectly improve the infrastructure and development of Temajuk as the frontline of Indonesia.

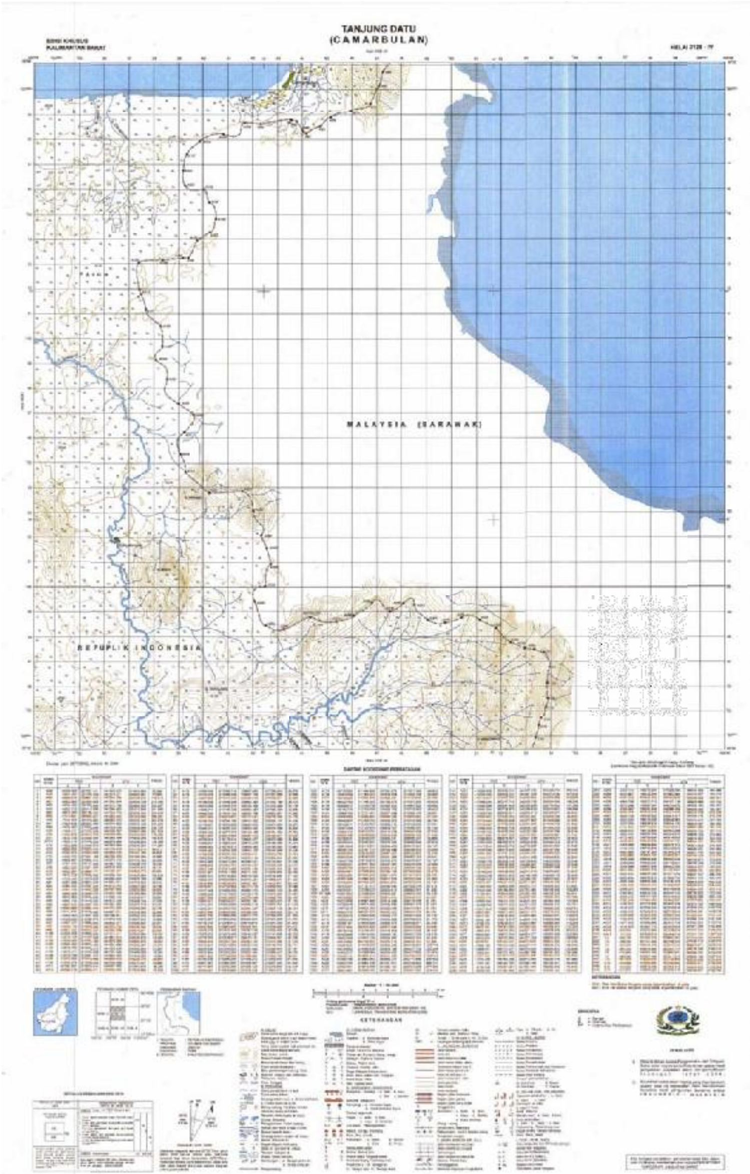
5. Institution and Capacity Building, Borders area management is a shared responsibility between the Central Government and Local Government in accordance with the principle of concurrence through:

a. Improvement of Institutional Government and Society in the Region, considering the local government at district level to the Village do not have sufficient capacity to manage the border area, primarily related to aspects of the substantial documents administration regarding respective Village, lack of technological knowledge, as well as the complexity of development that involves many groups and sectors. Besides, the conflict of interest between the central and regional authorities in the implementation of various development plans and management of border areas.

b. The division of clear and transparent authority between the central government and local governments. This is due to there are numbers of regional authority who have not been decentralized because sectorial regulation and legislation are not adjusted to the law on local government. This resulted in various problems, which are in terms of authority, budget management, management of a particular region, relations between executive and legislative areas, natural resource revenue, sharing arrangements and taxes. While the central government's authority is only applicable for borders gate covering the aspects of customs, immigration, quarantine, security and defense.
c. Socialization and Trainings on Raising National Awareness toward borders residents. Through government and local governments to formulate priority programs that focus on national awareness as state defense (Bela Negara)

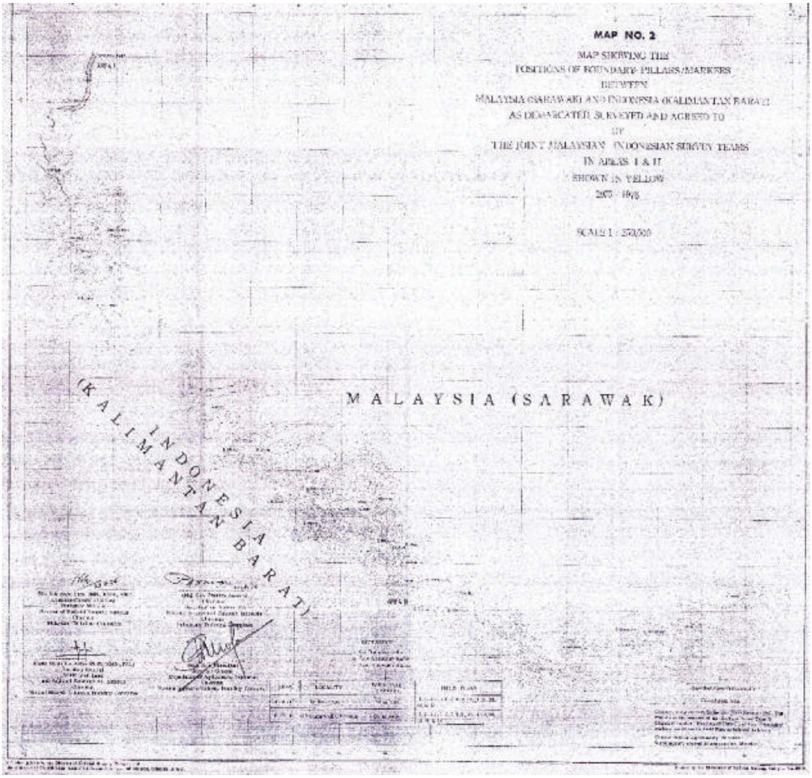
6. **Forest and Marine Conservation,** as a great view of the border region whose status is the conservation of forest and natural conservation that need to be protected to avoid illegal exploitation, development needs to be aligned with the carrying capacity of natural and sustainable.

In connection with these recommendations in order to support implementation of the programs in the border region as well as the to guarantee sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, then the regulations pertaining to the national sovereignty is indispensable. In the absence of clear regulation and regulation, it is feared a disharmony in the relationship between countries. This would also be an impact on attitudes and patterns we follow in securing the state. This is a logical and juridical consequences from border region existence. In other words, in border region, a nation's sovereignty will come into force and ends.

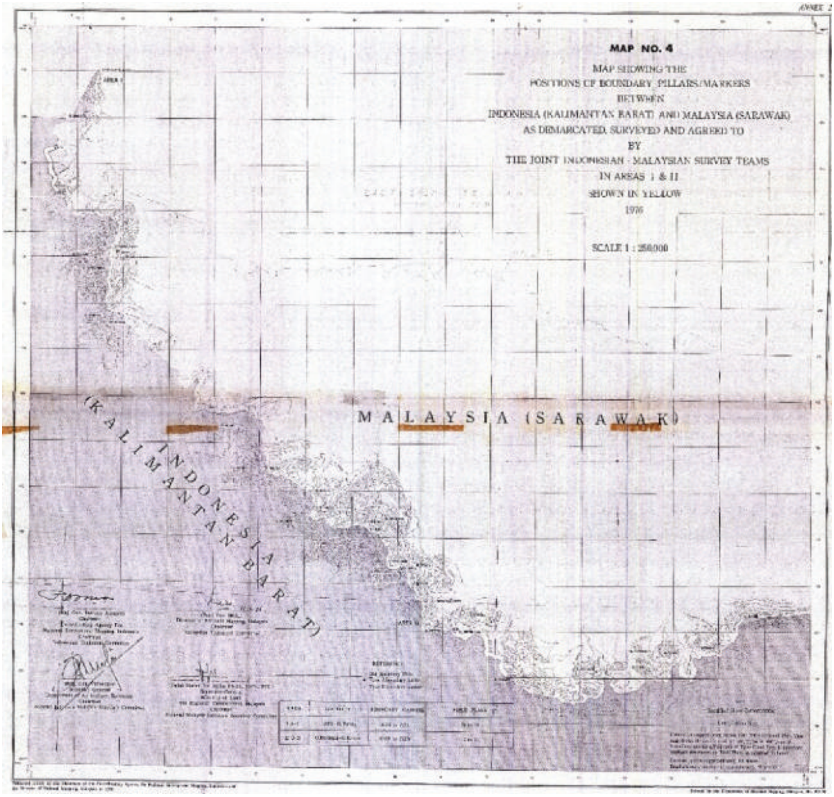


Picture 12 : Map Location and Coordinate List of Border Markers registered number A58-A250 (Source : Dittopad TNI)

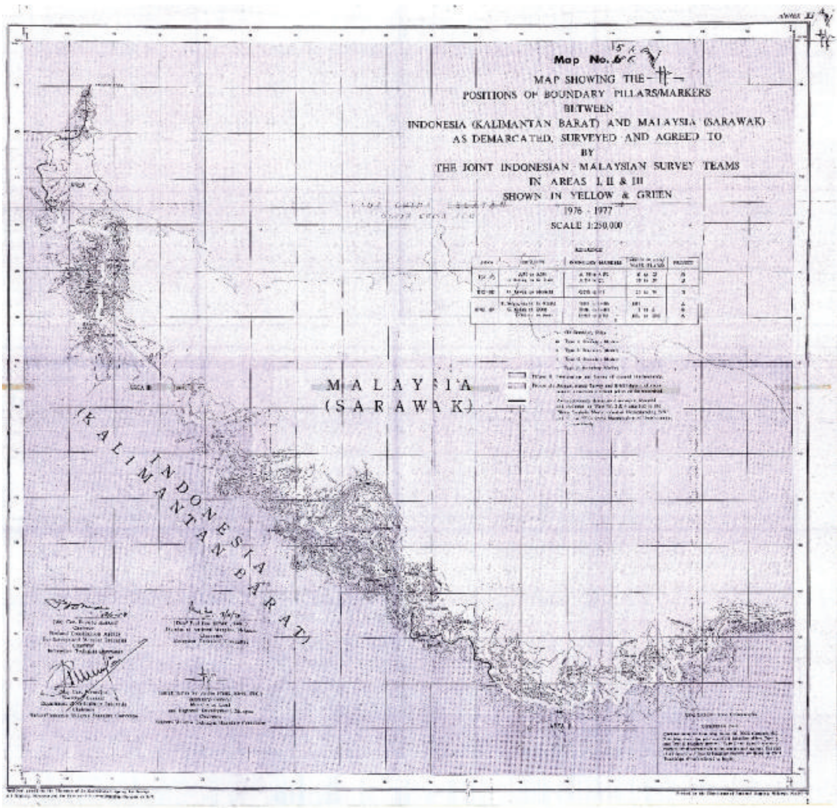
Picture 13 : Map of Temajuk Village, which share border with Kampung Telok Melano, Sarawak Malaysia (Source KKN-PPM UGM 2015)



Picture 14 : Field Demarcation and Survey Mapping of MoU Kota Kinabalu 1976 (Source : BIG)



Picture 15: Field Demarcation and Survey Mapping of MoU Yogyakarta 1976 (Source: BIG)



Picture 16: Field Demarcation and Survey Mapping of MoU Semarang 1978 (Source: BIG)

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INDONESIAN PRESIDENT JOKO WIDODO AND THE PHILIPPINES PRESIDENT RODRIGO DUTERTE'S APPROACHES TOWARDS WAR ON DRUGS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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INTRODUCTION

Both Joko "Jokowi" Widodo and Rodrigo Duterte implement tough policy on illegal drugs in their respective state since they took power. This policy is very distinct from the previous leaders, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in Indonesia and Benigno Aquino III in the Philippines, who did not put high intention on illegal drugs eradication. This sudden change in policy easily stole the international spotlight when the casualties related to their drug policies came out to public view. For Joko Widodo himself, this policy seems very contradicting with the humble, down-to-earth, and hands-on appearance he emphasized which made him escalated very quickly from the mayor of Solo City to the Governor of Jakarta, until became inaugurated as the President of Indonesia in October 2014. He jumped from the mayor of Solo City to the President seat only in two years. Joko Widodo became the first president with the background of civilian instead of a pure politician or the military background. In 2014 presidential election, Joko Widodo beat Prabowo Subianto who was the former Army Commander by a slight winning (Bachelard, 2014).

Since Jokowi took power on October 20, 2014, he already approved the death sentence to 28 convicts. As a comparison, the previous presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono only approved to the total of 21 drug convicts in 10 years (Quiano, 2016). However, it could be said that several convicts executed in Jokowi era were the legacy of the previous president who was not executed before the period ended. The execution itself was divided into three periods. The first execution was conducted on January 18, 2015, to 6 convicts; the second execution was on April 29, 2015, to 8 convicts. Finally, the latest was on July 29, 2016, to 14 convicts.

Contrary with Joko Widodo, Rodrigo Duterte is already known for his cold hand in eradicating illegal drugs since he was the mayor of Davao City in 1988. Before becoming president, he served as the vice mayor and later mayor of Davao City in Mindanao Island, for two terms and three terms respectively.

During his tenure in Davao, he sought to bring down criminal activity, though with controversial methods such as strict curfew, drinking laws, even the so-called “Duterte Death Squad” where he permitted the actions of vigilantes that targeted drug dealers and gang members. Nevertheless, he succeeded in reducing crime and making Davao City cleaner despite his controversial method. Though drug policy was not necessarily the center of Duterte’s presidential campaign, it soon became the center of attention, and it was successful in helping Duterte become president by doubled his vote compared with two other candidates. He was inaugurated as the President of the Philippines on May 16, 2016 (Bio, 2016).

Since becoming the president of The Philippines, Duterte launched a “war on drugs” campaign, and with the campaign, the number of people for drug related incidents surged. As of 31 January 2017, the total numbers of people killed are 7,080, from legitimate police operations and unexplained killings. Legitimate police operations killed 2,555 suspects. As of 9 January 2017, 3,603 victims in cases of death are being investigated, while 922 victims in cases of death where the investigation has been concluded. (Bueza, 2017).

As newly elected president in their respective state, implementing death policy to eradicate illegal drugs is seen as a brave move, besides as an instant way to gain popularity with weak stakeholders were harmed. Even though this policy attracts a lot of criticism and pressure from the domestic and international community, both leaders still confidence in continuing this death policy. Because of those reasons, the writers are interested in seeking for the reasons of Joko Widodo and Rodrigo Duterte to implement death penalty to combat illegal drugs proliferation. The writers would like to seek the answer of "Why do Joko Widodo, and Rodrigo Duterte implements death penalty to eradicate illegal drugs in their respective state?" by using the Belief System Model by Ole R. Holsti. Besides that, the writers also would like to highlight the way policy is implemented as well as the criticisms aimed to the policy.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Ole R. Holsti in "The Belief System and National Images: A Case Study" (1962), the decision makers' output is sourced from the information they received. However, the received information has to be filtered by their belief system which is constructed by the experiences, knowledge, and images of the future. The belief system categorized the information into two branches: fact and values.

The fact is that the current condition as seen by the decision makers Believe system will play a role on "scanning, selecting, filtering, linking, reordering, organizing, and reporting" the information before it becomes the decision (McClelland, 1962, p. 456). On the other hand, values act as the direct link which will guide the decision makers "what ought to be." The combination of facts and values will create the decision.

