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“Trends in Politics and Government Dealing with  
Sustainable Development Goals”



**30 October 2018**

**Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia**

# **PROCEEDINGS**

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International Conference

Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 30 October, 2018

Trends in Politics and Government Dealing with Sustainable Development Goals

# **3<sup>rd</sup> Journal of Government and Politics International Conference**

Trends in Politics and Government Dealing with Sustainable Development Goals

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Jusuf Kalla School of Government (JKSG) in Collaboration with  
Department of Government Affairs and Administration Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

30 October, 2018

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# Trends in Politics and Government Dealing with Sustainable Development Goals

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## Foreword

Meeting Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is currently one of the world's principal issues, particularly among scholarly discourse. As the UNDP stated, SDGs are a universal call to action to eliminate poverty, protect the planet, and ensure that all people enjoy peace and prosperity. Therefore, as a dedication to achieve these goals, the *Journal of Government and Politics* or JGP (recognized also as *Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan*) promotes such a topic under the theme "Trends in Politics and Government dealing with Sustainable Development Goals" through the third conference. Politics and government are main subjects which will be examined further.

There are 42 selected papers which are presented here and divided into six different sub-themes. Nevertheless, ten of them are excluded from this proceeding because the authors prefer to publish their papers at the expected journal. Therefore, this proceeding eventually has 32 published papers. Chapter I is going to explain decentralization, local governance and politics by providing eight valuable papers. They are on the investment policy framework through Galang Batang Special Economic Area in Bintan Island (Muzwardi, A., Riyadi, S. F., & Yahya, G. Y.), the implementation of inclusion sub-district in Yogyakarta City (P. Febriantanto), Awak Nanggroe or Ex-Free Aceh Movement on construction sector (Hajad, V.), and a collaborative governance model in delivering public health service to the border areas (Sulaksono, T., Suswanta, & Efendi, D.).

Chapter II depicts local governance and urban planning. There are eight relevant papers in this chapter. They are on special autonomy through anthropological approach in Papua Province (Lambelanova, R., & Ngadisah), the accountability of fund village management in infrastructure development at the village level in Gunung Kidul Regency (Nurfaisal, M. D., Mutiarin, D., & Sakir), the properness analysis of new district formation in Pacitan Regency (Alita, E. W., Sudibyoy, D. P., & Haryanti, R. H.), the effectiveness of Unit Layanan Pengadaan as assessor of e-procurement in Central Java (Gusmi, A. D.), and the empowerment of community education in sub-urban of Yogyakarta City (Putra, R. A., & Kiyoya, Y. A.).

Chapter III partrays issues related to public policy, governance administration, and justice. There are eight interesting papers: the application of the principles of good governance at the hospital of UNS Surakarta (Pradityo, H. A., Setyowati, K., & Nugroho, R. A.), the implementation of communication programs in tourism sectors (Praptiningsih, N. A., Putri, D. A., Subhiat, A. P., & Handayani, D. P.), an alternative model of space falling objects investigation in Indonesia (Fatmawati, N. S., & Susanti, D.), the government support to the internationalization in higher education (Kusumawati, N. S., Nurhaeni, I. D. A., & Nugroho, R. A.), and Facebook as a communication media in by use of Smart Indonesia Card (Yolanda, S., & Praptaningsih, N. A.).

Chapter IV discusses democracy, elections, political parties, conflict, and religion. Seven useful papers are presented here: the implementation of Noken, traditional electoral mechanism, in Papua (Wargadinata, E.), improving the quality of simultaneous local elections in Indonesia (Sarofah, R., Habibullah, A., & Zuhriyati, E.), the dissolution of political parties in keeping ideology and security in Indonesia and Germany (Agustine, O. V., & Triningsih, A.), rethinking the case of blasphemy in Indonesia's Tanjung Balai (Hidayati, M.), politicizing the hybrid city in Indonesia (Fansuri, H.), examining Muhammadiyah neutrality in the practical politics (Al-Hamdi, R., & Aryudhi, E. P.), and the relation between Kiai and politics in Temanggung Regency (Firmansyah, H. P., & Ijabah, A. L.), and Managing Electoral Disputes: Challenges toward Electoral Integrity in the Simultaneous Regional Election in Central Java (Widodo, B. E. C., & Purwaningsih, T.).

Chapter V investigates the issues of gender equality. Eight meaningful papers are bestowed here. They are on gender responsive health services (Hayzaki, S. H., & Nurhaeni, I. D. A.), problem of women in Indonesian bureaucracy (Sweinstani, M. K. D.), women's transformational leadership in environment management (Pramesti, A. A. I., & Nurhaeni, I. D. A.), changing family and challenges of engendering government policy in Japan (Mutiarin, D., Kuwuhara, N., & Purwaningsih, T.), and the rejuvenation of interfaith women movements (Asworo, L.).

Chapter VI relays studies on issues related to communities, partnerships, and green politics. There are eight intriguing papers displayed in this proceeding. They are on the dramaturgy on self-presentation gay “Coming Out” and “Not Fully Coming Out” in Jakarta (Praptiningsih, N. A., & Handayani, A. K.), community-based tourism promotion policy and communities solidarity in upper Northern Thailand (Koment, J., & Panyadee, C.), Adat communities and modern democracy (Asrinaldi), moving critical ecology literation as response to global warming issues (Miasih, M., & Kencono, D. S.), and a local agriculture officer: A human resource constraint of Thai agricultural decentralization (Yossuck, P., & Kawichai, P.).

In this proceeding, nonetheless, we still mention the title of the ten papers where the authors are going to submit to the targeted journal: Indonesia village fiscal transfers policy (Anshari, K.), a dilemma between regulations and interests in the case of granting of mangrove forest hoarding permits in Tanjungpinang City (Sepriandi, S., & Fridayani, H. D.), the law enforcement implementation against rice mixing crime in Special Capital Region of Jakarta and surrounding areas (Sitepu, E. E.), the evaluation of policy for development of drinking water distribution systems in achievement of public health in Riau Province (Alrakhman, R., Sukarman, & Wicaksono, B.), the importance of discretion practice for public authorities (Rachmad, A., Suharto, D. G., & Wahyuningsih, R. D.), maritime economic development policy through Natuna-Anambas-Lingga maritime connectivity in Kepulauan Riau Province (Akbar, D., Darmawan, E., & Okparizan), the influence of transnational advocacy network for gendecide issue in the People’s Republic of China (Azizah, N. & Amalia, N. R.), the apparatus’ tourism consciousness work culture and its influence on the satisfaction tourism community (Frinaldi, A. Khaidir, A., & Rahayu, V. Y.), the role of local Balinese culture amongst sustainable communities in preservation efforts of Ayung River (Rosilawati, Y., Mulawarman, K., Sofyan, N., Mulyantari, E.), and guidelines to strengthen the development of community welfare funds in upper Northern Thailand (Kaewtip, S., & Thammakun, S.).

All in all, we express our great gratitude to all authors, presenters, keynote speakers, committees, editors, reviewers, proofreaders, and partners who support this conference. We hope that this proceeding helps enhance your knowledge on current issues of politics and government in relation to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Enjoy reading the proceeding.

Bantul, November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2018

Sincerely Yours,

Dr. phil. Ridho Al-Hamdi, MA

Chairperson of 3<sup>rd</sup> JGP-IC 2018

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# **Chapter I:**

## **Decentralization, Local Governance, and Politics**

## **Analysis on Investment Policy Framework through Galang Batang Special Economic Area (SEZ), Bintan Island**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Today's global economic competition is very dynamic. Each state prepares a foreign policy that is able to compete, especially on the foreign policy. A Special economic area (SEZ) is one of foreign policy. SEZ an investment policy in Bintan Island. SEZ investment policy which is created for the purpose of promoting manufacturing exports and economic development. Special economic area (SEZ) Galang Batang are in Bintan Island Riau Islands, which is the hub of the choke point Strait of Malacca. (SEZ) Galang Batang are supported by infrastructure implementation, provided with special facilities and incentives and ensured by ease of doing business

**KEYWORDS:** Investment policy, policy framework, economic area (SEZ), investment

### **INTRODUCTION**

Regions in Riau Island province including Bintan Island, also experienced a slow-down so that the Riau island economy experienced a downturn in foreign companies in Riau Island province experienced a decline in orders so they had to close and lay off their workforce.

To overcome the economic downturn, the government needs a new solution, the solution is to form SEZSEZ as a model to mention areas with open economic policies which include Free Trade Zone (FTZ), Export Processing Zone (EPZ), ports (ports), High Tech Industrial Estate and so on or known as zones within the zone (Muzwardi, 2017). This conception gives authority to the implementing agency to fully operate the SEZ on the mandate of the central government SEZ in general is a specific area with special regulations in the fields of customs, taxation, licensing, immigration, and employment supported by detailed business activity arrangements and effective subzone arrangements. SEZ is also an area that is supported by modern infrastructure whose management is managed professionally by a management body. The modern SEZ area consists of industrial estates, free trade, limited commercial, supporting utilities, and tourism.

Referring to Law Number 39 of 2009 concerning Special Economic Zones, the definition of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) is an area with certain limits within the jurisdic-



tion of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia which is established to carry out economic functions and obtain certain facilities. The function of the SEZ is to conduct and develop businesses in the fields of trade, services, industry, mining and energy, transportation, maritime and fisheries, post and telecommunications, tourism, and other fields. In accordance with this, SEZ consists of one or several zones, including export processing, logistics, industry, technology development, tourism, and energy zones whose activities can be aimed at export and for domestic. Basically the concept of SEZ is integrated, large scale, mega zones which can consist of port area, new town, industry, tourism, commercial, and utilities. Within this region can also be formed FTZ, EPZ, and BZ.

Although there are still general commercial activities in it, the number, type and extent are limited and regulated so that they are selective and are only intended to serve foreign tourists, company employees and family members located in the region. Having an adequate information technology and network base on the domestic market, internal SEZ area and export requires direct access to sea and air transportation facilities that directly lead to international trade obtain various incentives, both fiscal and non-fiscal. The amount and type of fiscal and non-fiscal facilities are adjusted to the activities carried out.

The purpose of the policy is the development of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) to attract foreign investment and create jobs. Through the construction of the SEZ, it is expected that it will stimulate economic growth more quickly in the regions, among others by increasing investment (investment), the availability of new jobs, the introduction of regional economic potentials, and (ultimately) an increase in government revenues, both central and regional

## **RESEARCH QUESTION**

How Analysis (or Determination) on Investment Policy Framework through Galang Batang Special Economic Area (SEZ), Bintan Island? The purpose of this study is to determine how the Investment Policy Framework through Special economic area (SEZ) Galang Batang in Bintan Island.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This is a normative research, by analyzing the problems of the standpoint or library materials and regulations or legislation and emphasize research on primary data. The secondary data which is used in this research is data obtained from the literature in order to obtain the theoretical foundation.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Special Economic Zone (SEZ) is contained geographic regions within countries a demarcated area of land used to encourage industry, manufacturing, and services for export, and are typically characterized by more liberal laws and economic policies than a country is general economic laws

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Special Economic Zone**

Special Economic Zone (SEZ), as a macro terminology for the region is set up to provide an environment that is internationally competitive and free from various obsta-

cles to trying to spur an increase in national exports. This concept can be found in India and the Philippines. In India, there are three general types of Special Economic Zone (SEZ) which include: (a) SEZ for multiproduct, namely the SEZ which consists of a number of companies belonging to more than one sector, which also includes trading and warehousing activities; (b) SEZ for specific sectors, namely SEZ for only one particular sector (can be more than one company) or SEZ for various services in one sector, such as in ports or airports; and (c) SEZ for Free Trade and Warehouse namely SEZ which specifically provides facilities for free trade and warehousing activities, the facilities can be for multi-sector activities or for only one sector. In the Philippines, such areas can take the form of Industrial Estates (IES), Export Processing Zones (EPZs), Free Trade Zone, and Tourist / Recreational Centers.

### **Investment**

Investment is a commitment to a number of funds or other resources carried out at this time, investment objectives to obtain a number of profits in the future. According to Jack Clark Francis, investment is an investment that is expected to produce additional funds in the future (Francis, Jack C, 1991). While Frank Reilly said, investment is a one-dollar commitment in a certain period, will be able to meet the needs of investors in the future by: (1) the time the funds will be used, (2) the inflation rate that occurs, (3) Uncertainty about future economic conditions (Reilly, Frank, & Brown. 2003). is a commitment to a number of funds or other resources carried out at this time, with the aim of obtaining a number of benefits in the future. The basis of investment decisions includes:

Returns that are expected by investors from their investments are compensation for opportunity costs and the risk of decreasing purchasing power due to the influence of inflation. Risk can be interpreted as the possibility of an actual return that is different from the expected return. Specifically, it refers to the possibility of actual return realization lower than the expected minimum return.

Investing for investors means investing in order to realize the expectations of the desired profit (profit expectations). To get these benefits, investors have full freedom to choose a location or business area, as well as the amount of investment they will invest. For local governments, investment means an increase in economic activity in the region, which is expected to be able to improve the welfare of the people in the region (welfare expectations).

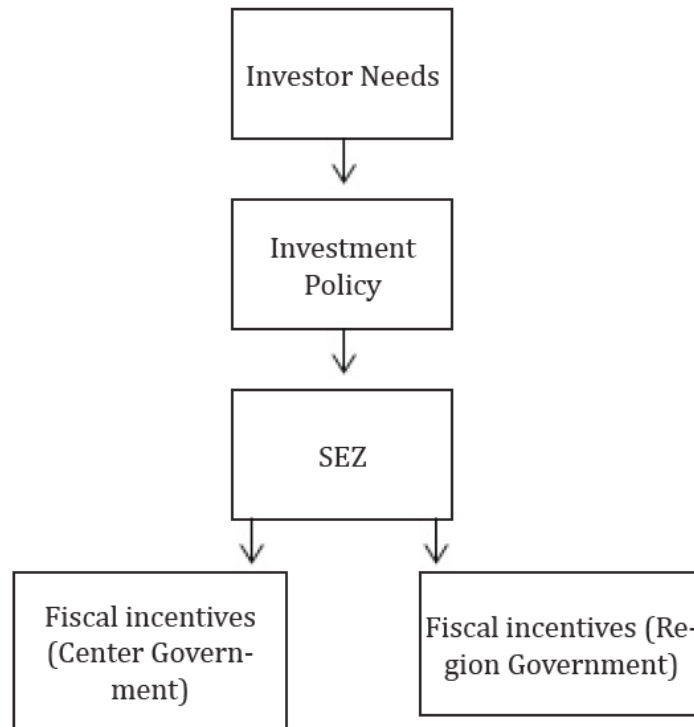
The parties that carry out investment activities are called investors. Investors in general can be classified into two, namely individual investors and institutional investors. Individual investors consist of individuals who carry out investment activities. While institutional investors usually consist of insurance companies, fund storage institutions (banks and savings and loan institutions), pension funds institutions, and investment companies.

### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

The basic concept of developing investment in Galang Batang SEZ is the Provision of Facilities in the preparation of an area whose location has accessibility to the global market (access to the port and or airport). Investment Policy Framework through Galang Batang Special Economic Area (SEZ), Bintan Island such as Increased investment through the preparation of regions that have geo-economic and geostrategic advantages,

Optimization of industrial activities, exports, imports, and other economic activities that have high economic value, The acceleration of Regional Development through the development of new economic growth between regions, The realization of a breakthrough model of regional development for economic growth, including industry, tourism and trade so as to create jobs

Figure 1. Investment Policy Framework



Source: Collected from the various data:

Bintan Area, is a national strategic area whose spatial planning is prioritized because it has a nationally important influence towards the Indonesian economy. So that Bintan is determined to be a Special Economic Zone that gets fiscal facilities. Bintan SEZ based on Law No. 39 of 2009 concerning Bintan Region is the largest island in the Riau Islands Province with a strategic position and large investment potential, especially in the field of tourism and maritime industry. Bintan area has many foreign investors who invest. More than 22 companies with many large categories such as: Nidec, Perpperel + Fuch, Yokogawa, and Yoshikawa who operate at BintanInti Industrial Estate (BIIE). The industrial center in Bintan is in Lobam, northern Bintan which has international class infrastructure and services.

In addition to BintanInti Industrial Estate (BIIE) which accommodates most of the manufacturing and garment companies, there is also a maritime industrial area in Bintan East that is intended as a shipbuilding industry. The total value of foreign investment in Bintan at the end of 2012 reached US \$ 897,732,068 with a total of 105 projects. In 2013 the PMA value reached US \$ 807,402,000 with 112 investment projects. In 2015 the value of FDI investment did not change much, namely at US \$ 810,538. In 2016 foreign investment realized amounted to US \$ 789,476,193.

Spatial utilization program according to Perda No. 2 of 2012 is prepared based on indications of a development program that has a period of implementation for 20 years, phasing in these activities is outlined in activities per 5 (five) years with an indication of the main program the first five years are described per year of activities which include the realization of the spatial structure plan, the realization of the plan space, the realization of the Bintan Regency strategic area plan. An indication of the program embodiment of the spatial structure plan includes a program for the realization of centers of activities to be developed and the realization of the infrastructure system.

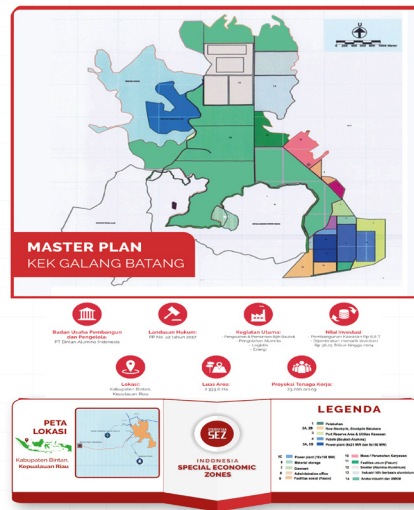
The indication of the program embodies the plan for spatial patterns include the program for the development of protected areas and cultivation areas including plans for the construction of roads, ports and airports. An indication of the program for the realization of the strategic plan for the Bintan Regency includes the development program of the industrial area in order to support the development of the strategic area of Bintan Regency that has been established and adjusted to the status of GalangBatang in Bintan as a Special Economic Zone.

Special Economy as mandated by Law No. 25 of 2007 concerning Investment and Operational based on Government Regulation No. 42 of 2017 dated October 12, 2017 through the Proposal for the establishment of the Galang Batang Special Economic Zone which has been submitted by the Bintan Regent, the requirements for proposing Special Economic Zones as stipulated in Article 4 of Act Number 39 of 2009 concerning Special Economic Zones and Article 7 of Government Regulation Number 2 Year 2011 concerning the Implementation of Special Economic Zones as in the Special Economic Zone of Bintan by making special economic zones expected by Bintan to become an industrial area. Bintan Area is included in the National Mid-Term Program (RPJMN) as a Strategic Development Center (WPS) for Maritime Integrated Centers.

The establishment of Galang Batang in Bintan as a strategic development area to accelerate the implementation of Special Economic Zones to align with similar and more developed and prosperous areas such as Iskandar Malaysia. The location of the Galang Batang SEZ has direct access to the Malacca Strait and the South China Sea. The Galang Batang SEZ was proposed by the PT Bintan Alumina Indonesia business entity and has been determined through Government Regulation Number 42 of 2017, which was promulgated on October 12, 2017.

Galang Batang SEZ will be developed as a center for processing mineral products (bauxite) and its derivatives from both refineries and smelters. It is estimated that Galang Batang SEZ will be able to absorb 23,200 people, spread for refinery processing industry by 350 people, smelter processing industry by 260 people and dock and port services that have the potential to create a multiplier effect in the region. The investment value of the GalangBatang SEZ construction isRp. 36.25 Trillion For 6 years.

Figure 2. Master Plan SEZ Galang Batang



Source: National Council SEZ, 2017

Industry focuses more on the processing and refining of bauxite ore and the alumina processing industry with several fiscal tax holiday incentives, namely 20-100% income tax reduction for 10-25 years for more than IDR 1 trillion. Income tax reduction of 20-100% for 5-15 years for an investment of more than Rp500 billion. Tax Allowance is a reduction in net income by 30% for 6 years; Accelerated depreciation and amortization; Income Tax on dividends of 10% Compensation for 5-10 years loss Special Tourism Activities, get facilities: VAT refund (duty free shop).

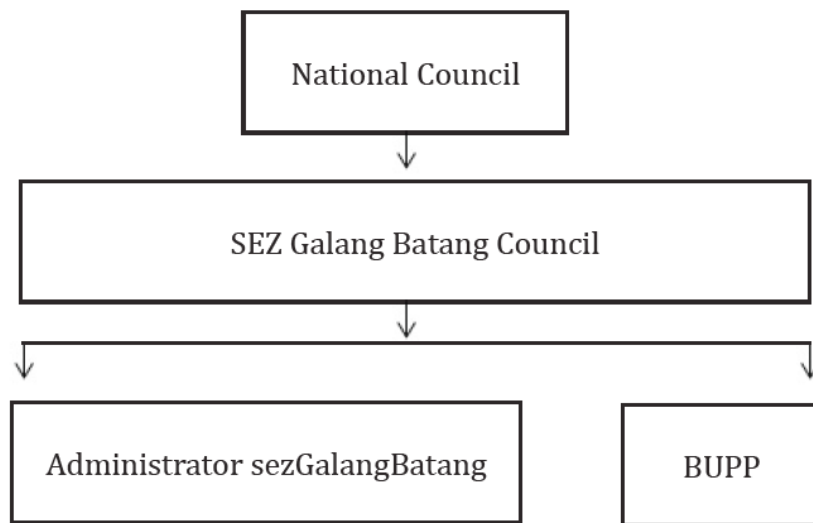
Figure 3. Ease of investment licensing in SEZ Galang Batang



Source: National Council SEZ, 2017

Some licensing facilities in SEZ Galang Batang include Income Tax Article 22 Imports are not collected, VAT or PPN and PPnBM are not collected, Exemption from import duty, suspension of import duties, Ease of immigration licensing, Ease of land licensing Ease of licensing employment Facilities traffic facilities Ease of investment licensing (3 hours) includes: Investment license, Company Deed and Endorsement, NPWP, Company Registration Certificate (TDP), Plan for Use of Foreign Workers (RPTKA), License to Employ Foreign Workers (IMTA ), Producer Importer Identification Number (API-P) Customs Registration Number (NIK), and Certificate of Land Availability Information Map (if needed).

Figure 4. Management Structure Chart SEZ Galang Batang



Source: Collected from the various data.

SEZ Galang Batang is divided into 4 zones namely export processing zones, logistic zones, industrial zones, and energy zones, facilities in the Special Economic Zones in GalangBatang include Solid Waste, solid waste will be managed by PT BAI in collaboration with the Bintan Regency government to utilize the Government's TPA and the transportation system in the area, other facilities in the form of the Galang Batang SEZ Administrator's Office. On the Institutional and Human Resources side. The Galang Batang SEZ is under the authority of the Zone Council Authority in the Galang Batang SEZ, which has been established through the KEPPRES No. 4 of 2018 dated February 27, 2018. Under the Presidential Decree the Regional Council is responsible and reports the results of its duties to the Special Economic Zone National Council at least once in six months or at any time if needed. This explains that the central government continues to help and oversee the running of the SEZ Galang Batang.

In the operation of the Galang Batang SEZ, the Zone Council established the Regional Council Secretariat, the formation and designation of the Zone Council Secretariat is stated in the Letter of the Governor of Riau Islands No. 01 / DK.SEZ in 2018 dated 2 March 2018. Tasks of the SEZ Zone Council Secretariat Galang Batang includes: a) organizing support and operational and administrative technical services to the Special Economic Zone Council of Riau Islands Province, providing administrative services in the preparation of work plans and programs of the Special Economic Zone Council of Riau Islands Province, organizing coordination activities, synchronizing and integrating administrative activities and follow-up to the implementation of the duties of the Special Economic Zone of Riau Islands Province, providing administrative services in the collaboration of the Special Economic Zone of Riau Islands Province with government agencies and related parties, organizing services for collecting processing and the data as well as the preparation of the activity report of the Secretariat of the Special Economic Zone Council of Riau Islands Province, held staffing and financial administration and infrastructure facilities of the Secretariat of the Special Economic Zone Council of Riau Islands Province.

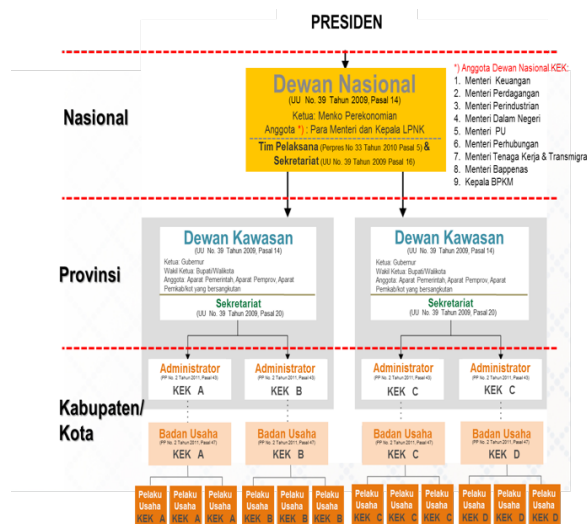
In the implementation of the SEZ Galang Batang, the Special Economic Zone Board



of the Riau Islands Province formed 2 units of implementing agencies, one of which was the Administrator as the implementation of permits and recommendations. The establishment of an Administrator through the Letter of the Governor of Riau Islands No 02 / DK.SEZ in 2018 dated March 2, 2018. The Investment and One-Stop Service (DPMPTSP) was appointed as administrator of the SEANG Galang Batang. Determination of DPMPTSP as an Administrator through the Decree of the District Head of Bintan No. 215 / III / 2018 dated March 8, 2018. For technical implementation in the field, a Business Development and Management Agency (BUPP) was established. PT. Bintan Alumina Indonesia was established as the SEZ Galang Batang Managing Business Development Agency (BUPP) as stated in the Decree of the Bintan District Head No. 509 / X / 2017 dated October 31, 2017. Based on existing potential and excellence

The Galang Batang SEZ area is given specifically to increase competitiveness with its countries. By doing business is expected to attract investors to invest in the region PT Bintan Alumina Indonesia proposed the establishment of the Galang Batang Special Economic Zone in accordance with the provisions of the legislation in the field of special economic zones. The proposal for the establishment of the Galang Batang.

Figure 5. Management Structure Chart Indonesia SEZ



Source: Coordinating Economic Ministry, 2016

The Zone Council plays a role in overseeing infrastructure readiness in the Area, HR Readiness, and Administrative Control Equipment Readiness, while the BUPP is tasked with Provision of Regional Infrastructure. The provincial government is in charge of organizing the Investment Tender (Determination of the Builder and Management Business Entity is carried out based on the results of the tender openly and transparently). The National Zone Council in carrying out its duties establishes the Galang Batang Special Economic Zone Council, this institution will later become the representative institution of the National Zone Council in the Riau Islands Province.

The task of the Galang Batang Special Economic Zone Council such as carry out general policies that have been established by the National Council to manage and develop SEZ in its working area, forming the Galang Batang SEZ Administrator, supervise, control, evaluate, and coordinate the implementation of the SEZ Administrator's duties n

the implementation of a one-stop integrated service system and the operation of the SEZ, establish strategic steps to solve problems in the implementation of Galang Batang SEZ activities, submit a report on Galang Batang SEZ management to the National Council at the end of each year and submit an incidental report regarding the Galang Batang SEZ if there is a strategic problem with the National Council.

Special Economic Zone Galang Batang has fulfilled the criteria and has completed the requirements for proposing Special Economic Zones as stipulated in Article 4 of Law Number 39 of 2000 concerning Special Economic Zones and Article 7 of Government Regulation Number 2 of 2011 concerning the Implementation of Special Economic Zones as already amended by Government Regulation Number 100 of 2012 concerning Amendments to Government Regulation Number 2 of 2011 concerning the Implementation of Special Economic Zones. Proposing the establishment of Special Economic Zones. Galang Batang by PT Bintan Alumina Indonesia has been approved by the Regent of Bintan and submitted by the Governor of Riau Islands to the National Council for Special Economic Zones.

Inside the Galang Batang SEZ there was a delegation of authority to the Galang Batang SEZ Administrator, the delegation included: The delegation of authority from the Bintan District Head to the Chief Administrator of the Galang Batang SEZ was issued through the Bintan Regent Regulation No. 20 of 2018 dated March 13, 2018. The administrator of the Galang Batang SEZ has been issued through the Regulation of the Governor of Riau Islands No. 20 of 2018 dated March 5, 2018, and the delegation of authority from BKPM is still in the process of being proposed, but according to Government Regulation (PP) No. 24 of 2018, all investment permits are served by Online Single Submission (OSS).

## **IMPLICATION**

Investment Policy Framework through Special Economic Area (SEZ) Galang Batang in Bintan Island is still in the improvement stage, this policy is still not supported by strong collaborative governance and maximum synergy from the SEZ National Council to BUPP.

## **CONCLUSION**

SEZ Galang Batang is one solution to attract investment to Bintan Island. The SEZ is an important framework of the local government business framework. The Galang Batang SEZ national strategy project was built in the midst of a weakening world economy, the development of an industrial area and an international cargo port which is the initiation of the central government to develop the regional economy has not run optimally and even tends to fail. Some fundamental issues related to the global economy, regional competition and facilities and infrastructure are obstacles, on the other hand management patterns that are not intertwined between the National Zone Council, Provincial Governments and Local Governments are internal obstacles.