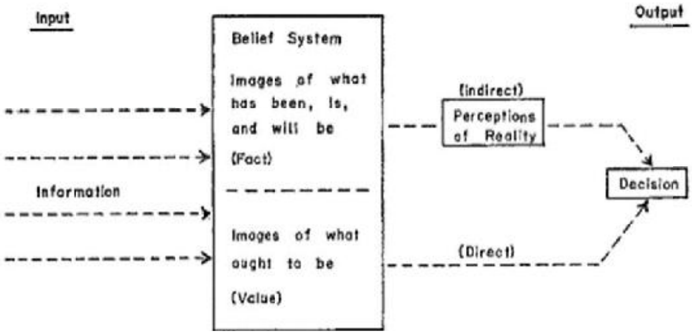

Figure 1. The Belief System Model by Ole R. Holsti, The Belief System and National Images: A Case Study (1962)

Model Implementation on Joko Widodo

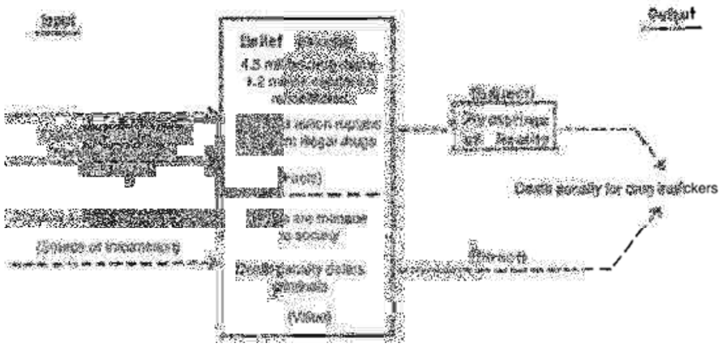

Figure 2 Belief System Model on Jokowi

In this model, the decision makers received the information given to them. If it is put it in this case, both Joko Widodo and Rodrigo Duterte used the information provided by their national board of illegal drugs body. In Indonesia, there is Indonesia National Narcotics Body (*Badan Narkotika Nasional/* BNN). Meanwhile, Philippines Drug Enforcement Agency (PDEA) is the body who has the authority to the illegal drugs enforcement in the Philippines.

METHODOLOGY

Mohtar Mas'oed defined methodology as "procedures that are used to describe, explain, and predict a phenomenon," (Mas'oed, 1990) in other words, the procedures for scientific inquiry. The method of research that is used in this paper is qualitative research method. Qualitative research aims to compile, select, categorize, and then explain data. The data in this research mainly come from the literature review. Hence, the majority of the data will be secondary data from books, academic journals, government records, and news.

ANALYSIS

Illegal Drug Laws in Indonesia and the Philippines

Before analyzing the reason of death policy implemented by both leaders, it is important to know the laws used related to illegal drugs. So, we could know whether the policy is done in a constitutional way or not.

Both Indonesia and the Philippines have their own regulations as an effort to eradicate illegal drugs. There are three related laws in Indonesia; they are Law No. 5 of 1997 about Psychotropic, Law No. 22 of 1997 about Narcotics, and Law No. 35 of 2009 about Narcotics. In the development, Law No. 22 of 1997 is fully replaced by Law No. 35 of 2009. Law No. 5 of 1997 is still implemented except the Attachment I and II because it had been updated by the Law No. 35 of 2009. However, Law No. 22 of 1997 is still used to the convicts who were in a trial before Law No. 35 of 2009 is issued. On the other hand, the related law in the Philippines is Comprehensive Dangerous Drugs Act of 2002.

According to the laws, Indonesia performs stricter penalties towards the drugs-related convicts compared to the Philippines. In Law No. 22 of 1997, there are four articles which state death penalty, from article 80 until article 82 and article 96.

Meanwhile, Law No. 35 of 2009, the chapter which states the punishment is on Chapter XV that consists of 37 articles. The death penalty itself is revealed in 7 articles.

Overall, the death penalty is implemented based on three types of illegal drugs written in the attachment of Law No. 35 of 2009. Based on Article 113 (2), 114 (2), and 116(2) in Law No. 35 of 2009, the death penalty is given to the people who is involved relating to the type I drugs more than 1 kg, 5 tree trunks, or in other forms beside plants in more than 5 grams, and causing death and permanent disabilities to the other people; Article 118 (2), 119 (2), and 121 (2) regulated regarding the type II of illegal drugs. Finally, Article 133 (1) gives the death penalty to people who influence other people to use illegal drugs.

In contrast, the Comprehensive Dangerous Drugs Act of 2002 only gives death penalty in two sections from all 31 sections in Article II titled "Unlawful Acts and Penalties." The death penalty is stated in Section 6 and Section 29. Section 5 of Comprehensive Dangerous Drugs Act of 2002 implements punishments for trading activities of illegal drugs. The punishments are varied on the cases. The section also makes the specialization if the trade takes place within 100 meters from school. The punishment is ranging from 12 years of imprisonment to the life imprisonment, as well as fine from 100.000 Pesos to 500.000 Pesos. The Act also impose strict sanction to the actions regarding the illegal drugs, such as ownership (Section 11 and Section 13), the equipment used to consume illegal drugs (Section 12 and Section 14), and use of illegal drugs (Section 15).

According to the data from Indonesia National Narcotics Body (BNN), the estimated number of current drug users is 3.8 million up to 4.1 million people on the range 10-59 years old in 2014 (Badan Narkotika Nasional, 2015). Current users mean those who have used drugs at least once in the past one year. The main characteristics of drug users in Indonesia according to BNN's 2014 data are male, their age range from 11 until 66 years old with average at 26-27 years old, around two-third are high school graduates, and more than two-thirds were unmarried. (Badan Narkotika Nasional, 2015)

This data is re-expressed by Joko Widodo in a speech in 2014. Jokowi announced to the audiences in the 65th anniversary of Universitas Gadjah Mada. He confirmed there are around 4.5 million drugs users, with 1.2 among them were unable to be rehabilitated, and around 40-50 young people die by illegal drugs every day. (Gusti, 2014). However, the claimed number is slightly higher than the number provided by Indonesia National Narcotics Body in 2014.

He added in the speech in International Anti-Illegal Drugs Day where he reiterated the need to fight illegal drugs including in Indonesia. Joko Widodo cited that the loss because of illegal drugs amounted to 63 trillion rupiahs, the loss that includes the purchase of illegal drugs, medication, stolen properties, rehabilitation, and other expenses. Jokowi claimed that the drug problem has penetrated all structures of society, even kindergarteners and elementary school children has been exposed, in vilages, *kampung*s, and cities (Rappler.com, 2016).

Because of those reasons, Jokowi categorized illegal drugs as an extraordinary crime and the movement is categorized as a transnational crime which needs a serious management to handle this issue. "We have to be serious in implementing effective law enforcement, capture and act decisively to the drug dealers, traffickers, and big players. There will be no mercy [for them]. We also have to strengthen the cooperation among agencies, international communities, act decisively to the officers who backed up them and correctional institutions which become the center of drug circulation." (Suwanti, 2015). Supported by those reasons, he declared that illegal drug is one of the severe problems in Indonesia which have to be solved in the meantime.

It also becomes the justification for the death penalty use. He argued that it is “one of the ways to deter drug smugglers. We are aware there are other problems we need to solve, and this will take time.” Jokowi is also confident that Indonesian judicial system is strong enough and he rejected clemency by how much drugs the accused distributed (for drug smuggler). (Al Jazeera English, Talk to Al Jazeera - Joko Widodo: ‘A strong message to drug smugglers’, 2015).

Jokowi refuses to answer whether he personally approve of death penalty. He merely said that death penalty exists in the current Indonesian judicial system, but he does not rule out the possibility of death penalty to be abolished in the future. When questioned about the attempts of Indonesian government to save its citizens from being executed overseas, he claimed that it is the duty of the president to protect its citizens.

Joko Widodo’s Death Penalty

As the output of the belief system model, Joko Widodo already approved death penalty which was divided into three periods. The first execution was done on January 18, 2015, to six convicts (Bastian, 2015). The convicts were:

1. Tommi Wijaya (Netherland)
2. Namaona Denis (Malawi)
3. Marcho Archer Cardoso Moreira (Brazil)
4. Diarrassaouba Mamadou (Nigeria)
5. Tran Thi Bich Hanh (Viet Nam)
6. Melisa Aprilia (Indonesia)

The second execution was done on April 29, 2015. In this period, two convicts from the famous Bali Nine group were executed. Beside them, the execution also listed other six convicts, four from Nigeria and one from Brazil and Indonesia (Firdaus, 2015). Below is the list of the second execution convicts:

1. Andrew Chan (Bali Nine, Australia)
2. Myuran Sukumaran (Bali Nine, Australia)
3. Martin Anderson (Nigeria)
4. Sylvester Obiekwe Nwolise (Nigeria)
5. Raheem Agbaje Salami Codova (Nigeria)
6. Okwudily Oyatanze (Nigeria)
7. Rodrigo Gularte (Brazil)
8. Zaenal Abidin (Indonesia)

The third execution which with the most detainees, listed seven Nigeria nationals, four Indonesians, one from India, Pakistan, and Senegal on the execution list (Rappler.com, 2016). They are:

1. Humphrey Jefferson (Nigeria)
2. Michael Titus (Nigeria)
3. Frederick Luttar (Nigeria)
4. Ozias Sibanda(Nigeria)
5. Eugene Ape (Nigeria)
6. Obina Nwajagu (Nigeria)
7. Okonkwo Nonso Kingsley (Nigeria)
8. Freddy Budiman (Indonesia)
9. Merri Utami (Indonesia)
10. Agus Hadi (Indonesia)
11. Pujo Lestari (Indonesia)

12. Gurdip Singh (India)
13. Zulfigar Ali (Pakistan)
14. Seck Osmane (Senegal)

Overall, Nigeria is the state with the highest number of its nationals have been executed with 12 Nigerians were executed. It is followed by Indonesia with 6 Indonesians. Then followed by Brazil and Australia have 2 of its nationals have been executed. Finally, one convicts for Netherland, India, Pakistan, Senegal, Malawi, and Vietnam each.

The death execution attracted condemnation from several states which its nationals were on the list that may distract the bilateral relation. The states were Australia and Brazil. Australia did the protests after Andrew Chan and Myuran Sukumaran, have been executed because of their relations in the attempt of smuggling 8 kg of heroin from Indonesia to Australia (Kompas.com, 2015). Australian Prime Minister at that time, Tony Abott, withdrew Australian Ambassador to Indonesia after the execution happened (Norman, 2015).

The same action also has been done by Brazil as a form of protests to the execution of its nationals, Marcho Archer Cardoso Moreira and Rodrigo Gularte. Marcho Acher Cardoso Moreira was convicted because he hid 13,4 kg and Rodrigo Gularte because smuggling 19 kg of cocaine on July 2004. However, Brazilian government did a more embarrassing action towards Indonesian government by delaying the credentials which should be given to the Indonesian Ambassador to Brazil in the ceremony of receiving foreign ambassadors.

Model Implementation on Rodrigo Duterte

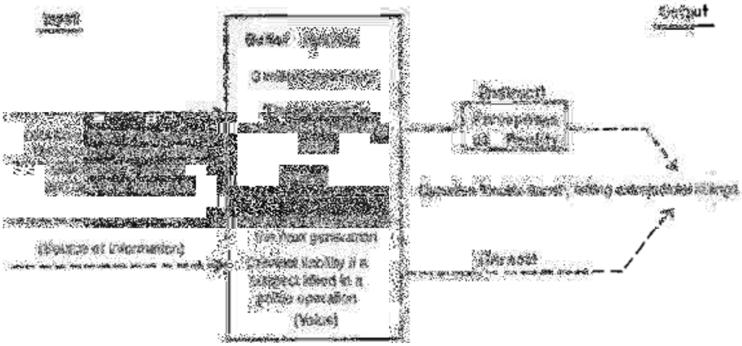

Figure 3. Belief System Model on Duterte

The source of Duterte's information on drug prevalence in the Philippines came from PDEA (Philippine Drug Enforcement Authority). However, Duterte does not distinguish between the drug addicts and one-time drug users. In a speech on 22 September 2016, Duterte claimed that there are "3 million addicts contaminated with drugs" citing an estimation from PDEA's former chief Dionisio Santiago (Diola, Duterte hikes drug use figure anew despite little evidence, 2016).

He also claimed that the numbers would increase by one million, claiming that the Philippines is "...catching up with Indonesia." Being the Mayor of Davao before becoming the president, he sincerely believes that "Davao model" of terrorizing criminals would work for the rest of the country.

Duterte claimed that he is obliged to strike fear to criminals who are out there to destroy the next generation through drugs. He also claimed that drugs are dangerous for the next generation, and the numbers of people contaminated will "pull my country down in the next generation of Filipinos." Duterte firmly believed that when a criminal died in a police operation, it is not negligence but a criminal liability because "... you (the authorities) have to save the life."

However, there are criticisms towards the data which is used by Duterte to justify his policy. A more detailed data provided by Dangerous Drug Board, stated there are ‘only’ 1.8 million drug users in 2015, much fewer than Duterte’s claim (Gavilan, 2016).

The profile of drug users in the Philippines according to DDB’s 2015 data were at the mean age of 31 years old, sex ratio between male and female of 14:1, 49.13% of whom were unmarried, more than half (53.20%) were unemployed, and a little more than one-quarter (28.34%) were college graduates (Dangerous Drug Board, 2016).

Despite the distinct claim, the drug users in the Philippines had contributed to Duterte’s drug policy when he appointed Ronald Dela Rosa as the chief of the Philippines National Police. Rosa then launched a “Double Barrel” operation to targeted both the upper half of drug users and pushers, drugs syndicates and traffickers, through Project HVT; and the lower half of drugs users and pushers, small-time drug dealers, and drug users, through Oplan TokHang. There are up to 7080 people dead as the result of Duterte’s drug policy as of 31 January 2017, but Duterte seems not disturbed by the numbers and claimed that how it should happen.

Duterte’s Belief System

It can be argued that the death policy the implemented in the Philippines is the extension of what he had done in Davao City. In an interview with Aljazeera English, Duterte said: “I would rather intimidate and strike fear into the hearts of the criminal just like what I did in Davao.”

Duterte cited the development of the city that has been chosen for the site of international conventions and conferences, and the city’s growth is citing that because it is safe business are confident to make a contract in there. (Al Jazeera English, Rodrigo Duterte interview: Death, drugs and diplomacy - Talk to Al Jazeera, 2016)

Duterte claimed that his tough stance on drug users is an effort to save the next generation. "... if we do not interdict this problem, the next generation will be having a serious problem," claimed Duterte on the Aljazeera interview. Duterte argued that it is a correct statement of wanting to kill those that seeks to destroy the country – drug users – for the interests for the next generation. The magnitude of the drug problem to Duterte has become very serious and widespread. (Al Jazeera English, Rodrigo Duterte interview: Death, drugs and diplomacy - Talk to Al Jazeera, 2016)

When asked about the unintended death of innocents on extrajudicial killings that targeted drug users, Duterte implied that they are collateral damage. "There's a criminal liability; it could not be negligence because you have to save the life. It could not be recklessness because you have to defend yourself," Duterte said. He even went as far as liken the judicial killings to a military operation that killed children as its collateral damage and cited that there was never any apology about Vietnam or Afghanistan. (Al Jazeera English, Rodrigo Duterte interview: Death, drugs and diplomacy - Talk to Al Jazeera, 2016)

Duterte on several occasions cited that there are three million or more drug addicts in the Philippines. In the Aljazeera interview he claimed, there are additions of 800.000 drug addicts claiming the number nearer to four million. (Diola, Duterte hikes drug use figure anew despite little evidence, 2016)

When asked about other methods such as building a rehabilitation center for drug addicts, Duterte simply said that his government does not have the budget for it. He came in mid-year with the budget that was set by his predecessor, and he argued that the budget is only enough for maintenance et al with no capital outlier.

Duterte's Drug Policy: "Operation Double Barrel"

Since Duterte's political campaign in the Philippines' 2016 presidential race, Duterte has put the drug problem as the main focus of his campaign, arguing that the nation was on the brink of destruction and illegal drugs are the culprit. The campaign shifted the focus, and low pay and illegal drugs become the top issues for the voters in their preferred presidential candidates. (Curato, 2016) When the presidential election was concluded in May, Duterte won by 16 million votes, or 38% of the total votes, enough to won the election, then Rodrigo was inaugurated as the 16th president of the Philippines (Gutierrez, 2016).