The Galang Batang SEZ national strategy project was initially expected to be able to make a major contribution to the Regional Expenditure Budget (APBD) in which the area became the Galang Batang SEZ area. The potential revenue from the Galang Batang SEZ should be explored



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## Implementation of Inclusion Sub-District in Yogyakarta City Case Study: Wirobrajan Sub-District

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### ABSTRACT

The city of Yogyakarta has been declared a pioneering city of inclusion. The follow up of that is the initiation of 4 sub-districts of inclusion as a pilot district of the inclusive city of Tegalrejo sub-district, Wirobrajan sub-district, Kotagede sub-district, and Gondokusuman sub-district. Then, the sub-districts of inclusion increased 2 sub-districts, namely Jetis sub-district and Kraton sub-district. It is expected that the six sub-districts will be followed by 8 other sub-districts so that the city of Yogyakarta becomes a city of inclusion as a whole. Wirobrajan sub-district as one of the subdistricts of inclusion was considered successful in the implementation of inclusion sub-district with indicators of valid data of persons with disabilities, accessible public facilities, participation or the formation of disabled groups, and budgetary disability. The success is due to factors such as well-established communication between stakeholders in Wirobrajan Sub-district, available resources are sufficient, Dispositions and responsibilities can be well executed, and bureaucratic structures are not complicated.

**KEYWORDS:** Implementation, inclusion sub-district, Wirobrajan Sub-District

### INTRODUCTION

The city of Yogyakarta was officially declared as the pioneer of inclusion city in the series of International Disability Day Commemoration in December 2015. In the news website tribunnews.com, the declaration of the city of Yogyakarta as a city of inclusion began with the establishment of 4 (four) inclusion sub-districts. Later, as a city of inclusion, Yogyakarta became a friendly city with disabilities capable of fulfilling the rights of Persons with Disabilities. Yogyakarta City Government then follow up in 2016 through Mayor Decree No. 339 Year of 2016 has set 4 (four) sub-districts as a pilot city of inclusion. The four sub-districts are Tegalrejo Sub-district, Wirobrajan Sub-District, Kotagede Sub-District, and Gondokusuman Sub-District. Then in 2017, through the Decree of the Mayor Number 207 Year of 2017, inclusive districts of the city plus two more sub-districts, namely Jetis sub-District and Kraton sub-District. So, Yogyakarta City has 6 (six) sub-district as a pilot city of inclusion or can called inclusion sub-district are Tegalrejo Sub-district, Wirobrajan Sub-District, Kotagede Sub-District, Gondokusuman Sub-District, Jetis sub-District and Kraton sub-District. It is expected that the six sub-districts will be followed by 8 (eight) other sub-districts so that the city of Yogyakarta becomes a city of inclusion as a whole.

In addition to the Mayor's Decree No. 339 Year of 2016 and the Mayor's Decree No. 207 Year of 2017, the declaration of the City of Yogyakarta as an inclusion city also refers to the mandate of the 1945 Basic Constitution especially article 28 H paragraph 2 which reads "Everyone has the right to special facilities and treatment for get the same opportunities and benefits to achieve equality and justice ". Declaration of Yogyakarta City as an Inclusion City Also refers to Law Number 08 of 2016 concerning Disabled Persons and

Special Region of Yogyakarta Regional Regulation No. 04 Year of 2012 concerning Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities that can support inclusion cities.

After more than 1 (one) year, the feasibility of the city of Yogyakarta which proclaimed as a city of inclusion is appropriate to be assessed and seen its development. Especially, about the inclusion city districts. This is to know about how the six sub-districts are prepared as “pilot projects” to be modeled for other sub-districts throughout Yogyakarta.

In view of its development, minimal standards are needed that can be used to measure simply how the sub-district progresses. The minimum standard uses 4 (four) indicators, namely the existence of valid data of persons with disabilities, accessible public facilities, the participation or the formation of disabled groups, and the existence of a budget in favor of disability. These four indicators refer to the *solider.id* site, which gives an example of the success of the sub district incubation by using 4 (four) indicators in Tawang Sari sub-district Sukoharjo Regency Central Java Province.

If referring to these indicators, Wirobrajan Sub-district can be said to be successful in implementing the inclusive sub-district. First, Sub-districts have data on Persons with Disabilities that are updated by the Community Empowerment Section of the Wirobrajan sub-District Government which is assisted by the Wirobrajan District Family Welfare Workers Team (TKSK) has valid data on persons with disabilities based on the 2016 special welfare guarantee (*jamkesmas*) for persons with disabilities is determined by the Yogyakarta Special Region Province Government. From these data it is known that Wirobrajan District has 178 (one hundred and seventy eight) people with disabilities. The data is spread in 3 (three) urban villages, Patangpuluhan Urban Village has 45 (fourty five) people with disabilities, Pakuncen Urban Village has 90 (ninety) people with disabilities, and Wirobrajan Urban Village has 43 (fourty three) people with disabilities.

Table 1. Data of People with disabilities in Wirobrajan Sub-district

No	Urban Village	People With Disabilities
1	Pakuncen	90
2	Patangpuluhan	45
3	Wirobrajan	43
Total		178

Source: Wirobrajan Sub-district Government

Second, the Wirobrajan sub-District Office has a special ramp facility for entry points for difables, guiding blocks, and special disfigured toilets. In addition, the Wirobrajan Health Center is one of the government institutions engaged in health services in addition to having incline or special diffable ramps and toilets. Also has wheelchairs and computer readers queuing numbers as well as providing special registration numbers for difables.

Picture 1. Ramp in south side Wirobrajan Sub-district Office



Source: Personal Documentation

Picture 2. Ramp in People Central Health Wirobrajan Sub-district



Source: Personal Documentation

Thirdly, in Wirobrajan sub-district there is Community of Family of Children with Disabilities/*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak dengan Disabilitas* (PKADD) as one of the disability community. In addition, in the year of 2017 thematic Sub-district Development Planning Meeting (*Musrembang*) in 2017, PKADD is also involved with TKSK and SAPDA NGOs to actively participate in Persons with Disabilities voicing aspirations and proposals in order to encourage the fulfillment of disability rights.

Fourth, Wirobrajan Sub-district in 2017 one of thematic *Musrembang* result is prioritizing 6 special things for Persons with Disabilities, namely: education, health, entrepreneurship, infrastructure, transportation and manpower. In addition, Wirobrajan sub-district also held "*gebyardifabel*" the funds budgeted by the sub-district. From that point on, it is interesting to see more about how the implementation in Kecamatan Wirobrajan succeeded in meeting inclusive sub-district indicators. The purpose is to know what factors lead to successful implementation of inclusive sub-district in Wirobrajan sub-district. If it is known, it will be useful for other sub-districts to be used as reference and comparison in realizing the city of Yogyakarta full inclusion.

## RESEARCH QUESTION

How does the implementation of inclusion sub-district in Wirobrajan Sub-district, Yogyakarta City?

## RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses descriptive qualitative research method, where the discussion of the data is done by describing the analysis obtained qualitatively is to provide an overview of the problem under study. In other words, qualitative descriptive is a study that describes or describes an event to be taken conclusions in general, which in this study involves the implementation of inclusion sub-district in the city of Yogyakarta with a case study in Wirobrajan sub-District.

The location of this research focuses on Wirobrajan sub-district and is limited to the jurisdiction of Yogyakarta City. Source of data used in this research obtained through 2 (two) data source, that is primary data and secondary data. Primary data is obtained directly from informant data that has the potential to provide actual information. Where, the informant who became the source of this research came from elements of employee the Wirobrajan sub-District and NGO of SAPDA (*Sentra Advokasi Perempuan Difabel dan Anak / Center for Disabled Women and Children Advocacy*) staff. While Secondary Data is data supporting primary data from the literature and documents and data concerning the issues related to the research studied, taken from the library and documentation of documents related to the implementation of inclusion sub-district.

Data analysis technique used is to convert data into a form that is more easily understood and interpreted. Data analysis in this research is conducted by qualitative descriptive method to analyze data by exposing and interpreting the result of research with the composition of words and sentences in answer to the problems studied. Data analysis used in this research is qualitative, by entering data from informant or interview which then analyzed and drawn a conclusion.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Syaokani et al (2004) implementation is a series of activities in order to deliver policy to the community so that the policy can bring the expected results. The series of activities includes, First preparation of a set of rules continuation which is the interpretation of the policy. Second, prepare resources to drive implementation activities are included facilities and infrastructure, financial resources and of course determining who is responsible for carrying out the policy. Third, how deliver wisdom concretely to the public. While based on Samodra Wibawa (1994) Policy implementation is an activity that is seen after a legitimate direction is issued from a policy that includes efforts to manage inputs to produce outputs or outcomes for the community. The policy implementation stage can be characterized and distinguished by the policy making stage. Policy making on the one hand is a process which has bottom-up logic, in the sense that the policy process begins with the delivery of aspirations, requests or support from the community. While policy implementation on the other hand has a top-down logic, in the sense of reducing abstract or macro policy alternatives become concrete or micro actions.

According to Riant Nugroho (2003) states that the Implementation of Policy in principle is a way for a policy to achieve its objectives. No more and no less for implementing public policy, there are two rare options available, which are either directly implemented in the form of programs or through the formulation of derivate policies or derivatives of the public policy. From this it can be said that the implementation is a process that focuses on the implementation of policies to achieve goals that fit the target.



In the book also discussed about the implementation models. One is the implementation model of George C. Edward III. George C. Edward III considers that there are at least 4 (four) factors that can influence the implementation of the policy. The four factors that can affect these are the first, the communication, the second resource, the third the disposition, and the fourth bureaucratic structure.

1. Communication. Implementation of a policy will then work effectively if there are measures and policy objectives well understood by individuals who are responsible in the process of achieving policy objectives. Clarity about the size and the objectives of the policy is necessary for proper communication with the implementers. Communication in an institution or organization can be said as a process that is complex and complex. So, in order for an implementation to run effectively, a person or person responsible for implementing a decision will have to know exactly, whether to do it or not.
2. Resources. The components in the resource factor include the number of members or staff, skills or abilities of the implementer, relevant information and sufficient to implement a policy and the fulfillment of relevant resources about the implementation of the program, the existence of an authority that ensures that a program can directed according to expectations, as well as the existence of supporting facilities such as finance or funds as well as infrastructure facilities. Other facilities are needed and must be met such as office or secretariat, equipment and equipment, and sufficient funds. Without these facilities, the program will be difficult to achieve.
3. Disposition. One of the factors that can influence the effectiveness of a policy implementation is the attitude of the implementer. If the implementer is in line with the content of the policy then it will run according to what is directed, but if there is a different view with the policy makers then the process of an implementation will experience many problems.
4. Organizational structure. The organizational structure itself has a significant influence on a policy implementation. This organizational structure aspect includes the mechanism and structure of bureaucracy itself. Related mechanisms, in the implementation of reasonable policies made standard operation procedur (SOP). With regard to bureaucratic structures, too long bureaucratic structures will weaken oversight and lead to complicated bureaucratic procedures.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA

Wirobrajan Sub-district is one of 14 (fourteen) sub-districts and 45 (fourty five) urban village in Yogyakarta City. Wirobrajan Sub-district has 3 (three) urban Villages. WirobrajanSub-District is the most western sub-district and is directly adjacent to Bantul Regency. The District of Wirobrajan is led by a sub-district head or *Camat*.

Table 2. Sub-district and Urban Village in Yogyakarta City

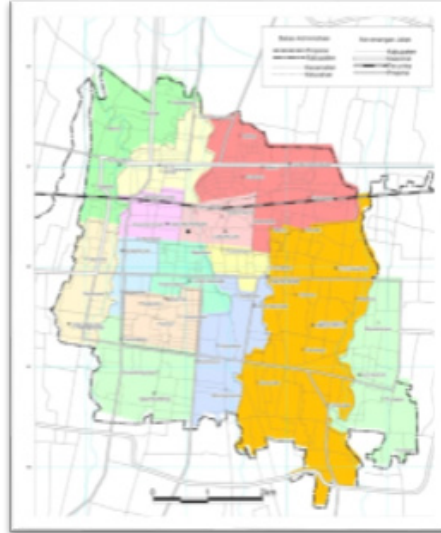
No	Subdistrict	No	Urban Village
1.	Danurejan Sub-district	1.- 1	Bausasran Urban Village
		1.- 2	Tegalpanggang Urban Village
		1.- 3	Suryatmajan Urban Village

2.	Gedongtengen Sub-district	2.- 1	Pringgokusuman Urban Village
		2.- 2	Sosromenduran Urban Village
3.	Gondokusuman Sub-district	3.- 1	Terban Urban Village
		3.- 2	Demangan Urban Village
		3.- 3	Klitren Urban Village
		3.- 4	Kotabaru Urban Village
		3.- 5	Baciro Urban Village
4.	Gandomanan Sub-district	4.- 1	Ngupasan Urban Village
		4.- 2	Prawirodirjan Urban Village
5.	Jetis Sub-district	5.- 1	Bumijo Urban Village
		5.- 2	Cokrodiningratan Urban Village
		5.- 3	Gowongan Urban Village
6.	Kotagede Sub-district	6.- 1	Prenggan Urban Village
		6.- 2	Purbayan Urban Village
		6.- 3	Rejowinangun Urban Village
7.	Kraton Sub-district	7.- 1	Panembahan Urban Village
		7.- 2	Kadipaten Urban Village
		7.- 3	Patehan Urban Village
8.	Mantrijeron Sub-district	8.- 1	Gedongkiwo Urban Village
		8.- 2	Suryodiningratan Urban Village
		8.- 3	Mantrijeron Urban Village
9.	Mergangsan Sub-district	9.- 1	Brontokusuman Urban Village
		9.- 2	Keparakan Urban Village
		9.- 3	Wirogunan Urban Village
10.	Ngampilan Sub-district	10.- 1	Ngampilan Urban Village
		10.- 2	Notoprajan Urban Village
11.	Pakualaman Sub-district	11.- 1	Gunung Ketur Urban Village
		11.- 2	Purwokinanti Urban Village
12.	Tegalrejo Sub-district	12.- 1	Bener Urban Village
		12.- 2	Kricak Urban Village
		12.- 3	Karangwaru Urban Village
		12.- 4	Tegalrejo Urban Village
13.	Umbulharjo Sub-district	13.- 1	Pandeyan Urban Village
		13.- 2	Sorosutan Urban Village
		13.- 3	Giwangan Urban Village
		13.- 4	Warungboto Urban Village
		13.- 5	Muja Muju Urban Village
		13.- 6	Semaki Urban Village
		13.- 7	Tahunan Urban Village
14.	Wirobrajan Sub-district	14.- 1	Pakuncen Urban Village
		14.- 2	Patangpuluhan Urban Village

		14.- 3	Wirobrajan Urban Village
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Source : Wirobrajan Sub-district Government

Picture 3. Map of Yogyakarta City



Source: Wirobrajan Sub-district Government

The location of the Wirobrajan Sub-district is on the western edge of the Yogyakarta City, the community has a diversity of economic activities, most are the household handcraft industry sector. Broadly speaking, Wirobrajan District is a plain area low, crossed by the Winongo river and Widuri river with the height of the land from sea level is 114 m. Borderline The sub-district of Wirobrajan is located on the west bank of Yogyakarta City flanked by two rivers, the Winongo river in the east and the Widuri river in West Side. Both of them are the territorial limits for Wirobrajan Sub-district.