On 1 July 2016, Ronald Dela Rosa was sworn as the 21st chief of the Philippines National Police. A former chief of the Davao City Police, he was handpicked by Duterte himself. (Jesus, 2016) Rosa appointment is important to Duterte's "war on drugs" campaign. In an interview on 29 June 2016, proposed a "Campaign Plan Double Barrel" to curb illegal drugs. (Cupin, 2016) The campaign, on Rose's words himself, to hit two targets with one touch of a barrel, one targeting "high-value" labels and another targeting "street-level" personalities. Rosa was also known for Oplan TukHang, an anti-drug operation in Davao launched by Rosa as well.

The Double Barrel campaign launched by Rosa purportedly used a two-pronged strategy, one is Project HVT that targeted drug syndicates and traffickers, and another is Project Tokhang, which literally translated "knock and surrender" where the police go house-to-house in their jurisdictions to convince drug pushers and users to surrender. Project Tookhang relied on the collaboration between the police and Barangay official (barangay is the lowest the smallest administrative division in the Philippines) to maintain a "drug watch list" contained drug pushers and users in the area.

Michael Bueza in the Rappler published an updated page that reported the numbers of the Philippines "war on drugs." On the 59th update up to 31 January 2017, there has been 7080 total of numbers of people killed in the Pihillipines "war on drugs" campaign. 2555 suspected drug personalities have been killed in police operations. As of 9 January 2017, 3603 victims in cases of death are under investigations while 922 victims in cases where the investigation has been concluded (Bueza, 2017).

As mentioned above, the "war on drugs" was implemented by the PNP through the "Oplan Double Barrel". Up to 31 January 2017, 43,593 police operations have been conducted and 53,025 drug personalities have been arrested. Via Project TokHang, a police strategy where 7,096,095 houses have been visited by the police and 1,176,462 have surrendered to the police, 79,349 of them are pushers while 1,110,113 of them are users (Bueza, 2017).

Extrajudicial killings of drug pushers and users also happened, and PNP kept a record on them and investigated the cases. As of 9 January 2017; 4,146 cases of murder cases outside police operations, 3271 of them are under investigation while 875 of them have been concluded, with 575 suspects arrested and 332 suspects at large (Bueza, 2017).

On Amnesty International's report on the extrajudicial killings that happened in the Philippines, it categorized three drug-related killings by the police. First, killings during raids on homes and "drug dens". Second, killings during "buy-busts" operation by the police. Third, killings that happened in police detention. (Amnesty International, 2017) Extrajudicial killings also happened through vigilantes. There are cases where the killings are done by masked individuals usually in a pair arriving on a motorcycle targeting people allegedly using or selling drugs. The gunmen usually targeted the people, usually those already on the barangay "drug watch list," mainly at night but there are also cases where they killed their targets in the street or their targets' workplace (Amnesty International, 2017).

As the head of state of the Philippines, Duterte does not dissociate himself from the number of people killed during his "war on drug" campaign. Rather, he showed that he approves of Rosa's Double Barrel campaign. After all, Rosa is familiar to Duterte since Rosa was the chief police in Davao and Duterte handpicked Rosa to be the chief of the PNP.

Duterte has expressed his consent, if not endorsement of the tough police campaign on drugs. Started from In May 2016, Duterte said that he would give "shoot to kill" orders against suspects resisting arrests while claiming that he wasn't saying that he says to kill the suspect, but the order was "dead or alive". In June, he even said that civilians should engage in a do-it-yourself arrest and even encouraging to kill the suspect if he is resisting arrest. Duterte acknowledged that some of the killed during the "war on drugs" were through extrajudicial killings. However, he echoed the police's defense that those who were killed were resisting arrest during the police operation. (Fransisco, 2016)

Criticism towards the Death Policy

This policy indeed invited criticisms from domestic and international communities. In Indonesia, the criticisms mostly came from the human rights activists both from local organizations and international organizations. In the Philippines criticism also came from the human rights activists both from local organizations and international organizations.

According to Rafendi Djamin, Amnesty International's Director for South East Asia and the Pacific, Jokowi should not become the most prolific executioner in recent history (Amnesty International, 2016). Amnesty International also noted that Indonesian authorities were proceeding with the executions too hastily.

Amnesty International also note that Jokowi headed to the opposite direction of the majority of countries where the death penalty has fallen out of favor. Human Rights Watch Asia Director Phelim Kine stated that Human Rights Watch was disappointed with Jokowi's decision to implement death penalty and argued that Indonesia should follow the example of other countries that had abolished the death penalty. (Jakarta Globe, 2015)

The Head of *Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia* (YLBHI) Alvon Kurnia Palma said that the state should have built the awareness of the law and human social justice as well as human rights. (Hidayat, 2015) However, by reviving death penalty, Jokowi used the death penalty as a way to forward his populist political interest. Wahyudi Djafar, Researcher from Lembaga Studi & Adovikasi Masyarakat (Elsam) stated that Elsam condemn death penalty for any kinds of crimes in Indonesia, one of the reasons is that death penalty is irreversible if there are any mistakes in the legal process, meanwhile it has been accepted that wrongful conviction is a possibility in the current Indonesian legal system. (Hidayat, 2015)

On the killings of alleged drug offenders in the Philippines, Amnesty International published a report titled '"If you are poor you are killed": Extrajudicial Executions in the Philippines' "War on Drugs".' Tirana Hassan, Amnesty International's Crisis Response Director, claimed that it is a war on the poor rather than the war on drugs, citing that people are accused of using or selling drugs on the flimsiest of evidence for cash. (Amnesty International, 2017)

Fatou Bensouda, Prosecutor of International Criminal Court (ICC), noted that extrajudicial killings might fall under the jurisdiction of ICC. (International Criminal Court, 2016) Bensouda also reminded that the Philippines is a state party to ICC and noted that the Office of the Prosecutor might open a preliminary examination if needed. John Collins, Executive Director of London School of Economics IDEAS International Drug Policy Project, argued aggressive enforcements on drug policy do not succeed in reducing the market of illegal drugs, rather they inflame violence associated with illegal drugs. (Diola, How Duterte's drug war can fail, 2016) Collins said that the Philippines experience is not unique and that some of the devastating results could already be seen. Vanda Felbab-Brown, an urban violence and internal conflict expert at the Brookings Institution argued that Duterte's policy on illegal drugs is counterproductive because it is making the drug market violent. (Diola, How Duterte's drug war can fail, 2016) Felbab-Brown also noted that the "drug watch list" system maintained in the Philippines' barangays might be misused to target the committee members' rival and enemies to be labeled as a drug pusher and then killed.

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that both leaders have a specific angelic goal for the sake of their respective states. Jokowi and Duterte unintentionally agree that the illegal drugs issue is a threat to their state and have to be stopped for the good of the next generations. The regulations implemented in both states also allowed for death policy to be implemented. Despite the similarities, a lot of differences can be found in the implementation in both states. First, is regarding the regulation of the illegal drugs. Joko Widodo's death penalty seems to be in line with the regulations. All 28 convicts had been declared by the court to fulfill the reasonable justification to be given the death penalty. Although there are many criticisms accusing, there are a lot of weaknesses in the justice system and the court.

Contrary to Joko Widodo, Rodrigo Duterte seemed to ignore the Comprehensive Dangerous Drugs Act in his "war on drugs" policy. Duterte's policy focused on the intensification of police operation, rather than legal due process.

The second difference is the distinguished target of illegal drugs-related crimes aimed by Jokowi and Duterte. Jokowi only implemented death penalty to the drug dealers, traffickers, and big players, which is claimed that the convicts already passed the legal process in Indonesia. The legal process was including the lawyers for detainees, the tribunal, even the religious guide prepared before the execution. The sentence given is in line with the implemented law in Indonesia. It can be seen from all detainees who were executed, none of them were the ordinary drug users.

On the other hand, Duterte illegal drug policies mainly in the form of encouraging the police to intensify their operation to eradicate drug pushers and users. When there are casualties from the police operation, Duterte would simply dismiss them as the necessary evil, and even at times encouraged the police and even civilians to kill drug pushers and users when they see them.

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MONITORING OF TRANS JOGJA'S FACILITIES IN REDUCING THE TRAFFIC JAM BY TRANSPORTATION DEPARTMENT OF DAERAH ISTIMEWA YOGYAKARTA IN 2016

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INTRODUCTION

According to provincial regulations Yogyakarta special region number 1 in 2008 article 1, paragraph 6, transport means the transfer of people or goods from one place to place by car. Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta is a province that has a high volume of traffic jams with an estimated 45% in 2023 up to now rise every day about 7 %. (Redaksi, 2013). Congestion is not able to function properly (KBBI). Congestion is caused by several factors, including:

1. The capacity of the small road
2. The number of vehicles is increasing every year
3. Damaged roads
4. Public transport is stopped suddenly
5. Medium passage of the project
6. Parking is not in place

In addition to the six factors already noted above, there are few more things that can cause congestion increasing the number of tourists. Urban transport conditions, about 81 percent more vehicles filled by private vehicle in which the motorcycle occupies a portion of the 74 percent at most in the form of bus vehicle only 10 percent (Sajarwo, 2013). It can be seen that the motor vehicle is still the favorite vehicles of citizens Jogjakarta in performing everyday activities. In the city of Yogyakarta, there are several points of congestion, among others; Jl. Malioboro Jl . Mangkubumi, Jl. PanembahanSenopati, Jl. A.M Sangaji km 1, Jl. Kebon Raya, Jl. LaksdaAdisucipto Jl. Magelang km1 (Prabowo, 2012).

Table of volume growth vehicle in the city of Yogyakarta in 2012-2014

In 2012 (January-December)	in 2013 (January-December)	In 2014 (January-march)
244.276	259.486	59.508

Source: Tribunnews.com, *Pertambahan Jumlah Kendaraan di DIY dari Tahun ke Tahun Sabtu*, 23 Agustus 2014

One of the government programs Yogyakarta special region (Yogyakarta and Sleman) in reducing the congestion of providing public transport, namely the Trans Jogja bus in the city of Yogyakarta and Sleman districts. Trans Jogja started operating since 2008 is managed by PT JogjaTugu Trans nowadays Trans Jogja bus was granted to PT. Anindya Mitra Internasional (AMI) operating starting at 5:30 to 21:30 pm. Trans Jogja is expected to help reduce the number of traffic jams in Jogjakarta. There are three types of tickets namely single trip ticket, regular ticket, and ticket for students. Currently the number of Trans Jogja bus fleet of around 74 buses on five routes, transporting 17,000 passengers per day with a maximum capacity of 40 people per unit. (suryanto, 2015). Trans Jogja has shelter facilities totalling 144 consisting of 112 permanent shelters and 40 portable shelters (oktarinda, 2014). Shelter functioning as a lounge area and a transit point for passengers Trans Jogja.

Some of the advantages of such Trans Jogja are quite comfortable, air-conditioned there is the scent of the room, anti-theft, a stewardess/steward bus and there is a bus stop special Trans Jogja and anti-singers (Mulyono, 2015). Some of these advantages can be felt by all users Trans Jogja bus. With some of the advantages above should be able to support the community to use Trans Jogja as public transport to reduce congestion. However, the advantages offered by the government have not been fully able to reduce congestion significantly. This is indicated by the presence of Trans Jogja some drawbacks that must be considered and evaluated. Among them: a thick smoky, too many passengers (overload) so that in the bus being stuffy and urged insistence, sometimes the AC was not functioning as well as the room deodorizers, there are drivers who do not obey the traffic rules and smoking. Passengers often a long wait at the stop because the bus was late. However, these are provided at this timeless as desired by the community (Mulyono, 2015). In addition, some locations do not have access Trans Jogja bus this areas that do not get access cover an area of Bantul, Kulon Progo and Gunung Kidul.

Trans Jogja was originally intended to make the public Jogja prefer public transport to reduce congestion. However, in practice, the provision of Trans Jogja yet in optimally in its role in reducing congestion. Lack of facilities to make wishes of the people using public transport, especially Trans Jogja is reduced in line with the revitalization of facilities existing facilities. The number of evaluation has not been sufficient to provide congestion relief by realization Trans Jogja itself. This research were search about the monitoring process that conducted to Department Transportation of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta province and PT. Jogja Tugu against Trans Jogja to reducing congestion. To analyze the research, the researcher read some different books and journal to add the knowledge about the current case as bellow:

The differentiation this research with previous research is this focusing on the reduction of congestion in Yogyakarta with the public transport, then analyze the increasing the volume of private vehicles in Yogyakarta, focusing on international adoption system, and analyze the stakeholders in the management of Trans Jogja to reducing congestion.

No	Author	Content
1	Thiraphong Vikitset Published:January 21, Vol.31 issue 1 journal of Economics Bulletin (2011)	Bangkok has bus rapid transit project to reduce traffic jam in several inbound and outbound lanes. That's project also has purpose to reduce the number of private vehicle. In this case the evaluation of bus rapid transit performance which is adding the number of public transportation. The BRT project has been implemented in Bangkok for the Satorn/Rajpruek route covering the distance of 15 kilometers. Under the BRT project, vehicles are generally prohibited to enter the BRT lane that is reserved for the BRT buses. The BMA anticipated that the project can reduce the number of traffic along this route. However, the impact of the project on traffic allocations along the route has not received attention of the authority. It is shown that the BRT project causes traffic misallocations along the route which result in welfare losses.
2	Hasrina Puspitasari and Sardjito Jurnal Teknik Pomit Vol. 3, No. 1, (2014)	Trans Jakarta as the new model of public transportation has purpose to reduce congestion. In this research, Trans Jakarta is evaluated by service quality improved. The evaluation did survey the passenger satisfaction. Then, the result found that Trans Jakarta services are not efficient yet. These indicators supported the creation of Trans Jakarta good services which is punctuality, waiting time, comfort, safety and available of information.
3	Rizqi Luthfiana Khairu Nisa dan Iwan Pratoyo Kusuma Jurnal Perencanaan Wilayah dan Kota A SAPPK V1N1 (2014)	The background of this research told the Bus Batik Solo Trans should be evaluated the service quality. Service quality will increase the number of public transportation passenger, especially Bus Batik Solo Trans passenger. Trans Solo is provided to reduce the number of private vehicles. The result of evaluation of Bus Batik Solo Trans service performance based on the operator, effective and efficient of performance. Therefore, it should be needed for performance improvement through effective and efficient improvement in each service with considering the operational condition and passenger perception.

The above research supported in this research because the research related with the focus of this research. Focusing on increasing of public transportation quality services, disability empowerment, and also providing public transportation on decreasing traffic jam.

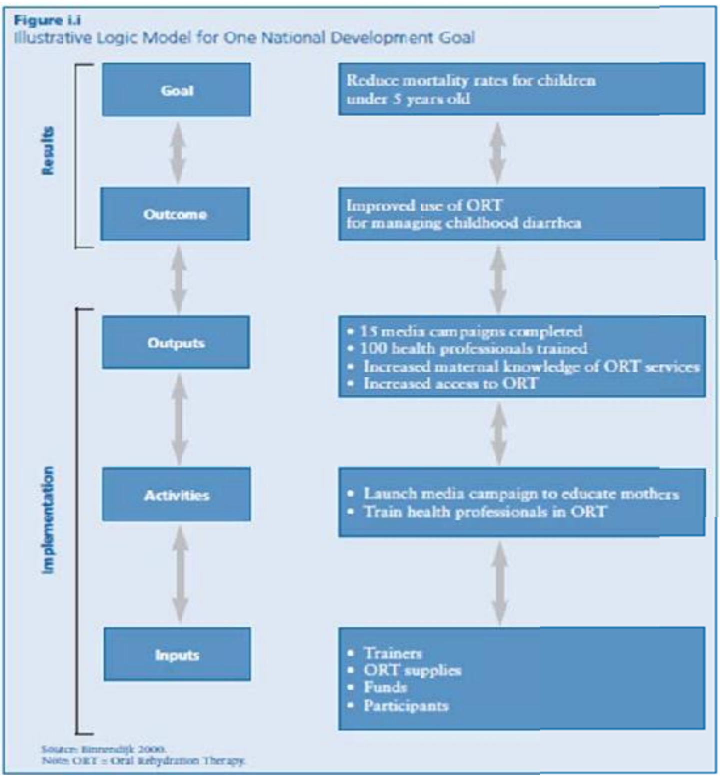
Monitoring System

Monitoring is continuous of managerial function which to provide the manager, decision-maker, and stakeholder on ordinary feedback and the first indication of success or unsuccessful the purpose of objective accomplishment plan (Chikane, 2005). Monitoring is several descriptions and assesses the differences value in intervene (input, activity, output, outcome and impact) (Holvoet, 2008).

The GPRA (Government Performance and Result Act) from the United States in 1993 is the institution has to concern to government accountability and performance. The International review shows clearly the concept of monitoring and evaluation is widely used globally and that its importance and value are increasingly accepted. There are three factors affecting monitoring and evaluation can be classified. First, Government must be seen to take the ideas by creating appropriate policies and showing compliance and the capacity to control and guide implementation. Second, Infrastructure and financial and human capacities obtainable and be deployed as required. Involving the public quality improves and impact of monitoring and evaluation and makes findings more broadly accepted and useful. The monitoring system was divided into some users. The users that will be used in this assignment are local government those are Department of Transportation, communication and information, Cooperation and Legal Bureau (Biro Kerjasama dan Hukum), Regional financial management agency (Badan Pengelolaan Keuangan Daerah).

Monitoring and evaluation is really important of management which is generally acknowledged as strategically important and useful. The system will achieve the following results: Accurate and reliable information on progress in the implementation of government, Information on the outcomes and impact achieved by government and other public bodies is periodically collected and presented. There are five indicators that will be used in this performance indicators; those are: Overview, A National Indicator Initiative, Departmental Information: Transversal Information, Information on the Government Programs of Action, Links to another source, Verifying Information.

1. Mechanism of Monitoring



Source: Ten Steps to a Results-Based Monitoring and Evaluation System, p:18

Based on the above scheme can be explained that there are two most important being the implementation and results. Implementation is divided into input as to how much budget will be used, how many human resources needed etc. The second is the Activities that form of real activity (action) of the input process, and the third is the output that results obtained from the input. Results are divided over the outcome is the impact resulting from the process output and Benefit the benefits produced good benefits for the institution and the community. The whole process is interrelated to one another starting from the input to the benefit. Where all policies must be have purpose and benefits if it can be perceived by the public.

2. Facilities

According to Tjiptjono (1997), the facility is anything that allows consumers to use the services of these companies. The facility is the physical resources that exist in before a service can be offered to the consumer. According to Kotler (2005), the facility is everything that is the physical equipment and services provided by the sellers to support consumer convenience. In addition, according to Lupiodi (2008), the facility is a means to expedite and facilities the execution of the functions and facilities for the performance, capabilities, and infrastructure in representing the state of the surrounding environment shows the existence in the external covering physical facilities (buildings) apparatus and equipment.

3. Public Transportation

Public Transportation can be defined as the public carriage, even human or goods and the transaction was done by certain capital or to pay. The transportation policy was characterized technically, sociologist and political. Found several public Transportation in Yogyakarta such as: Trans Jogja Bus, Mini Bus, Taxi, and Motorcycle Rental.

According to Governor Regulation number 28 in 2010 Trans Jogja is the management of public transportation in Yogyakarta City area which is implemented the buy the service system by the local government of DIY Province (Birohukum, 2010). Trans Jogja is the new transportation system and focus become the interaction icon between districts in DIY (Pratomo, 2015).

4. Traffic Jam

According to Rodrique (2009), traffic jam can be perceived as an unavoidable consequence of scarce transport facilities such us road, parking area, road signals and effective traffic management. Traffic jam is the moment where the traffic condition is unstable, the operation speed has relative decrease fast cause emerge the barrier, and the vehicle cannot move easily.Traffic jam is a regular occurrence on road networks in major cities of the world, the frequency of its occurrence is a concern to all road users. This situation has prompted transport researchers to carry out research on traffic congestion and thereby develop models to help reduce congestion on road networks. They argue that urban congestion mainly concerns two domains of circulation, passengers, and freight which share the same infrastructure. Thus, traffic jam condition on road networks occurs as a result of excessive use of road infrastructure beyond capacity, and it is characterized by slower speeds, longer trip hours and increased vehicular queuing. The implication of this traffic was because of the higher volume of population and private transportation.

a. Conceptual Definitions

Monitoring is the process of assessing the progress of a program based on indicators that have been defined to achieve results that were agreed. Facilities used to expedite and facilitate the implementation of some physical function that prepared by services vendor to support consumer's comfortability. Public Transportation is the public carriage that should be provided by the government. Found several public transportations in Yogyakarta, one of them is Trans Jogja. Trans Jogja becomes one of public transportation that provided by Local Government of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta that corporate by PT. Anindya Mitra Internasional. In addition, Traffic jam is the moment where the traffic condition is unstable because of vehicle volume growth, higher population, and private transportation.

b. Operational Definitions
    1. Monitoring System Management
        a. SOP and Regulations
        b. Information about Armada Development
        c. the aims of Trans Jogja existence
        d. Suitability of Program Implementation
    2. Public Transportation Facilities
        a. Facilities and Armada's amount
        b. Shelter Availability include for disability
    3. Traffic Jam
        a. Vehicle volume growth
        b. Amount of Passengers

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Types of research

This research used the qualitative research method to collect the data and information. This assignment gives an explanation about fact and the situation by having direct observation and depth interview.

2. Types and data sources
    a. Primary data

This assignment supported by direct observation and depth interview with Department of Transportation, Information, and Communication (Dinas Perhubungan, Komunikasi dan Informasi) DIY and PT. Anindya Mitra Internasional. The direct observation and depth interview to produce the data:

a. Management system of Trans Jogja
b. Trans Jogja Facilities
c. Trans Jogja Passenger
d. Maintanance
e. Data of private transportation

3. Secondary Data
    a. LAKIP SKPD 2014
    b. Keputusan Gubernur DIY
    c. Kontrak Pekerjaan Biaya Operasional Trans Jogja

4. Technique of Data Collecting
    a. Observation

This assignment observes the situation of some object such as: work habitually, the shelter availability, amount of bus, and human services. In this task which becomes the object of observation is divided into some objects such as the Office of the Department of Transportation of the city of Yogyakarta we see some objects such as office space and conditions, the performance of civil apparatus, the availability of SOPS and regulation. The second object. Trans Jogja bus, in Trans jogja bus we saw how the conditions and facilities of the fleet, route Trans Jogja, Trans Jogja bus driver performance. The third object, namely shelters, we see how the availability of shelters, shelter facilities for the disabled, service for disability, the availability of the machine ticket. And the last object that is the highway, we will see a wide shoulder road conditions, road traffic sign, a proponent of Trans Jogja bus.

b. In-Depth Interview

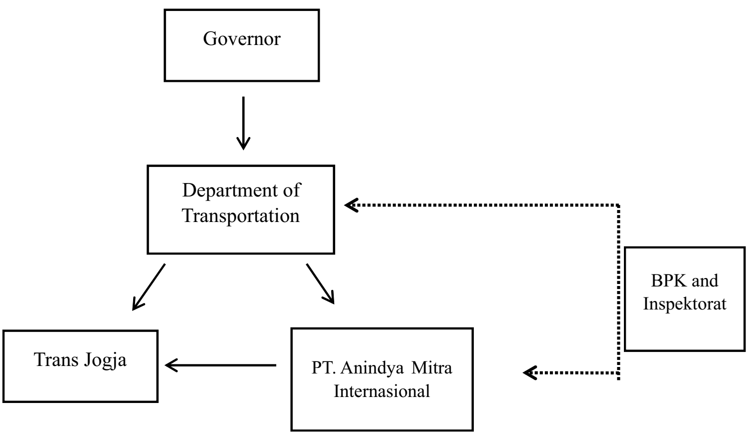
In this task, we perform in-depth interviews in the service of transport communication and information the province of Yogyakarta to get information and deeper about the questions submitted to the Department of Transportation and communication of information.

ANALYSIS

Monitoring System of Dinas Perhubungan DIY towards Trans Jogja

1. The Monitoring Plot of Dinas Perhubungan DIY

Monitoring is a process to control the progress of ongoing activity does running well and it's corresponding with planning, as a periodic and systematic. As a systematic the ploy of the monitoring system of Dinas Perhubungan towards Trans Jogja as follows:



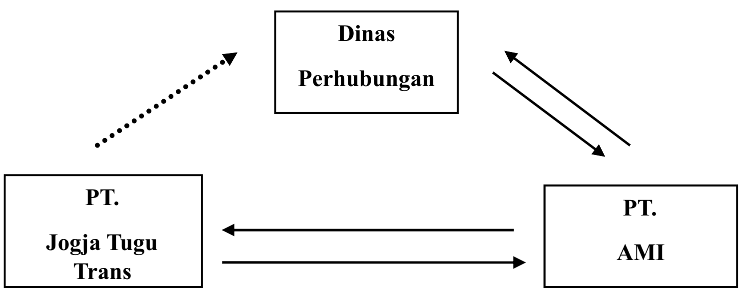
Source: Primary data (Interview with Dinas Perhubungan)

Governor has authority on deciding the amount of fleet, route and the amount of budget on Trans Jogja procurement. The budget which has decided by governor submitted to Dinas

Perhubungan as the service provider. Dinas Perhubungan does cooperation PT. Anindya Mitra Internasional (AMI) as the Badan Usaha Milik Daerah (BUMD) on Trans Jogja technical managing such as providing the human resource, provision, repair, and maintenance of Trans Jogja. Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan (BPK) has authority to control the finance of Trans Jogja. Then, Inspectorate is in control of internal monitoring on Trans Jogja program implementation.

2. The Monitoring System Plot of PT. Anindya Mitra Internasional towards Trans Jogja

On Trans Jogja, monitoring system is not only brought by Dinas Perhubungan. However, PT. AMI as the part which is doing cooperation with Dinas Perhubungan also has the authority and obligation to do the integrity monitoring system Dinas Perhubungan, PT.AMI, and PT. Jogja Tugu Trans as follows:



Source: Primary data (Interview with PT.AMI)

Based on monitoring system plot of PT. AMI, Dinas Perhubungan cooperates with PT.AMI on Trans Jogja operational. Then, PT.AMI fixed cooperates with PT.Jogja Tugu Trans and then PT. Jogja Tugu Trans in outside of contract also can communicate with Dinas Perhubungan as directly on complaint case such as the passenger left his/her stuff.

"dulunya sebelum PT.AMI bekerjasama dengan dinas perhubungan pada tahun 2016, PT.JTT dapat berhubungan secara langsung dengan Dinas Perhubungan. Akan tetapi, sekarang PT.JTT tidak dapat berhubungan secara langsung dengan Dinas Perhubungan Walaupun diluar dari kesepakatan tersebut ada beberapa hal dimana Dinas Perhubungan harus langsung berhubungan Langsung dengan PT.JTT seperti pengaduan atau barang tertinggal, Dinas Perhubungan dapat mengkomunikasikan hal itu ke PT.JTT secara langsung" (Wawancara dengan Bapak Gunawan Wibisono pada tanggal 02 mei 2016).

PT. Jogja Tugu Trans has authority on Trans Jogja Management (human resource measures, technical case of Trans Jogja, etc).

"PT.AMI melakukan kerjasama operator dimana seluruh Manajemen dipegang oleh PT.Jogja Tugu Trans misalnya tindakan untuk pegawai-pegawai trans jogja, Manajemen teknik akan di manage langsung oleh PT.JTT" (wawancara dengan Bapak Gunawan Wibisono pada tanggal 02 mei 2016).

a. Monitoring implementation

1. Dinas Perhubungan

In implementation of Trans Jogja monitoring, Dinas Perhubungan is conduct the monitoring in terms of budget and operational vehicles. System monitoring are divided into two, first is performed by internal Dinas Perhubungan directly and regularly by looking at conformity with minimum service standards (SPM) as determined by Dinas Perhubungan and approved by PT. AMI. The Second is that the public can do external monitoring as users of Trans Jogja complaints through SMS. Dinas Perhubungan is also doing a collect data on a regular basis against the facilities and budget that will be adjusted with the data that owned by PT.AMI, and the data will be audited by the Audit Board (BPK).

"Kami dari Dinas perhibungan juga merekap seluruh data aduan setelah itu kami akan memberikan data aduan masyarakat kepada PT.AMI. selain itu, berkaitan dengan anggaran Badan

> *Pemeriksa Keuangan (BPK) yang mengaudit tentang anggaran apakah dengan jumlah seperti itu sudah memberikan hasil yang maksimal" (Wawancara dengan Bapak Sigit Wahyu selaku Kasi Operasional Trans Jogja pada tanggal 18 April 2016)"*

Furthermore, PT. AMI in accordance with work contact (Appendix) monitoring in terms of technical implementation of such provision and performance of human resources, repair the Trans Jogja's bus, ensuring the comfort and safety of passengers, pay the salary for driver and employees, provide the operational costs of the vehicle (BOK). Maintaining facilities (cleanliness, decency, comfort fit SPM), is the duty and responsibility of PT JTT for maintaining a means of supporting services Trans Jogja, so it stays clean, decent, and comfortable to meet the SPM services that have been determined. As well as to collect data on a regular basis to facilities and budgets which will be adapted to the data held by Dinas Perhubungan DIY. This was done to create a good synergy between two of them.

2. PT Anindya Mitra International

Dinas Perhubungan in cooperation with PT.AMI by providing 51 billion budget for operational costs in terms of bus maintenance and salary for employees. Dinas Perhubungan can give complaint reports to PT. AMI.PT. AMI received a report and complaint about the facilities and human resources of the Dinas Perhubungan and also a complaint from the public through the service complaint that has been available. The complaint from Dinas Perhubungan is divided into two of the complaint are reprimand and clarification (inconsiderate driver) in addition there is also a complaint that is urgent (goods passengers left) and consequential evaluation. After that, PT.AMI received complaints from Dinas Perhubungan, PT. AMI will evaluate and recap all complaints and submit it to PT.Jogja Tugu Trans via E-mail, Handie Talkie and other electronic devices. PT. Trans Jogja Tugu will take action based on the evaluation results and recaps by checking items and facilities are being filed. After PT. Jogja Tugu Trans checks will provide a report to the PT. AMI to make sure all the checks have been carried.

After that, PT.AMI will report back to the Dinas Perhubungan as a form of accountability. For the implementation of the monitoring system between PT.AMI and PT.JTT is the same system. However, for the entire management of operating the Trans Jogja managed by PT.JTT in accordance with the contract between the two sides.

> *"PT.AMI dan PT.JTT dalam melakukan operasi sistem monitoring nya sama. Dimana sistem monitoring yang paling besar ada di PT.JTT karena PT.JTT yang langsung mengoperasikan dan manage. Maka jika terdapat tindakan yang tidak sesuai dengan Perjanjian kontrak antar kedua PT ini, PT.AMI akan menegur PT.JTT" (wawancara dengan Bapak Gunawan Wibisono pada tanggal 02 mei 2016).*

For operational monitoring is done every day directly by Dinas Perhubungan and PT. AMI to check directly against Trans Jogja bus whether Trans Jogja bus operating in accordance with the SPM agreed. While PT. AMI also monitors every day or per month on target can achieve the Kilometer (KM) in BOK or not.

> *"PT.AMI menghitung per/KM, Maka setiap hari atau setiap bulan kita akan tahu evaluasi kita apakah telah sesuai target atau belum sesuai dengan target yang telah ditentukan" (Wawancara dengan Bapak Gunawan Wibisono pada tanggal 02 mei 2016)."*

In this case, the position of PT. AMI more above compared to PT Tugu Jogja trans. Because, if PT Tugu Jogja Trans ask for the budget must go through PT. Ami. PT. JTT cannot ask the Fund directly to Dinas Perhubungan but have to go through PT AMI. PT. JTT only has authority in terms of the management of Trans Jogja.