Picture 4. Map of Wirobrajan Sub-district



Source: Wirobrajan Sub-district Government



The other sub-districts bordering the sub-district Wirobrajan is:

- North Side : Tegalrejo Sub-district – Yogyakarta City
- East Side : Ngampilan Sub-district – Yogyakarta City and  
Mantrijeron Sub-district – Yogyakarta City
- South Side : Mantrijeron Sub-district – Yogyakarta City and  
Kasihan Sub-District– Bantul Regency
- West Side : Kasihan Sub-District – Bantul Regency and  
Tegalrejo Sub-District– Yogyakarta City

Wirobrajan Sub-district has 3 (three) urban village:

1. Pakuncen Urban Village
2. Patangpuluhan Urban Village
3. Wirobrajan Urban Village

Pakuncen Urban Village has 56 (Fifty six) neighborhoods / *RT* divided into 12 (twelve) hamlet / *RW*. While Patangpuluhan Urban Village has 51 (fifty one) neighborhoods / *RT* which are divided into 10 (ten) hamlet / *RW*. And Wirobrajan Urban Village has 58 (fifty eight) neighborhoods / *RT* which are divided into 12 (twelve) hamlet / *RW*. Thus, there are 165 (one hundred and sixty five) neighborhoods / *RT* in the Wirobrajan Sub-district, which are divided into 34 (thirty four) hamlet / *RW*.

Table 3. Distribution Area of Urban Village in Wirobrajan Sub-district

No	Urban Village	<i>RT</i>	<i>RW</i>
1	Pakuncen Urban Village	56	12
2	Patangpuluhan Urban Village	51	10
3	Wirobrajan Urban Village	58	12
Total		165	34

Source: Wirobrajan Sub-district Government

Pakuncen Urban Village has a population of 10910 (ten thousand nine hundred and ten) people divided into 5317 (five thousand three hundred and seven teen) male and 5593 (five thousand five hundred and ninety three) female, Patangpuluhan Urban Village has a population of 7709 (seven thousand seven hundred and nine) people divided into 3738 (three thousand seven hundred and thirty eight) male and 3971 (three thousand nine hundred and seventy one) female, and Wirobrajan Urban Village has a population of 9416 (nine thousand four hundred and sixteen) people divided into 4588 (four thousand five hundred and eighty eight) male and 4828 (four thousand eight hundred and twenty eight) female.

The largest population in the Wirobrajan Sub-district is in the Urban Village of Pakuncen. Pakuncen Urban Village has 5317 (five thousand three hundred and seven teen)

male and 5593 (five thousand five hundred and ninety three) female. Total population in Pakuncen Urban Village is 10910 (ten thousand nine hundred and ten) people. Total population in Wirobrajan Sub-district has 28035 (twenty eight thousand and thirty five) people divided into 13643 (thirteen thousand six hundred and forty three) male and 14392 (Fourteen thousand three hundred and ninety two) female.

Table 4. Wirobrajan Sub-District Population

No	Urban Village	Male	Female	Total
1	Pakuncen Urban Village	5317	5593	10910
2	Patangpuluhan Urban Village	3738	3971	7709
3	Wirobrajan Urban Village	4588	4828	9416
Total Population Wirobrajan Sub-district		13643	14392	28035

Source: Population Administration Information System of Wirobrajan Sub-District

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In assessing the implementation of inclusion sub-district in Yogyakarta city with case study in Wirobrajan sub-District can be seen from Communication, Resources, Disposition, and Bureaucracy Structure. From the communication side, among others: (1). Methods and patterns of communication undertaken by the Parties of the Wirobrajan sub-District Government, TKSK (*Tenaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Kecamatan* / sub-district social welfare personnel), PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas* / union family of children with disabilities) and people with disabilities. (2). Intensity of Communication.

From the Resources side, among others: (1). Budget funds owned by Wirobrajan sub-District for people with disabilities. (2). Quality and Quantity of human resources, in this case Community Empowerment Section Wirobrajan sub-District Government, TKSK (*Tenaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Kecamatan* / sub-district social welfare personnel), and PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas* / union family of children with disabilities). (3). Facilities provided by Wirobrajan Sub-district for people with disabilities. From the disposition side are: (1). Commitment of Wirobrajan sub-district officials to the implementation of inclusive sub-districts. (2). Consistency of implementing inclusive sub-districts in terms of public services for disabilities. And from the side of Bureaucratic Structure, among others: (1). Line Hierarchy of Wirobrajan sub-District Government. (2). SOP's (Standard Operating Procedure) are given to the Wirobrajan sub-District Officers.

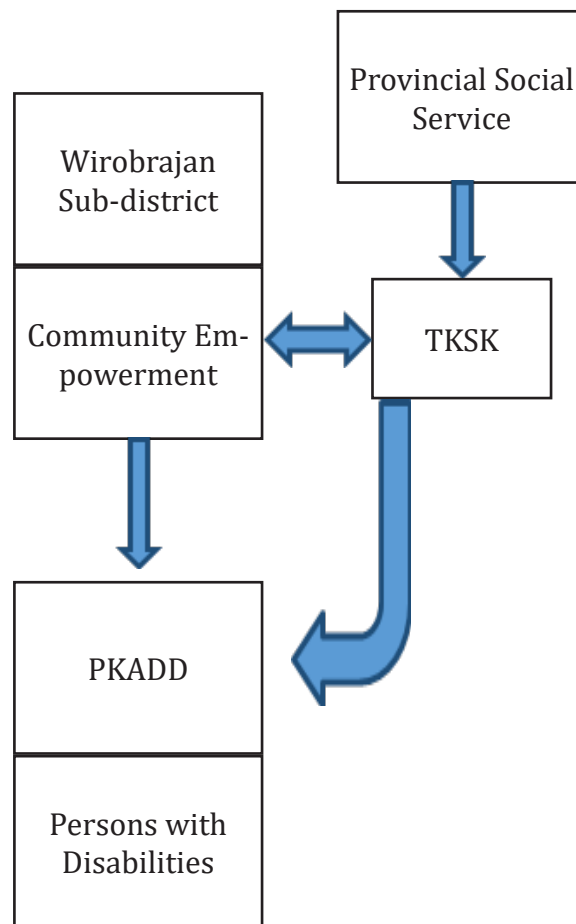
### Communication

In terms of communication, the Community Empowerment Section of Wirobrajan sub-district Government as the representative of the government communicates horizontally with TKSK (*Tenaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Kecamatan* / sub-district social welfare per-

sonnel) under the auspices of the Provincial Social Service of Yogyakarta Special Region to coordinate related data and facilities or policies.

In addition, the Community Empowerment Section of Yogyakarta Municipality Government as the government representative also becomes semi-vertical communication with PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas / union family of children with disabilities*) to coordinate related policies and participation of Persons with Disabilities. PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas / union family of children with disabilities*) then communicates to its members as people with disabilities. PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas / union family of children with disabilities*) also coordinates with TKSK (*Tenaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Kecamatan / sub-district social welfare personnel*) regarding policies and services provided by the Provincial Social Service of Yogyakarta Special Region. The intensity of communication that occurs not rigid in a certain period, depending on the efficiency and needs.

Picture 5. Communication Pattern of Wirobrajan sub-district, TKSK, and PKADD



Source: Wirobrajan sub-District

**Resource**

In terms of resources, Wirobrajan Sub-district has held thematic sub-district musrenbang which prioritizes budget for the benefit of Persons with Disabilities. Results from the most recent district-level thematic *Musrenbang* in 2017 prioritize 6 special issues for persons with disabilities: education, health, entrepreneurship, infrastructure, trans-

port and employment. Then in terms of facilities, Wirobrajan Sub-district also has made a physically friendly facilities for Persons with Disabilities. Among others: Ramp, special toilet for Persons with Disabilities, and guiding block.

And in terms of human resources, each personnel has a good responsibility in carrying out its roles and duties. The main stakeholders in the implementation of inclusive sub-district in Wirobrajan sub-district are:

1. Head of Wirobrajan Sub-district : Drs. H. Rumpis Trimintarta
2. Community Empowerment Section : Rahmi Anggraini, S.H, M.Hum
3. Head of DIY Social Service : Drs. Untung Sukaryadi, MM
4. TKSK : Isdanarti, S.Sos
5. PKADD : Nanik Wartiyatun, S.Sos

Picture 6. Ramp in Wirobrajan sub-District Office



Source: Author Documentation.

## Disposition

In terms of disposition, it is found that sub-district officials who play a major role in running inclusive sub-districts are committed. The responsibility of the Wirobrajan Sub-district Head to the Community Empowerment Section of the Wirobrajansub-District Government can be very well run. Similarly, the PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas* / union family of children with disabilities) is able to commit to encouraging the active role of persons with disabilities in envisioning inclusion sub-districts. The implementation of the meeting between the Community Empowerment Section of the Wirobrajansub-District Government and the PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas* / union family of children with disabilities) in carrying out activities involving Persons with Disabilities also works consistently. In the meeting, representatives from NGO or Non Government Organization like SAPDA (*Sentra Advokasi Perempuan Difabel dan Anak* / Center for Disabled Women and Children Advocacy) were also invited.

Picture 7. PKADD's involvement in the sub-district thematic "Musrenbang"

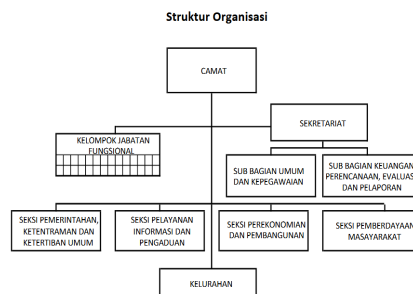


Source : SAPDA's NGO.

### Bureaucratic Structure

In terms of bureaucratic structure owned by the Wirobrajansub-District Government, it appears that the bureaucratic structure is not too long and not complicated. The Wirobrajan sub-district can directly provide direction to the Community Empowerment Section of the Wirobrajansub-District Government in running the inclusive sub-district. In addition, the work procedures provide fromd Head of Wirobrajansub-District to Community Empowerment Section Wirobrajansub-District Government is also quite clear as stated in the Mayor of Yogyakarta Regulation No. 62 Year of 2016.

Picture 8. The organizational structure of the Wirobrajan Sub-District Government



Source: Information Management and Documentation Office of Yogyakarta City

Official Employee in Wirobrajan Sub-District Government:

- Camat*/Head of Sub-District : Drs. H. Rumpis Trimintarta
- Secretary of Sub-District : Saptohadi, S.IP
- Head of General and Civil Service : Th. Roos Driastuti
- Head of Financial Evaluation And Reporting : Sulistiyowati,SE
- Section Chief of Peace and Order Governance : Achmad Asranur Arifin, S.IP, MPA
- Section Chief of Information and Complaint : Sugita
- Section Chief of the Economic and Development : Udi Harsono, S.Si, M.Si

Section Chief of Community Empowerment : Rahmi Anggraini, SH, M.Hum  
 Head of Pakuncen Urban Village : Joko Saptono, S.IP, MM  
 Head of Patangpuluhan Urban Village : Sigit Hartobudiyono, SE  
 Head of Wirobrajan Urban Village : Hj. Neny Hidayati, SH

Table 5. Employee of Wirobrajan Sub-district Government

No	Employee	Occupation
1.	Drs. H. Rumpis Trimintarta	Head of Wirobrajan Sub-district
2.	Saptohadi, S.IP	Secretary of Wirobrajan Sub-district
3.	Heri Istiyanto, A.Md	Executing Advanced Computer Administration Wirobrajan Sub-district
4.	Dwi Yudhi Purnomo, A.Md.	Implementing Community Self-Supporters Wirobrajan Sub-district
5.	Th. Roos Driastuti	Head of Sub Division Sub Division of General and Civil Service Wirobrajan Sub-district
6.	Rina Krisyanti	Civil Service Administration Sub Division of General and Civil Service Wirobrajan Sub-district
7.	Suhartono	Janitor Sub Division of General and Civil Service Wirobrajan Sub-district
8.	Sulistiyowati, SE	Head of Sub Division Sub Division of Financial Evaluation and Reporting Planning Wirobrajan Sub-district
9.	Chatarina Dina Eka Wahyuni, SE.	Planning, Evaluation and Reporting Analyst Sub Division of Financial Evaluation and Reporting Planning Wirobrajan Sub-district
10.	Ernawati	Treasurer Sub Division of Financial Evaluation and Reporting Planning Wirobrajan Sub-district
11.	Sugita	Section Chief Information and Complaint Service Section Wirobrajan Sub-district



12.	Achmad Asranur Arifin, S.IP, MPA	Section Chief Peace and Order Governance Section Wirobrajan Sub-district
13.	Pitoyo, SE	Manager of Security and Order Peace and Order Governance Section Wirobrajan Sub-district
14.	Sumaryanto	Government Administration Manager Peace and Order Governance Section Wirobrajan Sub-district
15.	Rahmi Anggraini, SH, M.Hum	Section Chief Community Empowerment Section Wirobrajan Sub-district
16.	Udi Harsono ,S.Si, M.Si	Section Chief Economic and Development Section Wirobrajan Sub-district
17.	Sigit Hartobudiyo- no, SE	Head of Urban Village Patangpuluhan Urban Village Wirobrajan Sub-district
18.	Joko Saptono, S.IP, MM	Head of Urban Village Pakuncen Urban Village Wirobrajan Sub-district
19.	Neny Hidayati, SH	Head of Urban Village Wirobrajan Urban Village Wirobrajan Sub-district

Source: Wirobrajan Sub-district Government

## CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion that has been explained, it can be concluded that in the implementation of the inclusion of sub-districts in the City of Yogyakarta with a case study in the District of Wirobrajan there are 4 (four) success factors. The four success factors are as follows:

1. Communication. There is good communication between stakeholders in Wirobrajan Sub district, such as Wirobrajan District Head, Community Empowerment Section in Wirobrajan Sub district, Social Services of Yogyakarta Special Region Province, TKSK (*Tenaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Kecamatan / sub-district social welfare personnel*), PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas / union family of children with disabilities*), and people with disabilities. The Head of the Wirobrajan District is fully responsible and structurally communicates with the Community Empowerment Section. Where, the Community Empowerment Section has the authority to represent Wirobrajan District in communicating “triangles” with TKSK (*Tenaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Kecamatan / sub-district social welfare per-*

sonnel) and PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas / union family of children with disabilities*). The communication carried out by the Community Empowerment Section both to the TKSK (*Tenaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Kecamatan / sub-district social welfare personnel*) and PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas / union family of children with disabilities*) can be well implemented.