> *"Kedudukan PT.JTT sedikit dibawah daripada PT.AMI. karena mereka (PT.JTT) tidak bisa mengajukan anggaran secara langsung ke Dinas Perhubungan. Tetapi, yang dapat mengajukan anggaran secara langsung ke Dinas Perhubungan yaitu PT.AMI" (Wawancara dengan Bapak Gunawan Wibisono pada tanggal 02 mei 2016)."*

b. Trans Jogja to reducing the Traffic Jam

In 2008 Trans Jogja is start operating. One of the goals is to reduce congestion by procurement Trans Jogja as the rejuvenation of public transport. Law number 29 of 2000 / PP 74 designate enterprises that PT.AMI from 1 January 2016 as manager of Trans Jogja which PT.AMI designated by using an auction system (e-procurement). The budget provided 51 billion for 2016 and based on the Decision of the Governor DIY in 2015 about Trans Jogja Operating Costs; Trans Jogja Bus Operating Costs amounted to 6654.50 per kilometer per bus.

> *"Dana 51 miliar tersebut merupakan anggaran tahunan yang dicairkan dalam bentuk perhitungan BOK. Jadi setiap bulan PT.AMI akan melihat berapa per KM maka mereka akan mengajukan anggaran sesuai dengan per KM" (wawancara dengan Bapak Gunawan Wibisono pada tanggal 02 mei 2016).*

The fund already includes maintenance of Trans Jogja bus; pay the salary, shelter revitalization. For now, a number of the buses is 74 busses, 112 bus stop shelters Static, portable shelter 60 stops and the attendant of Trans Jogja is 750 people.

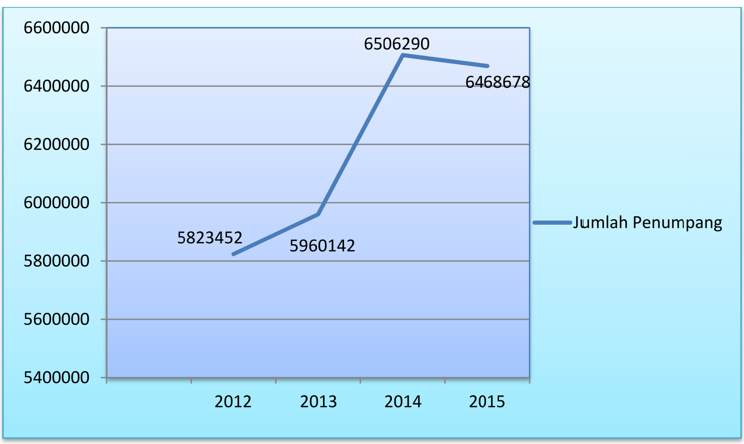
> *"Saat ini kami dari Dinas perhubungan memiliki 74 armada bus, 112 shelter statis, 60 shelter portable dan 750 orang petugas untuk tahun" (Wawancara dengan Bapak sigit wahyu selaku Kasi Operasional DISHUB, pada tanggal 18 April 2016).*

Based on the survey, bus Trans Jogja now lack adequate facilities such holder / grip for standing passengers, the automatic door bus Trans Jogja defunct, smoke of bus Trans Jogja, air conditioning are less cold, conditions of shelter small (depending on location and wide sidewalks), seating in inadequate shelter, as well as its facilities are not available for the disability.

Additionally Trans Jogja accessible only in part of the district of Bantul near Yogyakarta city borders. The campus area in the district of Bantul, which in essence is a large-scale campus have not been able to access the Trans Jogja bus.

> *"Untuk kedepannya kami pemerintah akan mengembangkan trans jogja jika armada memadai dan kajian penumpang memungkinkan kedaerah lain maka akan disediakan trans jogja di daerah-daerah tersebut yang merupakan wilayah-wilayah berhimpitan|" (Diskusi dengan Arif Nurhatanto selaku Wakil Ketua DPRD DIY pada tanggal 18 april 2016).*

Here the number of passengers from the year 2012-2015 based on data from Dinas Perhubungan DIY:



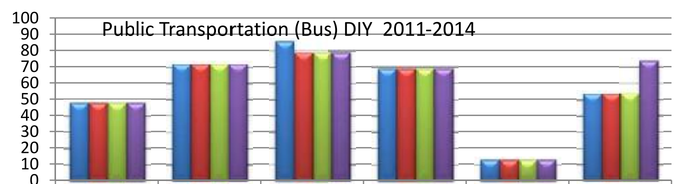
Source: Data Jumlah penumpang Dinas Perhubungan DIY 2012-2015

Based on the diagram above, the number of passengers in 2012 is 5,823,452 people. In 2013 increased by 5,960,142 people. Meanwhile, in 2014 the number of passengers Trans Jogja bus experienced a significant increase of 6.50629 million people, and in 2015 the number of passengers decreased compared to the year 2014 is 6,468,678 people. In 2016 Dinas Perhubungan DIY plans will get 25 donations buses of Ministry of Communications for replacing some of the buses have been in operation since 2007. The existence of Trans Jogja still felt by the people of Yogyakarta. This is an evidence that the data on the number of passengers has increased every year. Proves that Trans Jogja is still one of public transportation options for the society in DIY.

> *"untuk tahun 2016 saat ini, Kami mendapatkan sumbangan dari kementrian perhubungan sebesar 25 armada bus yang akan di operasikan bulan juni 2016" (Wawancara Dengan Bapak Gunawan Wibisiono pada tanggal 02 mei 2016).*

In the operation of Trans Jogja, Dinas Perhubungan and PT.AMI refers to the minimum service standards (SPM), SOPs and regulations. SPM created by the Dinas Perhubungan is given and approved by PT.AMI as the basis for implementation. SPM included on vehicle standards (general requirements, technical requirements and supplies bus), Standard service operations (service bus operation), Standard safety (safety bus, the bus crew and passengers), Standard service (services and service users), and Reporting Standards (mechanisms for reporting and evaluation).

Here is the diagram from Dinas Perhubungan growth in DIY in 2011-2014:



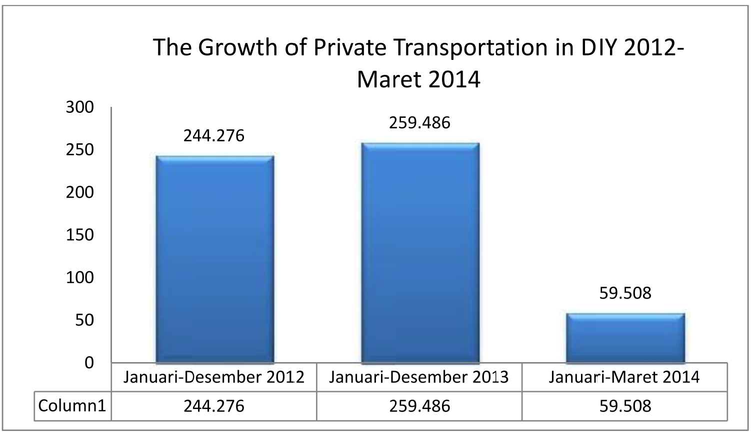
	Kobutri	Aspada	Kopata	Puskopar	DAMRI	Trans Jogja
Column1	48	72	86	69	13	54
Column2	48	72	79	69	13	54
Column3	48	72	79	69	13	54
Column4	48	72	79	69	13	74

Source: LAKIP Dinas Perhubungan in 2014

Based on the chart above in 2011-2014 KOBUTRI, ASPADA, KOPATA, PUSKOPAR, DAMRI, Trans Jogja has the same amount each year. However, for the year 2011 KOPATA increase become 86 buses. And Trans Jogja in 2014 increased from 54 to 74 buses.

For now, the government has been trying to maximally DIY in the provision of public transport seen from the efforts made by Dinas Perhubungan, PT. AMI, and PT. JTT the Trans Jogja program. However, the number of private vehicles is increasing every year (data) are not comparable with the availability of Public Transport Bus Trans Jogja especially so for now it can be seen that the Trans Jogja does not reduce congestion in DIY yet.

Here the number of private vehicle data DIY in 2012- March 2014:



Source: Tribunnews.com, Pertambahan Jumlah Kendaraan di DIY dari Tahun ke Tahun Sabtu, 23 Agustus 2014

Based on the diagram above, the number of private vehicles in DIY in 2012 amounted to 244.276 vehicles. Meanwhile, in 2013 increased by 15.210 vehicles to 259.486 in 2014 and January-March has touched the figure of 59.508

"Dari tahun per tahun volume kendaraan pribadi dan kendaraan umum sangat jauh berbeda. dimana, dapat dilihat sekarang ini kendaraan pribadi di jogja sudah sangat banyak dan didominasi oleh mahasiswa" (Wawancara dengan Bapak Sigit Wahyu selaku Kasi Operasional Trans Jogja pada tanggal 18 April 2016).

Seeing the number of private vehicles, which is always increasing the number of tourists and students as well as students from all over Indonesia. It adds a lot of its population and private vehicle users in DIY. It is not comparable to the number of public transport in DIY. Where at this time also appeared a new transportation-based online increasingly make its existence public service vehicles specialized Trans Jogja is getting evicted.

c. The obstacles of Monitoring Implementation

The Obstacles to Monitoring Implementation and implementation of the Trans Jogja that explained by Dinas Perhubungan are: first because the existence of the transfer way of demos and jams made Trans Jogja buses cannot operate in accordance with a predetermined track. Second, the Trans Jogja bus does not have a special track. Third, the condition of the bus is old and is not feasible to operate. Fourth, coaching the employees to be improved especially coaching against reckless drivers. Fifth, unavailable ticket machines in the portable shelter while the portable shelter can also be to raise a passenger who does not have the customer's card. Sixth, there is manipulation of the ticket. Seventh, there are still passengers entering through the exit door stop without paying first.

"Selama ini kami dari Dinas Perhubungan telah menemukan beberapa pelanggaran berat dan ringan. Pelanggaran berat seperti memanipulasi tiket dan pelanggaran ringan seperti merokok didalam halte. Untuk pelanggaran berat tersebut pada bulan januari kami telah mengeluarkan 4 orang pegawai yang

melanggar. Untuk aduan seperti petugas yang tidak ramah, harus ada aduan terlebih dahulu kepada Dinas Perhubungan dan dinas perhubungan akan melakukan klarifikasi kepada PT.AMI dengan memberikan Surat Peringatan 1 jika lebih dari 1 maka akan dikeluarkan/dipecat". (Wawancara dengan Bapak Sigit Wahyu selaku Kasi Operasional Trans Jogja pada tanggal 26 April 2016)

The Obstacles Monitoring discovered by PT. Anindya Mitra International, such as First, Human Resources of diverse by different backgrounds and characters. The larger number of human resources makes it difficult to monitor the human resources.

"Kami dari PT.AMI tidak dapat memonitoting seluruh crew Trans Jogja. Dan beberapa crew dari PT. JTT berasal dari berbagai background yang dahulunya bekerja sebagai sopir di kopata, bus kota, damri dll. Sehingga kami tidak dapat mengetahui satu per satu sifat dan karakteristik orang tersebut. Ada sopir yang tidak ugal-ugalan dan ada juga yang tidak (Wawancara dengan Bapak Gunawan Wibisono pada tanggal 02 mei 2016).

Based on interviews with Sigit Wahyu Due to the many violations that happened in tickets thing, in the future will be the implementation of the card as a ticket user customer of Trans Jogja. This card is a replacement ticket purchasing system with money to minimize the manipulation of the number of passengers. This will facilitate to Trans Jogja users who entered through a portable shelter also facilitate crew in the passenger record in purpose with the number of cards identified. Tickets for the entire Trans Jogja bus users had not used money in buying a ticket. But, use a subscription card to reduce the violation ticket.

Second, the management of Trans Jogja is still limited by a system of cooperation. Thus, budgeting and reporting system looks more complicated. PT.JTT as a cooperation partner of PT.AMI, must report all relating to the management of Trans Jogja to PT. AMI first, because in co-operation contract PT. JTT cannot deal directly with Dinas Perhubungan is in terms of reporting and budget asked. Third, the number of Trans Jogja buses that operates have been reduced so as to make the number of the buses that operates not appropriate and balanced along with expanding the number of private vehicles in DIY.

CONCLUSION

The system of monitoring facilities is considered Trans Jogja already implemented in accordance with existing procedure, which is based on a system of minimum service or SPM. DISHUB, PT. AMI and PT. JTT has responsibilities for each in monitoring the Trans Jogja as a mode of public transport. Integritation between DISHUB, PT. AMI and PT. JTT already established well enough in monitoring the implementation of the Trans Jogja in reducing congestion. It evidenced the communication system that exists between both organizations in addressing problems in the implementation of monitoring.

One of the constraints of monitoring the implementation of the Trans Jogja to reduce congestion are Trans Jogja now some fleets have been unsuitable, and some also have stopped operating. On the other side, the number of users over the years has increased, but the number of private vehicles continues to increase and the number of Trans Jogja buses. Inadequate also an obstacle to Trans Jogja in reducing the congestion. Public transport is greatly needed by people in Yogyakarta which are a tourist town and city students. So the demand to continue to do revitalization public transport especially Trans Jogja will continue to appear until the primary goal in the procurement of Trans Jogja achieved, namely Trans Jogja to reduce congestion.

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IMPACT OF POPULATION MIGRATION ON ENVIRONMENT THROUGH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POLICY

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INTRODUCTION

The increasing number of population movements should be taken into serious consideration for an international organization, such as United Nations. The number of people who decide to do international migration keeps increasing. Thus, it may direct our consideration to a human security problem. The concept of human security is important as basic analyses both for pull and push factors of migration.

By definition, an international migrant is a person who is living in a country other than his or her country of birth[1]. As been stated above, international migration activity is increasing nowadays. It impacts on many fields such as politic, economy, social, culture, and environment. Those fields are strongly correlated with nation security in which may impact on human security for generations.

Here, migrants who defined as people doing international migration can be divided into refugees and immigrants. However, different concepts of migrants have been misinterpreted for years. Refugees and immigrants have different push and pull factors, though. The misinterpretation of both may cause different respond from the government of target countries and also local citizens.

[1] UN. International Migration Report 2015 Highlights ST/ESA/SER.A/375. Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2016

Migrants may face social and economy problem when they find themselves in the new neighborhood other than their home countries. Treatments from government and donors in target countries will determine their lives. Migrants, as some of the most dynamic members of society, can also forge new paths in science, medicine, and technology and enrich their host communities by promoting cultural diversity[2]. However, studies of international migration put less consideration on environmental impact. It may assert serious problem for generations in future.

RESEARCH QUESTION

Background of research above has implied several ways of identification of the international migration phenomenon. It is absolutely a serious consideration when it comes to human security. Based on the background of research, the following is the research question:

How does the phenomenon of international migration impact on human security in target countries about economic, politic, and environmental policy?

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Subject of International Migration: Refugee and Immigrant

An international migrant or immigrant is a person who is living in a country other than his or her country of birth. For estimating the international migrant stock, data on place of birth are given precedence, when they are available. Of the 232 countries and areas included in this analysis, data on the foreign-born were available for 188, or 81 percent of them.

Based on data above we can see that citizens of countries like Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Carribean,

[2] UN. International Migration Report 2015 Highlights ST/ESA/SER.A/375. Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2016

Oceania, and Northern America conduct international migration all over the world. It doesn't mean the place they were born is not safe anymore, but it is the way to find a better living place.

On the other hand, a refugee is a person or a group or people who were/were forced to flee his/her/their homes country due to the reasons that can be categorized as political in general. Immigrants defined as a group of people who are migrating whether as an individual or as a group to reach to the better economic conditions[3]. Based on above definition, refugees are to be back at the time they feel safe in their homes country, or political condition in the home country is safe to live, while immigrants are supposed to be back after reaching some level of financial cumulation.

However, it is becoming more difficult to differentiate economic migrants and refugees. Since, the analyses of 'safe' based on human security concept, which will be discussed later, make us clear that people who being unsafe economically are also may force to find a better place to live in. However, it is not that easy to decide to move to another place other than their home countries, but as a matter of fact, more complicated condition nowadays may force people to do international migration and claim that they are a refugee for the unfair condition they get economically.

As been stated before, economic and political condition are the reason have traditionally played an important role as main factors behind populations' transborder movements. It was generally a tendency to group the factors as much as pull factors. If the economic condition of home country is not good, it is accepted as a push factor. In other words, better economic

[3] Nesrin Algan-Özlen Künçek. Journal The Turkish Yearbook Vol. XXVIII: Transboundary Population Movements: Refugees, Environment, and Politics.1998

conditions in the target country or the receiving country are to be considered as a pull factor. Nevertheless, the thin line between these two groups of factors is getting more and more blurred[4]. Sadako Ogata has mentioned that:

> *"more and more people are being forced to flee for a complex combination of reasons, linked as much to population growth, poverty, famine and environmental degradation as to mass violations of human rights, social and ethnic tensions and armed conflict"*[5].

2. Concept of Human Security

Misinterpretation of immigrants and refugees defines the reason behind international migration in all over the world. It also correlates with different treatments given from citizens and government of target countries. There are push and pull factor in international migration. Sometimes it is hard to the best reason of security which becomes a push and pull factor of international migration. Thus, analyses based on human security is important to be implemented here. As stated by Kofi Annan; "Human security can no longer be understood in purely military terms. Rather, it must encompass economic development, social justice, environmental protection, democratization, disarmament, and respect for human rights and the rule of law".[6]

Similarly, the United Nations Development Program's 1993 Human Development Report mentioned, "*The* concept of security must change from an exclusive stress on national security to a much greater stress on people's security, from

[4] *Ibid*

[5] Statement by Sadako Ogata, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UN Conference on Environment and Development,Rio de Janeiro, 10.6.1992:<http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/unhcr/hcspeech/10julyl992.htm>03/10/2017

[6] Kofi Annan. "Towards a Culture of Peace." <http://www.unesco.org/opi2/lettres/TextAnglais/AnnanE.html>03/10/2017

security through armaments to security through human development, from territorial security to food, employment, and environmental security."[7]

Based on both statements above, we may conclude that the urging factors called push and pull factors are the choice of people who commit to doing the international migration. Thus, the concept of human security which defines the urging factors of international migration still becomes absurd. The concept of safe now become a choice, since safe is not always the same with negative peace, signed by the absence of war or armed conflict. However, we still need to put serious consideration on the urgency of choice they were taken, especially in a current political situation which may turn into complex consideration.

The complexity of problem correlates with international migration might be caused by increasing level of complexity of human need, especially the need of being safe. Security is not only free from direct violence, but also from any form of indirect violence. Negative peace, signed by the absence of direct violence such as war while positive peace, while positive peace marked by the absence of any form of indirect violence such as injustice treatment structurally in politic or social condition.

"Human security, in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violence conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each has opportunities and choices to fulfill his or her potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment -- these are the interrelated building blocks of human – and therefore national – security"[8]. The

[7] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Human Development Report, NewYork,Oxford University Press,1993,p.2

[8] Kofi Annan. "Secretary-General Salutes International Workshop

concept of human security may increase the urgency for people to do the international migration, currently. Thus, it becomes the main reason of increasing cases of international migration in all over the world.

The 1994 HDR was more specific, listing seven essential dimensions of human security:

- Economic
- Food
- Health
- Environmental
- Personal
- Community
- Politic

The complexity field of human security urges us to dig more fruitful analyses of the phenomenon of international migration in contemporary issues. Thus, we can not put our main consideration on negative peace only, whether they are defined as refugee or immigrants. As a matter of fact, the phenomenon of international migration can no longer view as a consequence of war or the occurrence of negative peace. However, it is more important to emphasize on causal and effect of the phenomenon so that better condition in living place can be their homes. Thus, there will no need an international policy from 'super power' country to prohibit people who try to find a better place to live in other than their home countries. Furthermore, positive peace is made and not given.

3. Concept of National Security

Statement of human security which becomes a push and pulls factors of international migration in all over the world have been discussed previously. Thus, the ambiguity reason to commit transboundary movement deems phenomenon of international migration is defined as a choice, not only as the consequences of war or armed conflict anymore. Another important consideration

on Human Security in Mongolia." Two-Day Session in Ulaanbaatar, May 8-10, 2000. Press Release SG/SM/7382. <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20000508.sgsm7382.doc.html> 03/10/2017 in international migration phenomenon nowadays is that people who commit to doing so may blame the target country for not accepting them. However, the government of target country may face national security issues to 'protect' their home country and citizens from the flow of million of people who decide to come in.

"National security is no longer about fighting forces and weaponry alone. It relates increasingly to watersheds, croplands, forests, genetic resources, climate, and other factors rarely considered by military experts and political leaders, but that taken to get her deserve to be viewed as equally crucial to a nation's security as military prowess.The situation is epitomized by the leader who proclaims he will not permit one square meter of national territory to be ceded to a foreign invader while allowing hundreds of square miles of the topsoil to be eroded away each year"[9].

The concept of national security as been stated above is no longer by means of the absence of armed conflict. However, accepting immigrants and refugees into their countries as been targetted is no an easy decision. It correlates with the complex problem for generations in future. The homeland, environmental degradation, scarcity may cause an important problem for generations in future. In case, the population of international migrants is increasing fast and much more the local citizens, then it may cause a serious problem for the government in target country as well.

METHOD OF RESEARCH

It is a library research. The data is obtained from the journal, websites, and also related books. The data is analyzed and compared with previous researchers. Basic of this research analyses human security correlates with the impact on the environment through social and political policy all around the world. The theory of

[9] N .Myers,Ultimate Security; The Environmental Basisof Political Stability, Washington D.C IslandPress,1996,p .21

positive peace mainly discussed in the research. Though, there are numeric data in this research, researcher focus on analyzing data by means of qualitative research.

DISCUSSION

1. Push And Pull Factors Causing International Migration Correlation with Human Security

The phenomenon of international migration has begun for so long. However, the increasing number of people who decide to choose to conduct international migration cause many complexes of a problem for local citizens of target countries and its government as well.

The second World War is often identified as another important watershed in migration history. A large number of people took advantage of migration programs established by the government of United States, Canada, Australia, and Argentina. Migration historians agreed that a crucial turning point in the history of migration about 500 years ago with the voyages undertaken by European explorers that led the discovery of "new worlds" such as the Americas and Asia initially, and then on to the development of colonial endeavors[10]. The most important factor influencing transoceanic migration were mercantile and strategic to find a better place to live in. All major European economic and political powers competed for access to suppliers of much sought after commodities and control of strategic locations.

A number factors combined to create the appropriate conditions for what to become and unprecedented flow of transoceanic migration[11]:

[10] International Oragnization for Migration (IOM). *Migration And History Section 1.3: Essentials of Migration Management. Vol 1: Migration Management Foundations*

[11] *Ibid*

1. The gathering of detailed and reliable geographical knowledge
2. The production of accurate maps
3. The introduction of new technology, including navigation instruments, and larger, safer, and faster seagoing vessels-first under sail, later powered by the stream. Large numbers and women to the America, then Asia and Africa as migrants/settlers. Some of these people had already moved from one country to another within Europe. Convicts, soldiers, farmers, traders, artisans, administrative, and priests migrated and served ever growing, trading, mining, and agricultural enterprises.

It is crucial that we need to analyze the consequence of target countries after accepting people for international migration. However, consequences of target countries are not always seen as bad impact. Hence, we can see the good effect as well.

Migration can contribute to inclusive and sustainable economic growth and development in both home and host communities. In 2014, migrants from developing countries sent home an estimated US $436 billion in remittances; a 4.4 percent increase over the 2013 level (World Bank 2015). Furthermore, migrants often fill critical labor shortages, create jobs as entrepreneurs, and contribute regarding taxes and social security contributions. Migrants, as some of the most dynamic members of society, can also forge new paths in science, medicine and technology and enrich their host communities by promoting cultural diversity[12].

In today's turbulent world, conflicts accumulated by poverty, environmental degradation, resource scarcity and demographic pressures bring with themselves ethnic and

[12] *Ibid.*

religious tensions that may end in armed conflicts[13]. Armed conflicts and human security occupy the agenda of all the related international governmental and non-governmental organizations. However, chronic hunger, growing poverty, increasing population pressures and employment problems, and widespread environmental destruction are the main Silent factors behind these tragic events. As suggested by the UN Secretary-General, the wars and human rights abuses that provoke refugee movements are often rooted in longer-term social, economic and ecological processes[14]. These factors can be called push factor of international migration. However, people who face direct violence nd forced to flee out of their home country found themselves as a refugee. Thus the acceptance of government and local citizens in target country is making a safe place for them to live in, supply food, and all they need. In other words, take care of human living is what they need to do as target country.

However, UNHCR is an only intergovernmental organization that functions in this subject area. The decision of treatment still in the State whether they decide to give the refugee status to asylum-seekers or not. While UNHCR's role is changing and its functions are enlarging under the temporary conditions, as stated: 'At a time when large numbers of people are confronted with the horrors of ethnic cleansing, the threat of communal violence and a growing gap between their economic expectations and their standard of living,these will not be easy tasks'[15].

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[13] Statement by Sadako Ogata, Economic and Social Council, Agenda İtem 16, July 1993:http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/unhcr/hcspeech/10septl993.htm 03/10/2017

[14] Nesrin Algan-Özlen Künçek. Journal The Turkish Yearbook Vol. XXVIII: Transboundary Population Movements: Refugees, Environment, and Politics.1998

[15] *Ibid*

The changing role of UNHCR as a part of international organization sometimes increase the complexity of problem for international migrants treatment. However, UNHCR as international organization still can't force the government of target country to decide the treatment they may give later. Hence, the increasing number of international migrants to target country for years still become the complex consideration. Thus, the treatments for migrants should be clear in the right portion, in which it will not cause another violence for local citizens and generations; and for migrants as well.

Furthermore, the increasing number of international migration cases all over the world can be analyzed as the effort to fulfill Sustainable Developments Goals in 2030. "The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals is not only includes several migration-related targets, but also encourages countries to disaggregate targets by *inter-alia*, migratory status. Such disaggregation will help to ensure that the particular needs and concerns of migrants are well understood and adequately addressed by governments as part of their development policies and planning. Furthermore, the Agenda calls on countries to cooperate internationally to ensure safe, orderly and regular migration and to respect the human rights and humane treatment of migrants and refugees. Furthermore, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda contains several practical proposals to strengthen the development outcomes of migration"[16].

Thus, the urgency of meeting the need of SDG's, which is security come to the first consideration, can no longer be denied. "Sustainable development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations and emphasizes the notion of inter-generation fairness. The scope of this definition alone suggests that human security does

[16] UN. International Migration Report 2015 Highlights ST/ESA/SER.A/375. Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2016

not only mean the ability to defend oneself against wars and similarly armed conflicts, but also the ability to benefit from and safeguard all if fundamental human rights in eluding the right to a healthy environment[17].

2. Impact of International Migration

a. Impact of Phenomenon of International Migration on Economy: Competition And Intervention

The phenomenon of international migration all around the world has happened for so long. Most migrants worldwide are of working age. In 2015, 72 percent of all international migrants were aged 20 to 64 years, compared to 58 percent of the total population. Younger persons, below age 20, tend to be underrepresented amongst international migrants. Globally, 15 percent of all migrants were under 20 years of age, compared to 34 percent of the total population. Thirteen percent of migrants worldwide were at least 65 years old, nearly twice as high as the percentage of persons aged 65 or over globally[18].

International migration then becomes a trend for people who forced to flee. In order to make a better living for their family, sometimes they decide to flee as a push factor as there is no sign to make a better living in their home country. The fact that majority of international migrants are of working age rise another economy and the social problem both for government and citizens of the target country and also the migrants themselves. The migrants may face differentiation from local citizens and government of target country. However, for target country which has signed ratification on international law for migration will treat migrants well.

[17] Nesrin Algan-Özlen Künçek. Journal The Turkish Yearbook Vol. XXVIII: Transboundary Population Movements: Refugees, Environment, and Politics.1998

[18] UN. International Migration Report 2015 Highlights ST/ESA/SER.A/375. Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2016

Then, competition among migrants and local citizens may arise later. Migrants should struggle to find a job for living by themselves. If they are lucky, a better job can be found in the target country. In that condition, it will open the gate of competition for local citizens and migrants.

Furthermore, the population of local citizens may also compete with migrants itself. By the means population law to control migrants population in the target country, this regulation may face the international problem of human rights, since the right for living and make generations is also basic human rights. Then, the explosion of population in target country caused by migration in all over the world may arise to serious issues of human right as well. Hence, the balance of human need distribution will also increase intervention of international organization of refugee and migrants, caused by the issue of imbalance treatment for people not only subject of international migration, but also for local citizens. At last, the issue complexity may increase to international rights for refugee and migrants, in which the consideration of treatment for migration still become the privilege of government in target country currently, may involve other parties to take the control. In other words, by means of international migration complexity, the regulation may open intervention from an international organization.

b. Impact of Phenomenon of International Migration on Politic: Human Security Concerns on Increasing Number of Asylum Seekers

The concept of human security has been discussed above. The implementation of the concept may face a complex problem, especially for the government of target countries. Migrants, particularly women and children, are too often victims of human trafficking and the heinous forms of exploitation that human trafficking entails[19]. Therefore, the number of the status of asylum seeker will increase significantly. In first sight, migrants should be taken carefully. While government of target country also face diplomatic problem correlates with the political condition. The increasing status of asylum seeker may create a dilemmatic problem. However, by means of ratification of international law of refugee, the government of target country should determine their rights and put it at the first consideration. While the basic human need to find a job and identity for the generations of refugee as asylum seekers will come later. Also, the determination to be refugee or immigrants nowadays become the area of choice, whether they decide to be refugee or immigrants, international migrants should be taken care well. Otherwise, an international organization of refugee may take it as a term of intervention. Those may arise more complex problem later. As articulated by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on International Migration:

> *"there is no reason to require people seeking asylum to run a gamut of desert crossings, abuse by smugglers, beatings, extortion, rape and exploitation – or to have them experience the trauma of watching their friends and family die along the way. Doing so is cruel and inhuman, and it violates the spirit of all refugee, human rights, and immigration laws" (Sutherland, 2015).*

The number of international migrants worldwide has continued to grow rapidly over the past fifteen years reaching 244 million in 2015, up from 222 million in 2010, 191 million in 2005 and 173 million in 2000. Between 2000 and 2005, the international migrant stock grew by an average of 2 percent per year. During the period 2005-2010, the annual growth rate accelerated, reaching 3 percent. Since then, however, it has

[19] UN. International Migration Report 2015 Highlights ST/ESA/SER.A/375. Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2016

slowed, falling to around 1.9 percent per year during the period 2010-2015. High-income countries host more than two-thirds of all international migrants[20]. International migration can no longer be seen as a phenomenon of consequences of the war of armed conflict. However it has become the phenomenon of a momentum for people to find a better country as a choice. No matter how hard the political determination on the population of international migration, those people should be taken care well.

Most of the world's migrants live in a handful of countries. In 2015, 67 percent of all international migrants in the world were living in just twenty countries. The largest number of international migrants resided in the United States of America: 47 million, equal to 19 percent of the world's total (figure 3). Germany and the Russian Federation hosted the second and third largest numbers of migrants worldwide (around 12 million each), followed by Saudi Arabia (10 million), the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (nearly 9 million), and the United Arab Emirates (8 million). Of the top twenty destinations of international migrants worldwide, nine were in Asia, seven in Europe, two in Northern America, and one each in Africa and Oceania.[21] Maritime interdiction, visa requirements, and carrier sanctions have become 'the most explicit blocking mechanism for asylum flows[22]. Below is one of the pictures taken when there was a flow of international migration movement to Europe.

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[20] *Ibid*.