2. Resources. The available resources are very helpful in carrying out activities in realizing Wirobrajan sub district as an inclusive sub-district, such as budget priorities for the benefit of persons with disabilities, facilities for the physically disabled, and human resources who are competent in their respective fields. The Head of the Wirobrajan Sub-District is a graduate in the field of governmental science, which of course has the basic knowledge of community services including services for people with disabilities. Moreover, a sub district head has also gone through various types of training according to his position. While the Community Empowerment Division is a graduate of the Master of Humanities who certainly understands the service to diffables. Then the TKSK (*Tenaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Kecamatan / sub-district social welfare personnel*) which is the representative of social affairs from the provinces placed in the sub-district area is a graduate in the social field who has experience in handling social affairs including disability issues. Then the Chairperson of PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas / union family of children with disabilities*) is also a graduate of the social field who is expert in representing families with disabilities. Then for physical resources, the government budget has been budgeted to build facilities to serve people with disabilities and has been built, especially in the Wirobrajan sub-district office and Wirobrajan health center. Among other things, ramps, guiding blocks, and special disability toilets.
3. Disposition and responsibility held by the Community Empowerment Section of the Government of the District of Wirobrajan and PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas / union family of children with disabilities*) can be carried out very well. The Head of the Wirobrajan Subdistrict carried out the disposition to the Community Empowerment Section which was indeed the duty of the Community Empowerment Department to take full responsibility for carrying out its duties and authorities in handling matters relating to diffable services and maintaining the implementation of Mayor's Decree No. 339 Year of 2016 and the Mayor's Decree No. 207 Year of 2017. Likewise with PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas / union family of children with disabilities*) as an organization originating from people with disabilities in the Wirobrajan District, PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak Dengan Disabilitas / union family of children with disabilities*) can be responsible for representing the interests of people with disabilities to be discussed with the Wirobrajan sub-district government.
4. The Wirobrajan District Government bureaucracy structure is quite supportive with not too long and not complicated. Where, the Bureaucratic Structure of the Head of the Wirobrajan District is Mr. Drs. H. Rumpis Trimintarta directly supervised the Head of Section for Community Empowerment, namely Mrs. Rahmi Angraini, SH, M.Hum, without going through another bureaucracy. In the end, representatives of people with disabilities such as PKADD (*Paguyuban Keluarga Anak*



*Dengan Disabilitas / union family of children with disabilities*) can be served well without having to go through the bureaucracy.

These four factors can serve as pilot materials and comparison materials for other sub-districts in Yogyakarta as a pilot city for inclusion. Especially sub-districts that are not “pilot projects” as inclusion districts. And these four factors can also be used as examples for other sub-districts and cities in realizing inclusion cities.

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## ***Awak Nanggroe (Ex-Free Aceh Movement) on Construction Sector:***

## Winning the Game?

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### ABSTRACT

This study discusses role played by *Awak Nanggroe* (ex-Free Aceh Movement) on economic political sector in Aceh after the conflict from 2005-2018. The *Awak Nanggroe* is new economic actors in the construction sector in Aceh. This study uses a qualitative research conducted case study to see the *Awak Nanggroe* activities on economic activity especially construction business sector in Aceh. The interviewees in this research are construction entrepreneurs, government, and community leaders in Aceh. The study finds that the *Awak Nanggroe* get the economic opportunity after the Aceh conflict by becoming rent seeker of government projects. They make a network with Free Aceh Government and and bring their attributes (names, flags, and Partai Aceh) when conducting economic activities. They work by using GAM networks to gain the source of countries economic by lobbying, negotiating, and even intimidating to win the tender and obtaining projects from the government. This study contributes to the study of rent seeking behaviors mainly related to the emerging and increasing number of new economic actors from the *Awak Nanggroe* as a result of the conflict in Aceh which aims to maintain the influence and extend power from the political sector into the economic sector in Aceh after conflict.

**KEYWORDS:** New economic actors, *Awak Nanggroe*, rent seeking, post-conflict

### INTRODUCTION

This study concerns a relation between entrepreneurs and politics in West Aceh Regency (*Kabupaten Aceh Barat*). In this case, entrepreneurs refer to *Awak Nanggroe*, which are the ex-Free Aceh Movement (or ex-GAM). They are the ones who involve in construction sector in post-conflict era. In this era, there is a phenomenon that shows a relation between entrepreneurs and politics. It can be seen from two indicators: the involvement of entrepreneurs in politics by becoming public officials and a close relation with government in economic sector. Therefore, as a message of Helsinki MoU and UUPA (*Undang-undang Pemerintah Aceh*) in 2011, *Awak Nanggroe* has an opportunity to expand its existence in politics and economic sectors.

In politic sector, ex-GAM majority join *Partai Aceh* and eventually become legislative members or heads of district in regencies/cities of Aceh. Meanwhile, another half of *awak nanggroe* is engaged in economic sector by becoming entrepreneurs, particularly in construction sector. This might happen because after the peace agreement between Indonesia and *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* (GAM) or Free Aceh Movement in 2005, economic activities have progressed to a better direction. Any convenience after the special autonomy implementation triggers an acceleration of regional economy and the entrepreneurs play a vital role in the process. Along with the establishment they have, the entrepreneurs also exist in politics by becoming party administrators, sympathizers, even candidates in a head regional election, no exception for the ex-GAM.

Nevertheless, after 12 years of peace agreement (MoU) between Indonesia and GAM (2005-2017), studies and discussions regarding Aceh are still around conflicts and Aceh reintegration into Republic of Indonesia or talk about transformation of the ex-combatants into members of political party (Budi, 2012) or ex-combatants into legislators. However, little do they talk about political transformations of *awak nanggroe* (ex-GAM) into economic relation in Aceh, whereas, the economic sector plays an important role in the efforts of Aceh development after the conflict. This research attempts to explore the presence of some new important economic actors in post-peace era in Aceh. They are entrepreneurs, especially those who engage in construction sector in West Aceh.

Up to now, many studies view negative correlations between entrepreneurs and politics. Entrepreneurs are considered 'ezrats capitalist' (Kunio, 1990) and engage in politics only because they want to gain rent from the power holders by giving financial rewards and political supports (Kang, 2002; Khan, 2000). Correlation between business and politics is often examined by theory of rent-seeking and rent-seeking behavior, which is individual and group efforts to raise income through utilization of government regulation (Bhagwati, 1982; Kruesger, 2000). The term 'rente' refers to a character of business actors that is aimed to facilitate the attainment of benefit by using others' assets or public assets for personal benefit (rent-seeking behavior) and utilizing government power to obstruct supply or demand of the owned resources. (Clark, 1998). Meanwhile, Prasad defines rent-seeking as a process where an individual gains incomes without actually increasing productivity, or even decreasing that productivity (Prasad, 2003). In other word, it can be said that the bigger power of the government in determining allocation of wealth, the wider opportunity of the rent-seeker presence (Little, 2002).

Theoretically, rent-seeking activities can be interpreted neutrally (Yustika, 2014). However, various empirical research in South Korea and the Philippines analyses cozy relationship between power holders and entrepreneurs in seeking economic rent to develop a negatively-connoted business-politics group (Azhar, 2012). In South Korea, for instance, the '*chaebol*' in this country develop their multinational companies through a full support from the governing regime(Kang, 2002)and build a cozy relationship to obtain concessions and licenses. In the Philippines, the entrepreneurs dominate political and business sectors built by focusing attention to the president as the entrepreneurs' patron and introducing state apparatuses who are open to be controlled by strong private sector powers, known as booty capitalism.

History of business and politics in Indonesia shows a patronage pattern between bureaucrats and the clients (in this case, entrepreneurs) during democratization process after New Order era (Robinson, 2009). According to winters, entrepreneurs in Indonesia are the intertwined oligarchy and frequently merge with the government. This tendency is getting stronger along with the more consolidated democracy since in this kind of democracy the oligarchy would be the main actors in Indonesia's politics, which is by controlling political parties which is aimed to maintain the ownership of wealth (winters, 2011).

This study explores the transformation of *Awak Nanggroe* from political actors into economic actors because they transformed into construction entrepreneurs after the conflict. These sectors are selected based on two reasons. First, business is a quite promising and fast-growing sector in Aceh after the peace agreement (2005-2017). Second, the transformation of political system affects new regulations applicable in Aceh, especially in terms of regulations and institutional. Construction business is exceptionally state depen-

dent, thus local government are influential strongly in determining whoever get tenders of construction project in regional area, especially with a big special autonomy funding, that is 7.7 trillion in 2016 which was mostly used for construction sector and the other vital sectors in Aceh. Hence, it is no wonder if this source of money is fought over. Nevertheless, in this case, position of the government is not only as a regulator, but also as an owner of power mainly after the implementation of special autonomy in Aceh. In this matter, Robison and Hadiz state that globalization also affect the political system in Aceh. The integration of local and global market becomes an essential factor in making business and politics more open and transparent (Hadiz, 2004)

## RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses qualitative approach and the method employed is a case study, which is understood as a thorough and in-depth effort to examine the characteristics of real-life situation that could cover individuals, organizations, etc. (Yin, 2003). Besides, this method could also systematically dig information about someone, social settings, phenomena or groups which enable researchers to comprehend how the process happens and functions (Berg, 2004). Problems are set up as a benchmark, then, some new resources are employed in order to find connections that can be changed into hypothesis. Explorative study is also aimed to illustrate more specifically a status of social phenomenon that involves humans as a data collection instrument.

This research limits the analysis unit only to the activities of ex-GAM after the conflict in economic and political area. The analysis focus is *awak naggroe* (ex-GAM) in West Aceh area. The society covered in this region is also a part of the focus that will be analyzed to comprehend a phenomenon in real life situation in the context of research problems. Focus of the research is in West Aceh Regency because this region is not the base of GAM when the conflict happened. Moreover, this area is the one that is considered an established region because the society owns a sufficient education and has characteristics of a plural society where goods and service trades become the heart of regency's activities.

In this study, data collection process are performed by means of two techniques, those are literature review and interviews. The first technique is employed to gain complete and thorough information about activities of ex-GAM in economic and political sector after the conflict. To attain comprehensive data description about various aspects related to this problem, analysis of diverse resources is required. The analyzed documents consist of books, articles, magazines, newspaper, constitutions, and *Qanun*. This effort is performed in order to understand the ex-GAM activities in economic and political area in West Aceh. The second technique is in-depth interview. Interviews are question and answer activity between a researcher and respondents to get the needed information. The interview is utilized to recheck and gain accurate and accountable data conveyed by the key informant during the interview.

The interview is used to investigate the more in-depth information about the phenomena of economic activities of *awak naggroe* in political sector after the conflict. The employed interview is open, where it is possible to pose other new questions developed from interviewer's answers. The main interviewees in this study are construction entrepreneurs, local government, and some figures in society. Those main interviewees are se-

lected from the well competent people both organizationally and individually in supporting this study. Observation is one of the techniques used in qualitative research where researchers are involved in daily bases with the people who are being examined and used as a resource of research data. While performing observation, the researchers also do what the participants do. By using this type of observation, the obtained data would be more detailed and accurate (Sugiono, 2006). Direct observation model is undertaken to obtain a range of event illustrations, phenomena, situations and activities of the ex-GAM in economic and political sector after the conflict.

### **Rent-seeking Concept and its Problems**

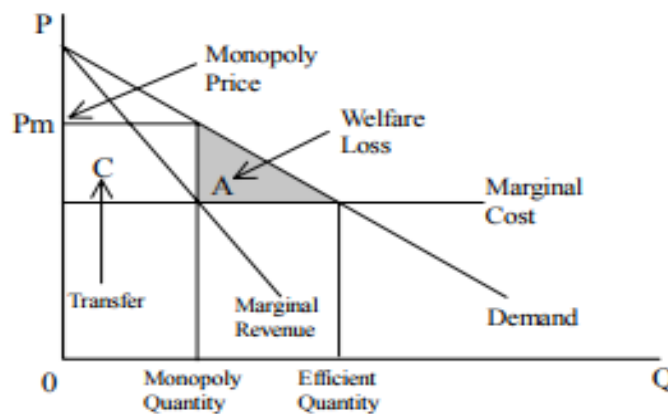
The term 'rent-seeking' is originated from economics terminology which means a rational action done by economic individuals to create cost avoiding because in economic system actually rent-seeking always promises efficiency (Krueger, 1974). In policy context, rent-seeking practice will also give conveniences and advantages for certain parties or direct of revenue, especially when it is associated with interests (Tullock, 1980). In fact, those advantages are supposed to be owned by societies as profit sharing from political transaction (Tullock, 1980).

At first, rent-seeking theory is constructed by liberal economists who expect to be able to explain phenomenon of state intervention that causes rent-seeking cost is higher, particularly because of the artificial rent which is intentionally created by the entrepreneurs (Hillman, 2010). At last, the term 'rent-seeking' in economic-politics approach means an action of lobbying which is intended to obtain special privilege and advantages from government. This model is suitable for studies in developing countries in which there are a frequent government intervention. "The term of rent seeking refer to action aimed at obtaining special government privilege. The model has general applicability but ha special suitability for developing countries where government interventions are frequently all embracing" (Krueger, 1974). Although the 'rents' here means 'privilege' obtained from government, generally 'rents' can also be defined as 'the income that is higher than it is supposed to be accepted by individuals and business entities because of the opportunities given by the government," (Khan, 2000).

In relation to rent-seeking, there are two main approaches; Krueger's and Tullock's rent seeking approach. The most principal differences between Krueger's and Tullock's rent seeking theory is the presence of transfer. Krueger does not explain any transfer, which according to Tullock is a real welfare loss. In other words, Krueger does not identify a direct transfer-seeking in rent-seeking practice. In policy context, when rent seeking is associated with interests, then privilege would cause advantages for particular parties and eliminate direct transfer of revenue which should be on the other parties (Tullock, 1980). This transfer of revenue is supposed to be obtained by the society as a part of political transaction. The greatest criticism of Tullock is that the biggest income is almost never distributed for the poor (Tullock, 1967). Meanwhile, every citizen who have given their vote through political activities (election) expect to attain the transfer (advantages) back.



Picture 1. Rent Seeking Concept



Tullock even specifically explains the differences between his and Krueger’s point of view in a journal entitled ‘The Origin of Rent-Seeking Concept’. In his theory, Tullock elucidates that his rent-seeking concept was first introduced as a criticism of a monopoly power and known as monopoly privilege seeking. In the analysis, the difference between monopoly and competitive prices results in what so called ‘welfare loss’, which disadvantages consumers. Lambsdorff (2002) illustrates that political activities cause political pressure and lobbying in the formulation of government policy. Generally, the protection of trading tariff is attained by political lobbying, as mentioned in the following: “Generally government do not impose protective tariffs on their own. They have to be lobbied or pressures into doing so by the expenditure of resources in political activity”.

Table 1 Rent Seeking Concepts According to Experts

	Rent-seeking is as economic behavior in business	Rent-seeking (government privilege) is for particular interest
Gordon Tullock	-	The presence of <i>direct transfer</i> as a part of <i>social loss</i>
Anne Krueger	With benchmark kuota. No direct transfer	Rent-seeking in import causes a high price for consumers.
Anirban Dasgupta	Rent seeking as government policy in free trade can be performed for infant industry	Rent seeking in a corporation might cause what so called ‘resource curse’
Jagdis Bhagwati	No reason for asking special treatment in free trade. No such a free lunch	-
Arye L. Hilman	Rent seeking behavior of a country is reflected from the number of rent dissipation	Rent seeking behavior is always present and does not depend on governmental system.

Specifically, this study of rent-seeking is re-written in a book entitled ‘Public Goods, Redistribution, and Rent-Seeking’ (2005). Buchanan, who has conducted much research with Tullock, highlights in ‘The Polluters’ Profit’ how negative externality causes income,

which is called by Tullock as a benefit of capital owners (entrepreneurs). This is because externality control does not fully calculate production costs (Buchanan, 1969). In terms of monopoly, for instance, the amount of transfer of revenue accepted by the monopoly actors from the buyers is not considered 'social cost' because monopoly is a part of society (Tullock, 2005).