[21] UN. International Migration Report 2015 Highlights ST/ESA/SER.A/375. Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2016

[22] Directorate-General For External Policies Policy Department: Current Challenges For International Refugee Law, With A Focus On Eu Policies And Eu Co Operation With The UNHCR Expo/B/Droi/2012/15 December 2013

c. Impact of Phenomenon of International Migration on Environment: Environmental Degradation, Scarcity

International migration is seen as consequences of international law and the condition of politic and economic complexity in contemporary issues. Thus, international migration now can also be seen as consequences of international policy in which war, armed conflict, or economic harsh are allowed. However, the condition of international migration impacts on all fields of study globally, as stated by Victoria Metcalfe-Hough, 2015,"...their migration is driven by an array of overlapping 'push' factors relating to chronic poverty, inequality, environmental degradation and the effects of climate change, as well as 'pull' factors including real and perceived economic and educational opportunities ...". [23]

Environmental degradation and scarcity can be seen both as pull and push factor of international migration. Currently, the issue of refugee and migrants who spread in all over the worlds, seen as two-sided coin which we can't see only one sided. As been stated before, climate change, environmental degradation can be the push and pull factor.

People who decide to do international migration caused by chronic hunger because of damaged environment in their countries called as pull factors. As the consequences, those migrants or refugees will try to find asylum to make life in the target country. While, people who decide to do international migration because there is more chance to make better living caused by better economic and environmental condition in the target country, it is called pull factors. Consequently, those people whose most of them are migrants will try to make a better living whether to cultivate the land or try to build their 'kingdom'

[23] Victoria Metcalfe-Hough. odi.org.Shaping Policy for Development. The Migration Crisis? Facts, Challenges, and Possible Solutions. October 2015. 03/13/2017

of properties in the target country. Both conditions may cause environmental degradation. The irresponsible cultivation of land may damage the environment, instead. Therefore, it may be worse, especially if there is a routine flow of international migration. In this term, environmental degradation is seen as the consequence of international migration.

On the other hand, Sadako Ogata put environmental degradation and scarcity as a more serious condition rather than the traditional causes of refugee movements. As she strikingly stated that "...environmental degradation is not only a contributory factor to armed conflict but also an inevitable consequence of it, so that people, who had fled the war, return home often to find their reintegration prospects blighted by the devastation resulting from the violence[24]".

Based on the statement above, we can see that environmental degradation and scarcity can be the cause of war, instead. The more people means, the more land to be cultivated, the more basic need should be fulfilled, the more hunger cases if it can't be fulfilled. However, the condition may cause the same condition in target country if they accept more immigrants into their countries overly. In addition, the generations of migrants population may cause an explosion of population in the target country. Thus, international law of refugees and immigrants should determine both sides, the target country, and subject of international migration.

3. Ratification on Legal Rights for International Migration and Its Correlation on Human Security

International Rights of refugees and immigrants can be the valuable assistance for readers to carefully take a closer

[24] Statement by Sadako Ogata, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UN Conference on Environment and Development,Rio de Janeiro, 10.6.1992:<http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/unhcr/hcspeech/10julyl992.htm>, 04.10.1999

look at the international transboundary problem nowadays. The Ratification of Legal Instruments Related To International Migration[25] is declared by Unites Nations to protect human rights of immigrants and refugees who try to find the better condition for living both politically and economically.

The United Nations has five legal instruments related to international migration. These are: (a) the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, (b) the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, (c) the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrants and Members of Their Families, (d) the 2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, and (e) the 2000 Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air.[26]

Destiny of international migrants both refugee and immigrants are determined by many parties. The most undeniable access on migrants is an international organization, such as United Nations through United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR). This organization control so many things that correlated to each other, involving an international policy of governments from all over the world. The ratification of international law for refugee is important. Thus, it will minimize the cases of people smuggling or death on the sea while they are trying to cross-over nation-state boundaries.

The 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol have been ratified by 145 and 146 United Nations Member States, respectively. However, only one-quarter of countries have ratified the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrants and Members of Their Families. As of October 2015, 36 Member States had ratified all five of the United Nations

[25] UN. International Migration Report 2015 Highlights ST/ESA/SER.A/375. Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2016

[26] *Ibid.*

legal instruments related to international migration, while 14 Member States had ratified none of the relevant instruments[27].

At the end of the day, all implemented law and rights which implemented aim to fulfilled human security. SDG's and the concept of human security are mean to deliver basic human need, in which the concept of safe is not only because the absence of war or armed conflict, but also the generations can have proper education, clean environment, and feel safe to live. As been stated below:

> *"Several key elements make up human security. A first essential element is a possibility for all citizens to live in peace and security within their borders. It implies the capacity of states and citizens to prevent and resolve conflicts through peaceful and nonviolent means and, after the conflict is over, the ability to effectively carry out reconciliation efforts. A second element is that people should enjoy without discrimination all rights and obligations - including human, political, social, economic and cultural rights - that belonging to a State implies. A third element is social inclusion or having equal access to the political, social and economic policy-making processes, as well as to draw equal benefits from them. A fourth element is that of the establishment of the rule of law and the independence of the justice system. Each individual in a society should have the same rights and obligations and be subject to the same set of rules. These basic elements which are predicated on the equality of all before the law, effectively remove any risk of arbitrariness which so often manifests itself in discrimination, abuse or oppression".*[28]

On the other occasion, Sadako Ogata also said about what kind of peace should be created in the world, as stated below[29]:

[27] UN. International Migration Report 2015 Highlights ST/ESA/SER.A/375. Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2016

[28] Inclusion or Exclusion: Social Development Challenges For Asia and Europe." Statement of Mrs. Sadako Ogata; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees at the Asian Development Bank Seminar, 27 April 1998. <http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/unhcr/hcspeech/27ap1998.htm> 03/10/2017

[29] "Human Security: a Refugee Perspective." Keynote Speech by Mrs Sadako Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, at the

> *"Threats to human security are varied – political and military, but also social, economic and environmental. A wide array of factors contributes to making, from the laying of landmines and the proliferation of small arms to transnational threats such as drugs trafficking, to the spread of HIV. Once again, therefore, let me speak of human insecurity from my perspective. Refugees flee conflicts. One of the main factors of human insecurity is precisely the lack of effective political and security mechanisms to address conflicts.*

Therefore, efforts to be done is not only eradicating the war or armed conflict but creating safe environment and generations. However, the steps can't be done only by a single actor, but by all parties who take positive peace as important to be made, not only waited for the peace to be given.

CONCLUSION

The increasing number of international migrants in all over the world impacts on may field. The United Nations and government of target countries face a dillematic problem with human rights issues. On the one hand, the causal factors of international migration which called push and pull factors are important to be considered seriously. On the other hand, the problematic decision related to international migration will impact on the economic, politic, the social, and environmental issue for generations of local citizens in future.

The decision to do international migration itself can be viewed as a choice since the concept of human security is not only by the absence of negative peace (by the eradication of war or armed conflict), but also the positive peace (by means of eradication structural violence). It is not an easy job to decide the respond of government in the target country. However, the

Ministerial Meeting on Human Security Issues of the "Lysoen Process" Group of Governments. Bergen, Norway, 19 May 1999. <http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/unhcr/hcspeech/990519.htm> 03/10/2017 consideration of human rights in international level may cause dilemmatic solution correlates with the impact after accepting the flow of asylum seekers and international migrants.

Therefore, the concept of peace itself should be implemented internationally and commit to making a better place to live. So, people will not feel insecure whenever they want to take education, walk along, or fulfilled their basic need. However, it may involve international intervention through human rights issues toward the government of target country. In other words, implementation of human security which is also stated in Sustainable Developments Goals is hard work. Since, the basic need of being safe and secure are supposed to be called as peace, is made and not given.

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DEVELOPMENT IN MALAYSIA FROM PERSPECTIVE SOCIOLOGY

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INTRODUCTION

British colonial rule in the country has left a significant impact and influence in particular on the development, economy, administration, education and race relations. From an economic perspective, the juicer has introduced and developed a liberal economic system and carry out the policy of divide and rule. In order to achieve the policy of colonization and economic plan is devoted to efforts to exploit the mineral resources and the production of agricultural raw materials to meet the high demand in the UK and other European countries due to the development of the Industrial Revolution.

Extractive economic policies adopted by the British cause them to give priority to mining results mainly tin mines and rubber plantations as happened on a massive scale in Selangor, Perak and Negeri Sembilan. To achieve this extractive economic policy, the British encouragement and attention to the influx of capital, institutions, technology, and expertise from Europe in addition to bringing in workers from China and India on a large scale in the country.

Policies and practices of the UK's leading indigenous people who mostly live in rural areas continue to be marginalized and underdeveloped compared with the families of immigrants who mostly live in cities and involved in the modern economy.

Instead Bumiputeras in the agricultural and fisheries sector traditionally with low productivity. British colonization has resulted in changes to the economic system of feudal economic system, semi-feudal and semi-capitalist. Traditional ruling class Bumiputera economic power loss due to the loss of their political power into the hands of the English. Therefore, at the time of British colonization, development and economic activities are focused on profitability and indirectly create problems of the socio-economic and political situation in our country (Abdul Rahman, 2014).

Development and economic activities are concentrated in areas with abundant resources and can bring a lot of revenue, especially in the west of the peninsula. As a result of such economic growth has triggered what is called a dual economy. The modern economy is rapidly on the west coast as farms, mines, and trade. On the other hand, there is the traditional subsistence economy in rural areas, particularly in the less developed East Coast.

Policy After Independence

After independence, the government has initiated efforts to design and implement national development with more structured. This effort is made to address various socio-economic and political problems that arise due to the relics of development policies practiced by the colonial authorities. The primary responsibility of government is to develop the country so the results can be enjoyed by all walks of life regardless of ancestry or ethnic group.

Development plans five years has been a key national development strategy to be implemented in stages. The development program was created to ensure that all citizens enjoy the welfare and prosperity of the goals and aspirations of an independent state. Every five-year development plan has the characteristics and continuity of policies and a common goal. The plan is as follows:

1. First Malaya Plan 1956-1960.
2. Second Malaya Plan 1961-1965.
3. First Malaysia Plan 1966-1970.
4. Second Malaysia Plan 1971-1975.
5. Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980.
6. Fourth Malaysia Plan 1980-1985.
7. Fifth Malaysia Plan 1986-1990.
8. Sixth Malaysia Plan 1991-1995.
9. Seventh Malaysia Plan 1996-2000.
10. The Eighth Malaysia Plan 2001-2005
11. Ninth Malaysia Plan 2006-2010
12. Tenth Malaysia Plan 2011-2015
13. Eleventh Malaysia Plan 2016-2020

These plans determine which projects should be carried out, taking into account the question of financing, from within and outside the country and also about the ability of the administrative machinery to implement development tasks that have to be done. First Malaya Plan and the two have to concentrate on building infrastructure. 1 Malaysia Plan emphasizes economic growth in the hope that the results of this increase can be divided into those who are poor and disadvantaged. It focuses on the development of the country as whole covers all areas of the economy. Rural schemes to be addressed by the planned opening of the land mass. As a result, the living standards of the poor, particularly in rural areas can be improved. Development plans have revealed weaknesses in terms of strategy and determination assumptions and creating an atmosphere of poverty and the dominance of economic imbalance between the races in our country. This condition has been found to threaten national security and unity with the outbreak of the tragedy of May 13, 1969 (Portal EPU, 1965).

May 13, 1969, tragedy has caused the government to assess the economic balance between the races. Government finds that economic disparity between races is too large. This proves that the emphasis given to economic growth alone is not sufficient to fully address the issue of socio-economic imbalance between people. It also shows that the development of a business that does not take into account adequately the needs of the poor and an uneven interracial would lead a nation divided between those who have and those who do not enjoy the benefits of growth. Development goals that countries should have a broad, covering the areas of safety, cohesion and creating a just society.

New Economic Policy (NEP)

NEP is a formula which has been planned by the government for twenty years commencing in 1971 in the Second Malaysia Plan until 1990 in the Fifth Malaysia Plan. This policy is a continuation of the development plans in the past. It was formed to remedy the socioeconomic imbalance that exists between the races, regions, and areas in Malaysia. The master plan for this policy is known as the Outline Perspective Plan (OPP 1) 1971-1990.

NEP was implemented through a two-pronged strategy, which are:

1. Reduce and ultimately eliminate poverty by increasing income and increasing employment opportunities for all citizens regardless of ethnicity and race.
2. Accelerate the process of restructuring Malaysian society to improve the economic imbalance between the races. This effort is to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function.

NEP aims to create a socio-economic order that is fair to the people of Malaysia to achieve national unity. During the period, the government hopes to reduce the imbalance between the Malays and other Bumiputeras with non-indigenous people in all fields. This is because there are indications that too much poverty and inequity faced by the Malays, is a leading cause dissatisfaction. This situation turns out to be destabilizing the country where poverty is confined to particular race. The census in 1970 showed that 49.3 percent of all households in Peninsular Malaysia received incomes below the poverty line. Some 86 percent of poor households are located in rural areas, while 14 percent in urban areas. Most of the inhabitants of the countryside were Malays. They are more concentrated in the most backward sectors of the economy such as farmers, smallholders, and oil.

Restructuring of society become important goals due to an imbalance of the distribution of housing, employment, income, education, social services, health, transport and communication and the ownership of property as well as the quality and standard of living of all races. Thus, NEP set some programs in some sectors of the economy such as trade, industry, agriculture, mining, construction, transportation, housing, and education. Each race will benefit and fair distribution (Shuid & Fauzi, 2001).

It is hoped that by 1990, the ownership of shares and the economy will represent the interests of the composition with the content of 40:30:30, which is 30 per cent Bumiputera participation, non-indigenous 40 percent, while foreign investors were as much as 30 percent.

For two decades, the development strategy contained in NEP attempted to provide benefits to people from all walks of life. The goal of this policy is to achieve national unity based on the eradication of poverty and restructuring society were found almost succeeded. The country's economy has been changing rapidly and produces a more balanced between agriculture, services, and industrial sectors. While in terms of economic progress, the people acquired the socio-economic development to enjoy higher living standards and better income distribution.

National Education Policy (DPK)

National Education Policy (DPK) enshrined in the Education Act 1961, is based on the Razak and Rahman Talib Report. The primary goal of this policy is to achieve national unity that includes aspects of socio-economic and political. TPF was based consciousness that recognizes the country's leaders need to establish a national system to replace the education system inherited from the colonial period.

At the time of the British, there was no one in line with the educational policy goals and objectives that remain; multilingual schools can develop according to the requirements of ethnic groups. As a result, there are five types of school system completely isolated from one another, namely Malay, English schools, Chinese schools, Tamil schools next school council.

After independence, the government gives significant attention to the education sector in developing countries. Among the aims of the educational program is to produce a balanced and harmonious intellectually, spiritually, emotionally and physically based on trust and obedience to God. Thus, the characteristics of Malaysians who are knowledgeable, responsible, ethical, competent and others will be born to contribute to society and the state.

Before the Razak Report of 1956 recommended, some reports or statements present key recommendations towards a national system of education.

Barnes Statements 1950

Based on the report of the committee chaired by L.J. Barnes, several suggestions have been made that which is the establishment of a pattern of primary school. Primary School is open to students of all nationalities and is taught by teachers of various races and ethnicities. Next suggestions is abolishing vernacular primary varying according to race. Lastly, Malay as the primary medium, while the English as a second language. Duration of schooling is also standardized, which is for six years. Schooling is free to all students (Nik Azis, 2008).

Based on the proposals submitted, the committee intends to hold a bilingual school that is Malay and English as measures to foster integration among the races in Malaya. Barnes statements considered to be the most comprehensive report ever published and influential. However, this statement is not successfully meet the needs and aspirations of the people of this country as a whole.

The Fenn-Wu Statements 1951

In this regard, two experts Chinese language and culture, Dr. William Fenn of academics from China and Dr. Wu Teh Yao, an official of the Organization of the United Nations has been asked to study the school system and the implementation of China. The Fenn-Wu has submitted a proposal, in essence, supports the concept of using three languages, namely, Malay, Chinese and English are used as languages of instruction and preparation of textbooks. It also suppAort the establishment of a national education system, Chinese schools forwarded separately and must be oriented Malaya.

This statement is then examined in detail and finally approved the Education Ordinance 1952 provides two types of national schools, the use of Malay medium while another English medium. While Chinese and Tamil schools are not included in the national education system. However, this Ordinance can not be implemented due to the recession that hit the country at the time (Kamarudin, 1989).

Razak Report 1956

Following the victory in the elections of 1955, a committee was formed by the Government of the Alliance, chaired by Tun Abdul Razak. The purpose of this committee is set up to review and evaluate the existing education system and put forward appropriate recommendations in order to create an education policy that is acceptable to all parties.

This statement emphasizes the elements and values of national unity as a goal that must be achieved to ensure the welfare and interests of a pluralistic society in the country. The Razak has said the aim of the education policy in this country is to unite the slaves of all nations in this country using rules lesson that covers all nations using the national language as the medium of instruction, although this can not be implemented immediately but should be made gradually.

It is clear that the Razak marked the beginning of efforts to consolidate the education system in our country. The report also recommends that the Malay language as the national language. This is a good effort to unite different communities and also forge a national identity. The proposal submitted by the Razak passed to the Education Ordinance 1957. The Education Ordinance requires the school curriculum with the same content and national form.

In 1959, the Education Review Committee established to review the implementation of the education system proposed by the Razak Report. This arises in view of protests and discontent among the various races in Malaya. For example, among the Malay school teacher who is not satisfied because there is no coherence in the implementation of the national language. In addition, the Association of Chinese Schools Teachers who believes part of the Razak ignore the importance of education, Chinese language and culture. Abdul Rahman Talib, who became Minister of Education when it has led the committee that produced the report was later known as the Rahman Talib (Kamarudin, 1989).

Rahman Talib Statement (1960)

The Razak and Rahman Talib Statement emphasizing the aspects related to national unity and energy of the people. Because society is a pluralistic society, the concept of unity in the context of this country should be understood as a process that emphasizes unity of the various Unity kaum.8 created must be able to fend off the symptoms such as race, ethnicity, religion, language, parochialism and so on.

In 1974, a Cabinet committee set up to review the national education policy. It also aims to improve the implementation of the policy to be in line with the current needs of the country, especially in meeting the needs of workers for national development, the construction of national identity and national unity. Cabinet committee report was subsequently published in 1979 (Nik Azis, 2008).

Vision 2020

On February 28, 1991, Malaysian Prime Minister Dato 'Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad presented a paper entitled "Malaysia: The Way Forward" at the launch of the Malaysian Business Council Council.13 This paper contains a framework on the goal of making Malaysia a developed nation by 2020 - known as "Vision 2020".

2020 was not a regular basis, as other policies discussed earlier. It is a reaction to the expansion of economic, social and political force in the national and international level which has given a great challenge to the country. 2020 should be discussed here because it is closely related to the government's efforts to develop and achieve the status of a developed nation (Sivamurugan, 2005).

Vision 2020 emphasizes the nine forms of challenges to be faced by the people of Malaysia, namely:

1. Establish a nation that is united and embrace a shared future. Nations must be prosperous, integrated regions and ethnic groups, enjoy fully coexistence based on equality and justice, form a "Bangsa Malaysia" with a sense of loyalty and unwavering devotion to the nation.
2. To produce a Malaysian society that is free, firm and formed his soul, sure of himself, proud of his condition now and everything that has been achieved, and agile enough to face all kinds of obstacles. Malaysian society must have the properties of the pursuit of excellence, truly realizing all possibilities itself, does not confine his soul, and respected by other nations.
3. Establishing and developing a mature democratic society, practicing a form of democracy in Malaysia is made, based on consensus and consultation, and can be emulated by other developing countries.
4. Establishing robust community features of moral and ethical, with its citizens have religious and spiritual values intact, and anchored by noble character.
5. Establishing a mature society that is tolerant, with every citizen of Malaysia, regardless of race or belief, freedom to practice and implement the customs, culture and religious beliefs of each, without being excluded from the race.
6. Establish a community of progressive science, inventive and foresight into the future, a society that not only can take

advantage of today's technology but also a contributor to the formation of the scientific and technological civilization of the future.

7. Establish a virtuous society and a caring culture, a social system that is more concerned with people than yourself, with the people's welfare are not based on the country or individual but the family system unfaltering.
8. To ensure the establishment of a just society economy. The community will ensure the distribution of national wealth fairly and equitably, with its economic progress enjoyed by every citizen. Such people will not be formed wells are based on the determination of economic functions and centralization of economic backwardness to groups of people who are certain.
9. Creating a prosperous society, with an economy that is able to face the competition, dynamic, agile and endurance.

CONCLUSION

Government policies are formulated and implemented in line with the values of the socio-economic and political state at a time. Due to its dynamic nature, the government's policies are constantly changing according to the values of society and the leadership from time to time. After the outbreak of the May 13 tragedy, in particular, the policies enacted in the early 1970s, is based on the NEP as an overarching policy that aims to achieve national unity. At present, the government's policies are based on the Vision 2020 in fulfilment of a desire to make Malaysia a developed nation by the year 2020. However, the basic principles of those policies remain as original. What is different is the approach because it must be adapted to changing times.

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SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIAL EDUCATION IN MALAYSIA

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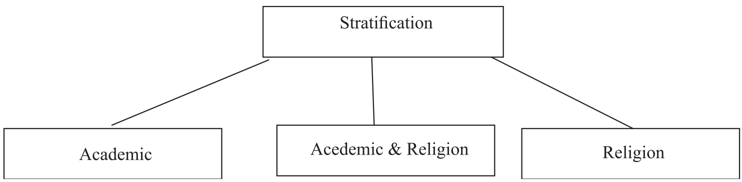
INTRODUCTION

As a continuation of the process of socialization, the role of the education system to prepare young adulthood and culture channel. In the context of providing the ideal, purpose and goals of education in the 21st century is obvious. The Ministry of Education has developed and planned to repair, strengthen, and enhance the quality of education. Thus, modern society demands that all social scientists contribute their knowledge and expertise as a service to society, especially in education. Sociologists may not always be open to help solve social problems, but on the basis of the current requirements are very important, they are increasingly involved. In the process, they began to gain confidence in the repair of sociological thought and skill to collect relevant information.

One of the areas that illustrate the development of this belief is the sociology of education. In the last decade, sociologists began to play a role in the administration of the statutory system as consultant, administrator, and researcher. A small change in the attitude of the sociologist of education is indeed a positive impact. Instead of seeing it as a form of national expenditure, we think positive effects of this as a form of financial gain capital investment. Some of its effects, education is seen as a way to produce new talent for the country's development.

Stratification of Education and Conflict

In any society, there are various conflicting status. Malaysian society, the status of the Malay culture is the dominant culture. The Malays in Malaysia are Muslims, by the characteristics of Islam applied in the National Education Philosophy. Malaysia's education system, there are religious and secular schools. Stratification of Education Malaysia gives parents the freedom to choose your area of interest by their children.



In this situation, there is a conflict between parents and their children, where better schools. In addition, the education system in Malaysia's multiracial, conflicts occurs in the application of the dominant culture, that culture is Malay, Chinese, Indian, Iban, Kadazan, Dayak, and others. Thus a cultural form that gave birth to a conflict in a united Malaysian nation.

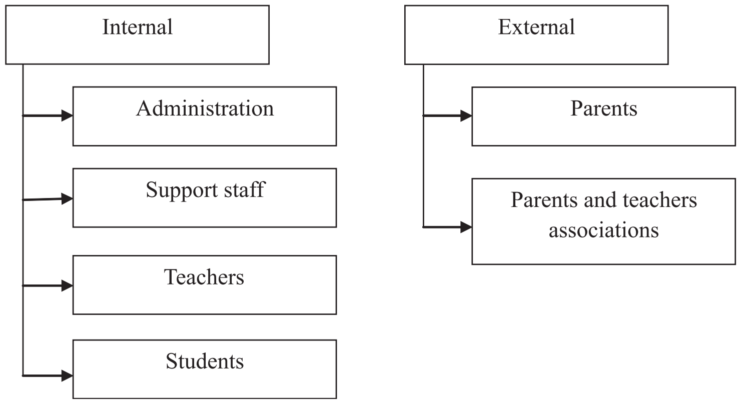
In the stratification of education in Malaysia, conflicts always occur in the type of school that has an individual study, the role of teachers in the school and the community, appropriate curriculum, co-curricular activities to be undertaken by an individual and career fields that correspond to the individual. Therefore, education plays an important role in putting an individual in state and society, and this is very significant in Malaysia.

Environment System Education

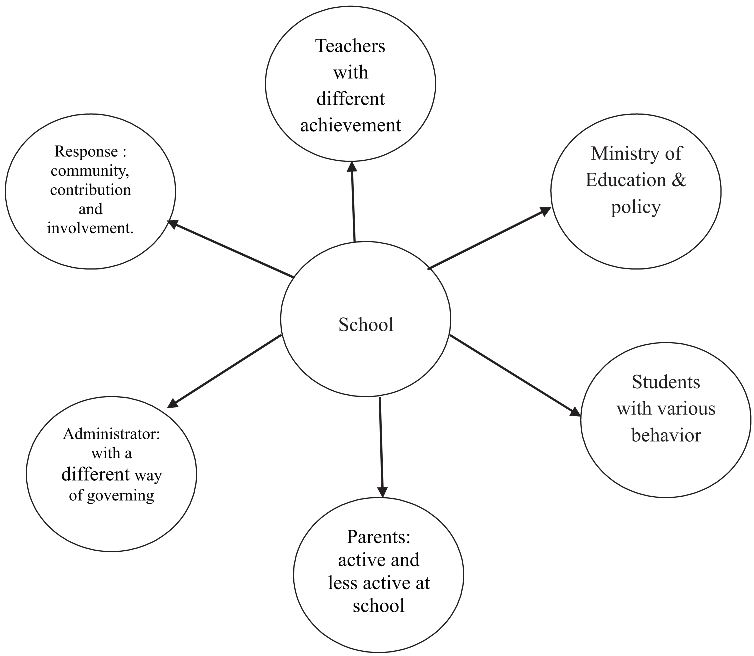
In this section, the definition of environment and examples of institutions such as school, family, religion, politics and the economy and the community will be discussed. In a society that relationship and the relationship between each other. No individuals who live alone with no contact with other people. In this life, we are surrounded by the environment. This environment is different among individuals with other individuals who rely on the experience, families, institutions, and others.

Environment Type

For an institution, an environment that is government involved, legal, financial, physical community school, demographic composition, technology, environment, and religion. In the education system, there are environments that are most important and which are less important in making a decision. In a school system, there are two parts of the environment that is the internal environment and the external environment.



Although there are internal and external environment in the school system, both of which are interlinked and strengthen the education system. This organization plays an important and interconnected in a school environment.



Social functions of education

The social function of education in society is very important because it serves to produce a balanced in terms of academic and emotional. Each person comes with the surrounding communities for the future life. The school system is an attempt to maintain the normative patterns and behavior influence each other. Usually, schools play a role in maintaining the value of the best individual in the society as required.

Education and Social Change

After the Second World War, there was a change in attitude toward education. This is due to social status is no longer limited to the forms ascribed status, which is a form of status obtained from individuals born but has become more complex. After the Second World War with limited social mobility and status crisis began to emerge as society changes agrarian (agricultural) to the capitalist division of labor and the emergence of complex organizations. Therefore, the role of education in creating a society that is productive. The issue of education has been a subject of potential for people heading to this new direction. Finally, the children of the middle class if he is a highly regarded teacher. All these changes are evidence of the change in public attitudes toward education.

Education is seen as the only institution that can implement social change. However, such an assessment is not only overly pessimistic but also the negative social analysis. Social sciences often find reasons or indirect relationship between the institutional and cultural elements as well as education. Notwithstanding, education studying society as a system in which the interplay and interaction structures affected.

Education has a chance to become a 'major renovation' in social change, then it should be extended to the entire population on an ongoing basis in order to influence individual and must be attributed to the structure of employment. Up to now, the education system is tied to the employment system of education received by an individual is determined by the position of the family in social class. The balance between the two institutions have to be more careful with education. Jobs are determined by the education received by an individual. Therefore, education get more strategic position to influence the distribution of power in society.

Changes in social attitudes occur because of changes in the economy which create dissatisfaction in the existing opportunities in the community. In order to identify the role of the education system to reach the required value, we need to increase the capacity of education as an agent of social change. If we can imagine a society in which all its members gained status based on their achievements and the achievements of all criteria relating to the skills that are taught in school, then the power of education to change society is at a maximum level. If the opposite happens, then the role of education as an agent of change not successful. The power of education to change the social stratification of society becomes weak when the criteria other than educational criteria used to provide the position.

There are at least four real function of education in society. First, education should take into account the values and standards of society, namely education designed to equip children with confidence, style of thought and action as deemed necessary and desired by society. Secondly, education must maintain solidarity with how to provide children with the feeling of belonging to the community along with a commitment to the way of life as understood by them. Third, education should convey knowledge of the social heritage. Fourth, education is also expected to develop new knowledge. Four functions specified allows education to become agents of social change for the community.

Education and Social Movements

Issues or social issues can be changed according to the time change, the transition of values, way of life, religious beliefs and practices of individuals in society. The power of the most powerful influence on public opinion is a social movement that focuses on issues that impinge on the group they represent. The social movement can only be achieved through education. There are many opinions regarding social class; how it started, how it changed as a social phenomenon and the community and how it affects the structure of the community. Education may be the 'ladder' important social movement. The process of changing one's socio-economic position is known as a social movement. In Malaysia, an open class system in place whereby the position of each individual affected by acquired status and competition among group members is encouraged. In the closed position of the individual class system is not elastic, less likely to change positions, for example as a result of slavery and the caste system.

Education influences social movement for horizontal movement of a person from one social position to another in the same status; and vertical movement of a person from one social position to another in a different status. Intergenerational social mobility (a child has a good position [doctors] compared with her parents [teacher]) and intragenerational (a teacher was promoted to professor, and after a few years of work turned into a lecturer) . From the viewpoint of individuals, social movements can be seen as an opportunity to achieve the position of a different, changing from time to time depending on general economic development, migration and population redistribution when the layer is capable of producing high caliber individual to perform all the work.

In Malaysia, the role of education as a means of social mobility is very limited vertical before independence. British divided and rule policy was maintaining the structure of the stratification of society where children of every race continued the occupation of their parents. Malay parents could not afford to send their children to school.

Provisions English to Malay schools is very less when compared to English schools. This led many Malay children are not in school. This is consistent with the fundamentals of English want to make the children of the Malay farmers like their parents.

The same situation also applies to the Indians. Even if they finish schooling, most opportunities are to be laborers in government departments such as the Public Works Department, while the rest continue the work on the farm. Those who attended the Chinese, a social movement is limited in the Chinese community itself improbable as there is no chance for them to work with the British government. Thusa on the whole, more horizontal movement occurs.

After independence, the opportunities for social mobility are noticeable. It is recognized, Malaysia has experienced rapid economic development since independence. Local people have taken over the roles previously held by British officers. In the private sector, trade growth and rapid industrialization require professional workers, executives, clerical, skilled and semi-skilled workers, operators of production and other general laborers. It's a basic education in social movements Malaysian society as a good career often associated with higher education.

CONCLUSION

Looking at the Malaysian society, education is still seen as the most effective factor in social change. Opportunities for increasing the social and economic scale, the more dependent on the acquisition of degrees and diplomas. Therefore, education plays the role of an agent of change in the structure of society. Furthermore, education is not a mechanical process, but the process of value-laden, full of dreams, full of trust and cultural terms. Thus, consideration should be given to the goal of much more substantial than just provide the knowledge and skills mechanically. Education is a significant success, but that success obtained and how it is applied in the social changes in Malaysia to be an interesting question.

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Social and Political Issues in Asia: In the Context of Global Changes

This book is expected to contribute in solving the problems of the dynamic changes in Asia region. There is no doubt that cooperation among scholars and universities is very necessary due to growing and complex issues. We do believe that through the research collaboration among the inter-discipline background of us it will be much easier to find the main factor of those issues. It is also our hope that this book could encourage us to share a mutual understanding on the theoretical framework of social politics.

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