In association with business and political sector, majority of academics focus on this theme with rent-seeking framework. Rent seeking theory in this study refers to the connection of power exchange among local government (bureaucrats and local politicians) as authority holders for winning tender for projects of government and entrepreneurs who are involved in this business (Khan, 2000). This research offers a distinctive concept of business and politics in which the actors are the state and non-state actors coming from the ex-GAM community. In this case, politics refers to government, which is the people who own positions and authorities to make a decision of policies (Krasner, 1984). Politics is a group of political actors, particularly the ex-GAM, who presently join organizations, political parties, or become legislative, executive, and judicative members in regional area. Meanwhile, business is defined as activities to seek benefits through goods and service productions. The word 'business' in this study refers to business actors or entrepreneurs especially those allied with the ex-GAM.

This alliance often requires an exchange (patron-client) that frequently overlaps with rent-seeking because both of them explain a range of transactions. Patron-client relationship is a recursive relationship between patrons and their clients. A number of features distinguish patron-client exchanges from the other types. *First*, a patron-client exchange is normally personalized and involves the identifiable clients. Meanwhile, there is always freedom to join or to quit. Joining and quitting patron-client network commonly happen in normal market. *Second*, the exchange between two different types of agent is classified based on its status, power, or other characteristics (Khan, 2000). Commonly, the superior members are called patrons and the inferior ones are known as clients. However, power or status of patrons varies in a wide range, and this variation might be important to comprehend the types of exchanges occurring within different patron-client networks.

Research on business-politics relation in Indonesia shows that patrimonial relation has appeared since Soekarno era (1950-1957). Herbert Feith asserts that relationship between politics and business in Indonesia started when local entrepreneurs obtained business licenses not because of their capabilities (Feith, 1962). Through structural approach, Farchan Burlkin sees this phenomenon as peripheral capitalism structure. Nationalisation of Dutch companies by Soekarno in his era has created a new class from civil and military circles to be vital actors in business-politics relations (Bulkin, 1988). Meanwhile, in the New Order era, the capitalist class was failed because they needed to face against the interests of political factions and bureaucrats (Shin, 1991). In other words, the state formed a patronage network within bureaucracies and made business sector a subordinate.

Like Shin's approach, Robinson's study describes an interaction between states and entrepreneurs during the New Order, but with the focus on military and bureaucracy. Robinson emphasizes a significant tension happened between the interests of regime and official's and of the various class elements that owned capital. A crucial contribution of his study is on demonstrating and orientating the impact of this pressure for the econom-



ic changes and reconstructing the alliance between regime and its officials with a range of elements from the capitalists along with their economic strategy (Robison, 1988). In another book, Robison describes capital owners as the oligarch (Robison, 2010). While Hadiz and Robison (V.R. and R. Hadiz, 2014) elaborate how political authority after the collapse of Soeharto regime changes the management of economic resources. Winters (2014), on the other hand, sees political changes as a form of oligarch's wealth defense.

Wealth accumulation possessed by the oligarch could be a financial weapon in politics. Oligarchy in Indonesia is an oligarchy of electoral collective rulers, which means that the oligarchs are intertwined and often merged with the government. This tendency is getting stronger along with the more consolidated democracy. Phenomenon of the emergence of local strongmen and local bossism frequently occurs (Migdal, 1998; Sidel, 1999). In this dynamics, political actors in local level manage political mobilization based on identities, such as clans, tribes, religions, and languages. On the other hand, these political actors also utilize networks (bureaucrats and entrepreneurs) and, at last, candidates with the strongest personal networks will win the elections.

Here, politics refers to government, that is, the people having positions and authorities to make a decision of policies (Krasner, 1984). Politics is a group of political actors, which in this study is the government who runs a government system in a country. Meanwhile, business is defined as activities to seek benefits though goods and service productions. The word 'business' in this research refers to business actors or entrepreneurs. This study is conducted in Aceh Province, so the referred government is the Aceh government and the word 'entrepreneur' refers to the entrepreneurs of Aceh. The researcher selected construction entrepreneur as the 'state-dependent' entrepreneur and coffee entrepreneur as the 'market-dependent' entrepreneur. This classification is intended to simplify business comparison between two entrepreneurs.

When client-patron exchange overlaps with rent seeking, the investigation of patron-client networks is able to give important additional information about types of the ongoing transaction. Khan argues that the amount of rent seeking depends on power distribution in the patron-client network. Dones and Ramsay claims that a network structure could determine competition level in a market among competitor networks. The more competition among the networks, the more difficult to resist newcomers, and this would impact on the market output. Regarding patron-client relations, Hutchcroft sees levels of harmony and disharmony between the power structure in a patron client network and the structure of formal authority and bureaucracy would influence the implementation of coherent decision and could predict efficiently with a low cost. The relation between business and politics eventually creates many economic opportunities. Hutchcroft (1998) views the relation between state and business in four types.

Picture 2. Model of State and Business Relations

	State apparatuses relatively stronger, vis a vis, business interests	State apparatuses relatively weaker, vis a vis, business interests
Relatively more "rational-legal" state	Developing State (Statist Capitalism)	Regulatory State (Laissez-faire Capitalism)
Relatively more patrimonial state	Patrimonial Administrative State (Bureaucratic Capitalism)	Patrimonial Oligarchy State (Booty Capitalism)

Source: Hutchcroft (1998)

Relations between state and non-state is understood by Hutchcroft as dynamic relations in which the form will change along with the power alteration of state and non-state actors. For example, Indonesia in its New Order era is a 'patrimonial administrative' state with the 'bureaucratic capitalist' entrepreneurs because the state was stronger than business interests, while the state character in the new Order era was patrimonial state. However, after the New Order ended, Indonesia has changed into 'patrimonial oligarchy' with 'booty capitalists'. It means that entrepreneurs have stronger influence while the state is still patrimonial.

Concepts of rent-seeking and patron-client help the researcher to comprehend political and economic activities done by the ex-GAM post conflict. The ex-GAM of West Aceh recently has infiltrated various sectors in business and politics in West Aceh. This is the milestone for the researcher to see the activities of ex-GAM in economic and political sectors. This is caused by the phenomenon of ex-GAM who construct a close relationship with the government, government system and business. They work in a network which is systematically formed and built by the GAM actors after the conflicts. Not only do they transform into local political parties, the ex-GAM also become contractors as expressed by Arya Budi and Edward Aspinall (Aspinall, 2009; Budi, 2012). The activities of the ex-GAM after the conflict are covered in a wide GAM network, so they are able to dominate political and economic sectors in West Aceh.

### **Awak Nanggroe and 'Temptation' of Construction Sector**

Previous studies demonstrate that the entrepreneurs enter the power circle in order to obtain privilege from the government. In South Korea, for instance, the '*chaebol's* build their multinational companies by using supports in forms of concessions and licenses from the government, so it constructs 'cozy relationship' with the power holder (Kang, 2002). Or else, like happened in the Philippines, entrepreneurs make the president a patron that enables them to control both political and economic area. It is a combination between a patrimonial state and strong capitalists, which is identified by Hutchcroft as 'booty capitalism' (Hutchcroft, 1998).

In Indonesia, research conducted by Yoshihara Kunio (1990) and Robison and Hadiz (2004) confirm those idea. Entrepreneurs are rent-seekers from the conspiracy of

interests with the rulers. Normally, this type of entrepreneurs is at least interested in being active in politics, either as a member of political party, legislative or a local leader. They do not only join, but also control the party because they are a top leader in political parties. In Indonesia, the entrepreneurs who become rent-seekers build a close relationship with the government. They take advantage of business license protections, or monopolize business activities with the government consent. Kunio Yushihara calls the entrepreneurs who rely on government's privilege 'ezraat capitalist.' (Kunio, 1990).

The phenomenon of the ex-GAMs who are tempted to be involved in construction business is inseparable from the huge funds revolving in Aceh, especially in terms of infrastructure development. After the 2004 tsunami in Aceh, a large amount of money circulated there. According to Working Mechanism of the Construction Services Development Agency or *Lembaga Pembangunan Jasa Konstruksi (LPJK)* in 2007 the circulating funds from the State Budget (APBN), Reginal Government Budget (APBD) and the Agency for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction (BRR) is about thirty trillion rupiah and 40 percent of it (twelve trillion rupiah) is allocated for paying construction activities. Hence, it is no wonder if the construction sector became a magnet for the ex-GAMs who were too long in their guerilla war. This situation became their opportunity to enrich themselves.

The involvement of entrepreneurs in politics is a power expansion owned by the entrepreneurs and makes construction business promising a huge benefit for them. The entrepreneur revival in political area with their capital complexity makes political world become a place for 'power' encounters to fight for structural power and fill strategic positions to 'escort' pro-entrepreneur policies. The main goal is for 'security' over the pursued efforts. By being involved in politics, they attempt to utilize their authority to control resources as well as to protect their own business units. This entrepreneur's behavior is getting popular in Aceh after the peace agreement between Republic of Indonesia and Free Aceh Movement (GAM), particularly for the entrepreneurs in Aceh Province where *Partai Aceh* succeeded in winning the election process.

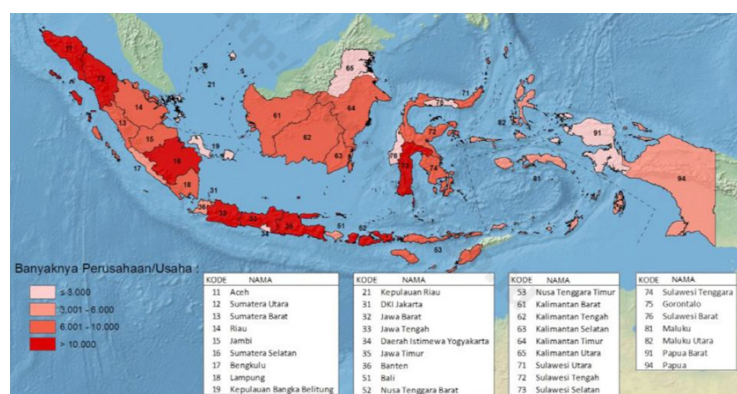
Construction sectors make the biggest contribution for Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Indonesia, including Aceh's economy because they have an important role in the employment, a wide range of supply chain as well as being a mobiliser of local and national products. Thus, it is not surprising when this sector is called as 'engine of growth', which means an improvement of a region can be measured by its success in organizing construction sectors especially in infrastructure sector. Even in ANTARA Aceh (a news agency) in November 6<sup>th</sup> 2017, Central Bureau of Statistics (or BPS) states that the construction sector is the one which can boost economic growth. This might happen because this sector stimulate growth of other economic sectors.

Picture 3. Relation between Construction Sector and other Sectors



In the book entitled *'Konstruksi dalam Angka'* published by BPS in 2016, construction companies in Aceh are quite numerous, considering that Aceh is a relatively small province. Based on BPS data, Aceh owns construction companies/business reaching more than 10.000 businesses. This number is even closer to the number of companies/business owned by North Sumatera, South Sumatera, Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, East Java, West Nusa Tenggara, and South Sulawesi. Construction companies/businesses in Aceh consist of 12 big companies, 907 medium companies and 4674 small companies, plus thousands of sole proprietorship construction business. To understand more clearly, the following map illustrates construction in Indonesia, in which the provinces with red color represent those with the biggest number of construction businesses/companies.

Picture 4. Map of the Construction Business in Indonesia



Source: Construction in *Angka BPS 2016*.

This research is conducted in West Aceh Regency, one of the regencies in west coast of Aceh. Although, this area is not a base or the origin of GAM like Pidie, North and East Aceh, GAM in West Aceh should not be underestimated. During the conflict, they worked with hierarchical system consisting of *Panglima Wilayah (Regional Commander)*, *Pangli-*



*ma Daerah* (District Commander), and *Panglima Sagoe* (Sub-District Commander) who subordinate thousands of soldiers. After the conflict ended, this structure is maintained in a new forms, one of them is via Aceh Transition Committee (or *KPA*) and the Aceh Party (or *PA*). In *KPA* of West Aceh, this organizational structure is in line with GAM structure of West Aceh, which comprises 500 people.

However, in terms of membership, there are classifications formed by the ex-GAMs post-conflict, those are classification A and B. in Classification A, *KPA* consists of 186 people (the GAMs who never surrendered to Republic of Indonesia until the end of the conflict). Meanwhile, in Classification B, *KPA* comprises 314 ex-GAMs who surrendered before the peace agreement era. These classifications eventually influence positions of the ex-GAMs in *KPA*, The Aceh Party, even affect chances and business opportunities, particularly in regards to the scale of construction projects.

A peculiar thing in West Aceh is that 93 ex-GAMs who join *KPA* is also registered as members of the Aceh Party and there is no position overlap between *KPA* and the Aceh Party. Currently, there are 5 members of DPRK (House of Representative) coming from the Aceh Party, and one of them is Samsibarmi, the Vice Chairman of DPRK Aceh. Nonetheless, the decision-making process about who will win tenders of various projects is determined by the regent/district head rather than legislative members.

Thus, it is true that '*proyek terletak di ujung pulpen pak bupati*' (projects are on the district head's nib. Eventually, the ex-GAMs, starting from Regional, District and Sub-district Commanders along with their subordinates, set a target for the smaller contracts that can be allocated by the district through direct appointment. It is despite the fact that since 2018 little change happened, where the direct appointment for construction projects coming from special autonomy funds is Aceh Governor's authority.

Therefore, it is not surprising that West Aceh's District-Head Election in 2017 became extremely competitive. All GAM networks is used all over again to win Ramli MS and Banta Puteh Syam who are supported by the Aceh Party. Focus of this network operation is peripheral regions of West Aceh Regency in which the people are fanatic supporters of GAM from the beginning. Combinations of loyal voters and campaign teams coming from the militant ex-GAMs make Ramli MS as a candidate supported by the Aceh Party and succeeded in winning 50% votes or about 52.538 legitimate votes. The purpose of these supports and the use of ex-GAM networks is to win the candidates from the Aceh Party because in ex-GAM entrepreneurs' point of view district head is the owner and the provider of legitimate construction projects. The effort to supports Ramli MS and Banta Puteh is not only a political matter, it also concerns business. Moreover, considering that their strongest opponent, T. Alaidinsyah (Tito), is an incumbent who is also a construction entrepreneur.

The ex-GAM's victory in winning the 'battle' in district head election in West Aceh has opened the accesses for the ex-GAMs to own power in this district, where the district head and its legislative members coming from the Aceh Party and build a network with old GAM. Hence, they could mobilize their people (in this case including the district head) to put their names into the list of project awardee(s) in construction sectors. Government could direct a large number of small-scale projects (especially which can be granted by direct appointment) to the ex-GAM entrepreneurs. Even though the also realize that the scale of the accepted projects is normally consistent with positions in GAM's hierarchi-

cal structure in struggling era. Regional commander obtains a bigger project value than District commander do, and District commander get a bigger project value rather than Sub-District commander, and so on.

Thus, at last, there are some levels of lobbying process to get business opportunities which are recently occupied by the ex-GAMs by building a close relationship or by intimidating. The fierce competition especially among the fellow ex-GAMs and the minimum capital make many ex-GAMs who are engaged in construction business classified into four types of construction entrepreneurs. They consist of, first, the entrepreneurs who own capital and CV; second, those who have capital but do not have CV; third, those who do not have capital, yet own CV (s); and fourth, those who own neither capital nor CV. These four types of entrepreneurs are commonly encountered in West Aceh. They only act as brokers in this business. They utilize networks and the rest of their influence in GAM to attain a number of projects that will later be resold to other parties, whereas they do not have any capital or assets and CV to obtain the project.

Table 2. Types of Aceh’s Contractors Affiliated with *Awak Nanggroe*

Type	Contractors	Description
1.	Own capital/assets and Commanditaire Vennootschap (CV)	Independently execute the projects from government
2.	Own capital/assets but do not own (CV)	Borrow other’s CV and independently execute the projects from government
3.	Do not own capital/assets, but own CV	Loan CV to others and get paid for it
4.	Do not own capital/assets or CV	Become mediator (broker) between government, CV owners, capital owners, and the executors of government projects.

This business behavior performed by the ex-GAM entrepreneurs is called by Yushihara as Ezraat Capitalist. The difference is that economic behavior in this study is done by the group that used to rebel against the state (GAM) and wanted to secede from Republic of Indonesia, but after the conflict ended they fight over the economic sector sourced from the state (country) instead. From this behavior, it can be observed that there is a shift of interaction from confrontational to accommodating to the state.

The Ezraat capitalistis increasingly found in Aceh after the conflict ended, particularly in the entrepreneur circles in West Aceh Regency. But, interestingly, this entrepreneur type is not as described as Kunio (1990) or as written by Edward Aspinall about transformation of combatants into contractors. In fact, the ex-GAMs are more dependent on the abundant projects than on the vast amount of special autonomy funds in Aceh (Aspinall, 2009). This research sees how the ex-GAMs are present and affiliated with the state to obtain economic privilege through state-owned projects. Nevertheless, this is not for them. They only act as brokers instead, mediating the state and the project buyers. They get a profit about 10-15% of the total project budgets in cash even before the project is conducted.

**CONCLUSION**

The involvement of *awak nanggroe* as the new economic actors in construction sectors in Aceh post-conflict can be seen as the expansion of political power. This ex-

pansion makes *Awak Nanggroe* the owner of political and economic power. Controlling construction sectors means controlling a vital economic resource in Aceh, especially after the implementation of the special autonomy that requires autonomy funding by central government which eventually give a number of benefits for local entrepreneurs. The entrepreneur revival coming from *awak nanggroe* circles in economic sector with the complexity and segregation of local politics, for example a power grab by local and national parties or even among fellow ex-GAM combatants, becomes an interesting matter to discuss. It is the fact that politics is not the only arena for them. *Awak Nanggroe* also compete intensely in economic sector –particularly in construction area.

On the basis of the research, it is found that the bigger projects obtained, the stronger power owned by *Awak Nanggroe*. Therefore, it is not surprising if they have shifted their struggle preferences from politics to economy although their political network involves fellow GAMs. In other words, politics is a bridge to economic power. *Awak Nanggroe* who engage in politics with their capital complexity make political sector become 'the encounter point of power' to fight over structural power and fill strategic positions in order to escort the pro-entrepreneur policies.

The main purpose is for the 'security' of businesses in which they are involved. By involving themselves in politics, they attempt to utilise their authorities to control resources as well as to protect the business units they own. This behavior shows that *awak nanggroe* succeeded in winning two 'battles' at a time, those are in politics and economy. In politics, they succeeded fill positions of *wali nanggroe*, district head, legislative, until the lowest positions like *kepala desa* (village head). By dominating those public positions, *awak nanggroe* endeavor to dominate the economic area, the construction sector in particular.

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## The Flying Doctors: A Collaborative Governance Model in Delivering Public Health Service to the Border Areas

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### ABSTRACT

Although health service is the right of citizens and is the obligation of the government to provide it, empirical findings show that the service is not available evenly and has not been fully accessible to people in need. This study shows that the era of decentralization which gives broad of authority in the field of health services to local governments is able to bring an innovative spirit to provide the best service in the midst of limitations that are owned by regions that have border areas. The Flying Doctors program initiated by the North Kalimantan provincial government is a collaborative model that demonstrates the spirit of innovation to bring services to the people in the border areas that are difficult to reach by land transportation modes. Although initiated by the provincial government, other stakeholders also contributed significantly, be it the regency governments as the location of program implementation, the communities as the beneficiary groups, or the private sectors, especially the pioneer airlines that allow this program to run. As the conclusion, there are at least four factors encouraging the actors to collaborate. *First*, geographical aspect such as areas that are difficult to reach will encourage actors to collaborate. *Second*, limitation in allocated budget, structure and infrastructure, will push the actors to joint their resources into a collaborative actions. *Three*, relations between the central and local governments that are decentralized will encourage local governments to make innovative decisions in providing the best services to the community. *Four*, sharing action will be possible if there is a sharing vision between stakeholders.

**KEYWORDS:** Collaborative governance, health services, flying doctors, decentralization

### INTRODUCTION

Health services are the rights of every citizen that must be provided by the government as guaranteed by various laws and regulations in Indonesia. However, in practice there are still many citizens who have not received adequate health services from the government as mandated by the various regulations above. One of the groups of people who have not access to adequate health services are those who live in border areas with other countries. Public health status and health service coverage in remote border areas are still low. In addition, the public generally does not have the knowledge and behavior of healthy living and unfavorable environmental conditions (Suharmiati et al., 2012:24). Geographical conditions that are far from the center of government, inadequate means of transportation, limited health facilities and infrastructure available, and the very limited number of health workers are crucial factors that cause health services in the border area to not optimally delivered (Lestari, 2013:9).

One of the border areas that still have a serious problem in health services is North Kalimantan. The youngest province in Indonesia is located in the northern part of Kalimantan Island. The province, which was recently ratified as the 34th province in 2012, is directly adjacent to Malaysia, especially the State of Sabah and Sarawak. North Kalimantan itself consists of four regencies and one city with relatively different regional characteristics, which two of them, namely Nunukan and Malinau regencies bordering Malaysia. The selection of North Kalimantan as the location of this study is also quite reasonable. *First*, North Kalimantan is the youngest province in Indonesia, which was inaugurated in 2012, so it has many limitations compared to other provinces, for example from aspects of government institutions, human resources of regional government apparatus, as well as limited infrastructure facilities owned by the regions. *Secondly*, North Kalimantan geographically is also unique because there are several locations that can only be reached by air, thus bringing its own challenges in providing services to the community. *Third*, North Kalimantan represents a border region that has two characteristics at once, namely the sea and land borders, each of which has different management consequences (Sulaksono, 2017).

Some serious problems in the health sector found in North Kalimantan are the unavailability of adequate health facilities in these border areas. As a result, many Indonesians living in the border region occasionally chose to go to Malaysia, especially in Tawau. They reasoned, health facilities in Tawau were more adequate, and access to the hospital was also closer therefore not time consuming. This is a consideration for people who are seriously ill for treatment at Tawau. According to Jacob, a former Indonesian navy who lives in Sebatik Island, legality is also not a problem for Indonesian citizens who will seek treatment in Tawau because they can be taken care of later. Indonesian citizens are also treated well by hospital staff, without discriminating between Malaysian citizens. (Jacob, interview, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2017).

In conditions that are full of limitations, there is an interesting breakthrough initiated by the North Kalimantan Provincial Government. Through the provincial Health Service Office, since 2014 the provincial government has initiated a "Flying Doctors" program to bring services closer to people in need, especially those living in border areas who have many limitations in terms of facilities and infrastructure as well as competent human resources. Although there were some obstacles during its implementation over the past four years, this program was very interesting to study because it showed a pattern of collaboration in terms of providing services to citizens, especially in the health sector. In this pattern, it is seen the role of each stakeholder in the program. Not only the state as the leading sector, the private sector and the public also plays its role so that the program could continue and still provide benefits for residents in the border area.

In the end, we conclude that *first*, the success of the program is inseparable from the pattern of decentralized central and regional relations imposed in post-New Order Indonesia. With decentralization, the local government has the authority to formulate policies and run programs related to the affairs within its responsibility. Furthermore, decentralization has also forced regions to innovate in providing services to their communities in the midst of limitations and difficult situations in the border region. However, the role of the central government also cannot be underestimated, because as the main regulator in a unitary state, the central government still has the highest authority in making national-scale policies, including in allocating resources owned by a State to overcome problems

that faced by its citizens such as providing optimal health services to the remote areas. *Secondly*, beside of the decentralization pattern, we also suggest that geographical aspect such as areas that are difficult to reach will encourage actors to collaborate. *Third*, Limitation in allocated budget, structure and infrastructure in a certain public issue, will push the actors to joint their resources into a collaborative actions. Health issue in border area is proven to be a trigger for the actors to collaborate. *Fourth*, sharing action will be possible if there is a sharing vision between stakeholders. Actors involved in the collaboration aware that the improvement of health condition in border areas is a common concern.

## **NORTH KALIMANTAN AS A BORDER AREA**

### **Concept of Border Area**

In Kolossov and Scott's view (2013: 1), borders can be viewed as a philosophical category as well as a social phenomenon. The study of borders has grown tremendously since the 19th century which at that time still saw the border as a geographical attachment. Today the study of borders reflects continuity and change in scientific thoughts and is also the result of countless contributions to the conceptualization of social space. Through investigations on the border, there is awareness that there is no hegemonic dominance of a particular social theory in understanding space and its social significance. Regardless of whether the space is abstract or absolute, people begin to realize that it is the border that ensures space and makes it concrete.

Border studies have shifted from an attention to the outermost side of the state and ethno-cultural areas to studies of borders on socio-spatial and geographical scales, ranging from very local to global, regional and supra-state levels. Border studies have also become a research field that is wide range of disciplines: ranging from political science, sociology, anthropology, history, international law, more recently, the humanities - notably art, media studies, and philosophy to ethics. Arguably, this disciplinary wealth of borders studies has rendered exclusive fixations with geographical, physical and tangible borders obsolete; equally important are cultural, social, economic and religious borders that though often invisible have major impacts on the way in which the human society is ordered organized and compartmentalized.

The novelty of the border study that we are celebrating today is partly due to the emergence of counter narratives against discourses in the late 80s to the early 90s. For a rather short but influential period, prophesies of "borderless worlds" abounded in which global technologies, cyberspace, capital flows, East-West political convergence and inter-state integration would make political borders obsolete. However, perhaps ironically, globalization has instead been ubiquitous - not always visible, but always with clear social impacts. The present state of debate shows that the fields of the study have opened up possibilities for the questioning of the rationale behind everyday border making by understanding borders as institutions, processes and symbols. Borders are thus not given, they emerge through the socio-political processes of border-making or bordering that take place within society (Kolossov& Scott, 2013: 2).

The problem of borders is important because it relates to state sovereignty, utilization of natural resources, safeguarding security and territorial integrity. The development of border areas is basically an integral part of national development. The border region has strategic value in supporting the success of national development. There are various

reasons related to the emergence of border issues, including regulating the migration of people both legal and illegal, withdrawing customs taxes, preventing arms smuggling, narcotics, illegal trade, terrorism and others. In addition, as stated by Paasi (2012, p. 2307), understanding borders is tantamount to understanding how the State functions and how borders are exploited to mobilize and ensure territory, security, identity, emotions and memory, as well as various forms of national socialization.

Michael Eilenberg, in *The Edge of States: Dynamics of State Formation in the Indonesian borderlands*, stated that the border is an attractive location to conceptualize the dynamics of the state-society relation and the type of government that Indonesia has experienced since the colonial era, independence to the era of decentralization. However, similar to Paasi, Eilenberg notes that in any case this region is a place where state authority seems to be questioned or even manipulated so that border people have multiple loyalties and are very contradictory to the conceptions of sovereignty, territory and citizenship. The border area for Eilenberg is a “unique laboratory” to understand how border people connect with their nation-states and how this group is involved in loyalty contestation and multiple identities that are inherent in everyday life. In addition, the border area will also challenge our view of the state as a monolithic “unit” and we can see the complexity of networking between local residents and the state. Frontier residents for Eilenberg are not passive victims of state power but active actors play their political strategies. These people are disguised among the shadow of legality, and use border life as an opportunity (Eilenberg, 2012).

In the national regulatory system of Indonesia, the Border Area is defined as part of the State Territory located on the inside side along the boundaries of Indonesia with other countries, in terms of the State Territory on land, Border Regions are in the sub-district (Law No. 43 of 2008 concerning Territory of the State). Whereas in Law Number 26 of 2007 concerning Spatial Planning, which is further elaborated in Government Regulation Number 26 of 2008 concerning the National Spatial Plan (RTRWN), it is stated that the scope of the state border area is the Regency/City area which is geographically and demographically directly adjacent to neighboring countries and / or the high seas. The country’s border area includes land and sea including the outermost small islands.

From what is contained in these regulations, it is clear that formal legal regulations in Indonesia define the border area only spatially. In it does not contain the issue of complex relationship dynamics as conveyed by Paasi or by Eilenberg above. In fact, the reality is that the dynamics that characterize the daily practice of people’s lives on the border. Therefore, in addition to a formal legal approach, this study also uses an empirical approach in interpreting border areas that define borders not only geographically, but what Eilenberg calls a unique laboratory to understand how people on the border relate to the nation-state.

In Indonesia, the border is always tackled with areas that are left behind and lack of government attention. The impression of lack of attention from the Government towards the border area is always associated with development approaches used in the past, which emphasize security compared to prosperity. When Jokowi was elected President, the hopes of border residents to get better government attention grew. Border development is contained in the third point of Nawacita which is known as a priority agenda for Indonesia. There, Jokowi-JK thickened the phrase ‘building Indonesia from the periphery’.



Development is no longer centralized in urban areas, but must be spread across all areas of decentralization.

### North Kalimantan as a Border Area

North Kalimantan Province is one of 13 provinces in Indonesia that have border regions between countries. The vast area of North Kalimantan Province causes all regional characteristics to be found in this area, starting from the border region of North Kalimantan inland, remote, mountainous, coastal and island. North Kalimantan has an area of about 75,467.70 km<sup>2</sup> consisting of four regencies, namely Malinau, Nunukan, Bulungan, Tana Tidung and one city, namely Tarakan. From the table 1 below shows that in North Kalimantan there are 444 villages, 38 sub-districts and 50 kelurahans. Among the 50 sub-districts, 20 of them are bordered by Malaysia, namely 5 sub-districts in Malinau regency and 15 sub-districts in Nunukan regency. The border area of North Kalimantan Province in the north borders Malaysia (Sabah), in the east borders the Sulawesi Sea, in the south borders the West Kutai Regency, East Kutai, Kutai Kartanegara and Berau regency, East Kalimantan Province, and the west borders the State of Sarawak, Malaysia (Central Bureau of Statistics, East Kalimantan Province, 2018).

Table 1. Number of sub-Districts, *Desa* (Villages) and *Kelurahan* in North Kalimantan Province

<b>Kabupaten/Kota</b> <i>Regency/Municipality</i>	<b>Kecamatan</b> <i>Subdistrict</i>	<b>Desa</b> <i>Village</i>	<b>Kelurahan</b> <i>Village</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>Kabupaten/Regency</b>			
1. Malinau	15	109	-
2. Bulungan	10	71	10
3. Tana Tidung	5	32	-
4. Nunukan	16	232	8
<b>Kota/Municipality</b>			
1. Tarakan	4	-	20
<b>Kalimantan Utara</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>38</b>

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, East Kalimantan Province, 2018.

Subsequently, from table 2 below, it can be seen that Malinau is the regency that has the largest area compared to other districts / cities. The Malinau area reaches 42,620.7 km<sup>2</sup> or covers 56% of the total area of North Kalimantan Province, while the City of Tarakan is the smallest area with an area of only 250.8 km<sup>2</sup>, equivalent approximately to 0, 33% of the total area of North Kalimantan Province.

Table 2. The Large of North Kalimantan Province

Kabupaten/Kota Regency/Municipality	Luas (km <sup>2</sup> ) Total Area (square.km)	Persentase Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)
<b>Kabupaten/Regency</b>		
1. Malinau	42 620,70	56,48
2. Bulungan	13 925,72	18,45
3. Tana Tidung	4 828,58	6,40
4. Nunukan	13 841,90	18,34
<b>Kota/Municipality</b>		
1. Tarakan	250,80	0,33
<b>Kalimantan Utara</b>	<b>75 467,70</b>	<b>100,00</b>

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, East Kalimantan Province, 2018.

Table 3 below shows the current population of North Kalimantan Province. The total population reaches 691,058 people, with a male population of 366,677 people and a female population of 324,381 people. From the table, it can also be seen that the population distribution between regions is relatively uneven. Tarakan city is the most populous region with a total of 253,026 people or reaching around 37% of the total population of North Kalimantan, while the population of North Kalimantan living in Tana Tidung regency only covers 25,084 people or covers 3.7% of the entire population of North Kalimantan.

Table 3. The Number of North Kalimantan Population in 2016

Kabupaten/Kota Regency/Municipality	Jenis Kelamin Sex			Rasio Jenis Kelamin Sex Ratio
	Laki-Laki Male	Perempuan Female	Jumlah Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<b>Kabupaten/Regency</b>				
1. Malinau	45 178	38 610	83 788	117,01
2. Bulungan	72 396	63 374	135 770	114,24
3. Tana Tidung	13 800	11 284	25 084	122,30
4. Nunukan	102 886	90 504	193 390	113,68
<b>Kota/Municipality</b>				
1. Tarakan	132 417	120 609	253 026	109,79
<b>Kalimantan Utara</b>	<b>366 677</b>	<b>324 381</b>	<b>691 058</b>	<b>113,04</b>

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, East Kalimantan Province, 2018

From the aspect of population density, Tarakan City is the area with the highest density level, which covers 1,008 people per km<sup>2</sup>, while Malinau Regency is the lowest density because it only covers 1.97 people per km<sup>2</sup>, as shown in table 4 below.



Table 4. The Population Density of North Kalimantan Province

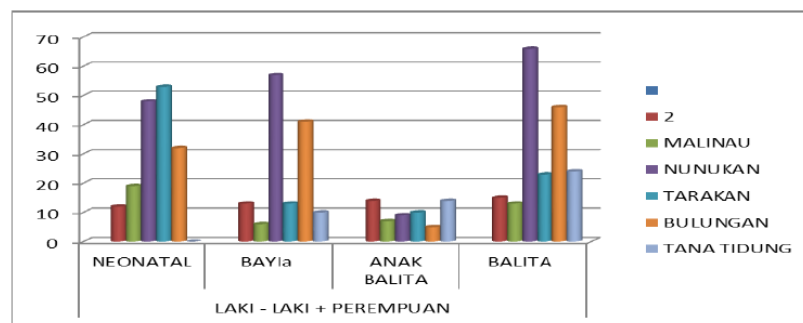
Kabupaten/Kota Regency/Municipality	Persentase Penduduk Percentage of Total Population	Kepadatan Penduduk per km <sup>2</sup> Population Density per sq.km
(1)	(2)	(3)
<b>Kabupaten/Regency</b>		
1. Malinau	12,12	1,97
2. Bulungan	19,65	9,75
3. Tana Tidung	3,63	5,19
4. Nunukan	27,98	13,97
<b>Kota/Municipality</b>		
1. Tarakan	36,61	1 008,88
<b>Kalimantan Utara</b>	<b>100,00</b>	<b>9,16</b>

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, East Kalimantan Province, 2018

The pattern of population distribution of North Kalimantan Province according to its area can be said to be very unequal, causing differences in the level of population density striking between regions, especially between districts and cities. The district area with a total area of 99.65% of the Province of North Kalimantan is inhabited by around 63.25% of the total population of the province. While the rest, which is 36.75% of the population settled in the city whose area is only 0.35% of the area of North Kalimantan Province.

Geographical factors that influence the phenomenon or one of the problems in the pattern of population distribution can be seen because most of the province is dominated by protected areas, which is characterized by a fairly high slope / slope (76.27% is on the slope > 40%) and located at an altitude of 500-1000m above sea level (38.77%) making North Kalimantan Province have limitations in the development of the region. In developing the area, a non-protected area must be chosen so that the chance of disaster occurrence can be minimized. This geographical condition has resulted in the high availability of physical infrastructure in the form of road networks or other infrastructure (Bureau of Developmental Planning of North Kalimantan Province, 2016).

Table 5. The Number of Baby Death in North Kalimantan Province in 2016



Source: North Kalimantan Provincial Health Office, 2016

Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) is one indicator to evaluate women's health status. The reduction in MMR is also one of the MDG targets, namely the 5<sup>th</sup> goal of improving maternal health by reducing the risk of maternal mortality. The intended maternal death is a mother's death caused by a pregnancy disorder or treatment (not including accident

or incidental cases) during pregnancy, childbirth and during the *puerperium* (42 days after giving birth) without taking into account the length of pregnancy. During 2015 based on reports from regencies / cities in North Kalimantan Province there were 21 cases of maternal deaths. Maternal mortality occurred in 4 (four) regencies / cities and in 2015 the most occurred in Nunukan and Bulungan Regencies with 7 cases respectively. (North Kalimantan Provincial Health Office, 2016).

Morbidity in the population comes from community based data obtained through observation, especially those obtained from health care facilities through routine and incidental recording and reporting. North Kalimantan Province is also faced with the problem of double load. On the one hand cases of infectious diseases are still high, but on the other hand degenerative diseases also increase. In addition, the behavior of unhealthy people is still a major factor in addition to the environment and health services. Some diseases that are still the focus of health services because of the high number of sufferers are Tuberculosis, Child Pneumonia, HIV and Sexually Transmitted Diseases, Diarrhea, and Leprosy.

In 2016, the total number of TB patients (all types) reached 2,514, and as many as 520 of them were new cases of BTA +, so in 2016 there was an increase in case finding. The death rate during treatment caused by pulmonary tuberculosis in 2016 was quite high at 4 per 100,000 population. The Cure Rate in 2016 was 55.65%. This figure is below the minimum number that must be achieved, namely 85% (North Kalimantan Provincial Health Office, 2016).

The third indicator to see the degree of public health is nutritional status. The nutritional status of the community is usually depicted by nutritional problems experienced by the population who are prone to nutrition, especially children under five. The nutritional status of a toddler can also be an indicator to determine the welfare of the community, besides also showing the physical quality of the population. Nutritional status as a result of the interaction of food intake and body needs. If this balance is disrupted, then there is a disturbance in body growth. This disorder is reflected easily from changes in body weight (BB) or height (TB). The prevalence of malnutrition in North Kalimantan Province in 2016 also increased. The most undernourished toddlers are in Bulungan Regency. Based on the WHO classification on nutrition issues as a public health problem, most areas in North Kalimantan in 2016 are in poor and poor condition. Nutritional insecurity shown by 3 parameters (underweight, stunting and wasting) illustrates that nutritional problems in North Kalimantan are chronic and acute.

### **Health Services for the North Kalimantan Border Community**

This unsatisfactory public health condition is inseparable from the number of inadequate health facilities, especially for residents living in border areas, due to various limitations encountered in rural areas which result in their difficulties in accessing adequate health facilities and services. The information obtained in this study states that many patients prefer to access health facilities in Malaysia, which are considered closer and more complete in their facilities, rather than having to go to a hospital in North Kalimantan alone for various reasons and considerations. Some Puskesmas (sub-district community health center) have not been able to deal with serious illnesses so they have to be referred to big cities, for example to Tarakan. Unfortunately, the only access to go to a big city is by plane that not every citizen could access.

From table 6 below shows that in North Kalimantan there are nine hospitals and two maternity homes. Unfortunately, facilities in the form of hospitals are only concentrated in cities but in some areas are still lacking, especially in border areas. The number of hospitals in the district is still limited and is still type C, so specialist doctors are still very limited. In Nunukan regency, there is only one RSUD (local government public hospital), whereas the area is very wide. In Malinau regency with a very large area, there are only 2 hospitals of type C, whereas in Bulungan District, the capital of the province is also just one hospital with type C, and is currently in the process of building a government hospital there. (Bureau of Developmental Planning of North Kalimantan Province, 2016).

Table 6. The Number of Health Facilities in North Kalimantan Province 2016

Kabupaten/Kota Regency/Municipality	Rumah Sakit Hospital	Rumah Bersalin Maternity Hospital	Puskesmas Public Health Center	Posyandu Maternal & Child Health Center	Klinik/Balai Kesehatan Clinic/Health Center	Polin- des Village Mater- nity
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
<b>Kabupaten/Regency</b>						
1. Malinau	2	-	16	53	-	-
2. Bulungan	1	2	12	184	10	32
3. Tana Tidung	1	-	5	30	-	-
4. Nunukan	1	-	16	225	-	-
<b>Kota/Municipality</b>						
1. Tarakan	4	-	9	-	-	-
<b>Kalimantan Utara</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>32</b>

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, East Kalimantan Province, 2018

Malinau and Nunukan regencies are border areas which should have quality health facilities for its acute health problem. But in reality health facilities are still very minimal, so the existence of quality health services will be very helpful in the areas. To cover the area, supporting puskesmas and poskesdes (village community health center) are very helpful in the coverage of health services in the area. Unfortunately, in Malinau District there are still 15 villages that do not have supporting health facilities at the Puskesmas.

The number of health workers in the province of North Kalimantan is still very minimal and far from ideal as illustrated by the table 7 below. From the ratio of doctors and the ratio of other health workers, it still shows that it is not in accordance with the standards, especially in border districts. In Malinau regency, more than 30 villages did not have permanent doctors and 12 villages did not have midwives and other health workers who were residing. In Nunukan regency, namely in the sub-district of Lumbis Ogong, Sebatik Barat and Sebatik Utara do not have doctors. In this district, a total of 127 villages did not have village midwives. Equitable health workers need to be improved so that services are evenly distributed. The flying doctor program is a reflection of the absence of specialist doctors in certain areas in the Province of North Kalimantan (Bappeda of North Kalimantan Province, 2016).

Table 7. The Number of Health Personnel 2016

Kabupaten/Kota Regency/Municipality	Tenaga Kesehatan/Health Personnel				
	Tenaga Medis Medical Personnel	Tenaga Keperawatan Nursing Personnel	Tenaga Kebidanan Midwifery Personnel	Tenaga Kefarmasian Pharmacy Personnel	Tenaga Kesehatan Lainnya Other Health Personnel
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<b>Kabupaten/Regency</b>					
1. Malinau	35	249	288	26	17
2. Bulungan	76	516	259	60	159
3. Tana Tidung	9	91	52	5	19
4. Nunukan	72	217	94	27	60
<b>Kota/Municipality</b>					
1. Tarakan	108	499	88	65	149
<b>Kalimantan Utara</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>1 572</b>	<b>781</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>404</b>

Central Bureau of Statistics, East Kalimantan Province, 2018

Despite all the limitations, the health sector seems to be promising as an object of collaboration. The author's interview with the head of Nunukan puskesmas, dr.Ika, shows that it is common for civilian and military health personnel who work in the border area to lend medicines to treat their patients, because patient safety is seen as a shared concern (Dr. IkaBihandayani, interview, September 6th, 2017). A military member, captain Firdaus, also admitted that the personnel of Indonesian army frequently support the health service in border Puskesmas since the lack of civilian health workers in the remote areas (Capt. Firdaus, interview, September 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017). Even medicines belonging to the Nunukan District Health Office which previously had difficulty distributing to inland areas can be channeled to the five border Puskesmas in Krayan, South Krayan, West Krayan, East Krayan, and Central Krayan, because it was transported by the Air Force Cassa 212 aircraft. (<http://kaltara.prokal.co/2018>). The Cassa 212 aircraft was taken from the Air Squadron 4 Squadron Abdurrahman Saleh, Malang, with the Nunukan-Krayan route with the frequency between 2-3 times a weeks. (<http://kalimantan.bisnis.com>, 2017).

## DECENTRALIZATION IN A UNITARY STATE

### The Concept of Decentralization

The conceptual notion of decentralization departs from the thoughts of Brian C. Smith in his book entitled *Decentralization: of the Territorial Dimension of The State*. Etymologically decentralization means reducing administrative concentration in a particular center and granting power to local (local) governments. Based on this understanding, Smith (1985) asserts that the idea of decentralization as a political phenomenon involving administration and government. Decentralization involves delegating power to a lower level in a territorial hierarchy, both in terms of the level of government in a country and the level of position in a large-scale organization. According to Smith (1985), decentralization can be viewed from a political perspective. In this perspective decentralization refers to the distribution of power based on territory (territorial). Decentralization deals with the extent to which power and authority are handed over through a geographical hierarchy within the country. The consequence is that decentralization requires the division of state territory into smaller regions and the establishment of administrative and political institutions in the region.

Departing from B.C Smith's thinking, Muluk (2009) states that decentralization can be reviewed by social science theories including liberal democracy and public choice (public choice). In the perspective of liberal democracy, decentralization is seen as capable of supporting democracy at two levels (national and local government). First, decentralization contributes to the development of national democracy. Where local government can be a means of popular political education, provide training for political leadership, and support the creation of political stability. Second, local government can benefit from political equality, responsiveness, accountability, accessibility, and the spread of power.

Whereas in the perspective of public choice theory, decentralization is an important medium in improving individual welfare through public choice. According to Stoker as quoted by Muluk (2009), individuals are assumed to choose their place of residence by comparing various service packages and taxes offered by different cities. In addition, the perspective of public choice theory also provides benefits for local government. First, there is public responsiveness to individual preferences. In addition, local government also provides a way for population preferences to be communicated through elections and other political procedures. Second, local government has the ability to meet the demand for public goods. Decentralization is able to increase the number of government units and the degree of specialization of their functions so as to increase the government's ability to fulfill public demand. Third, decentralization is able to provide better satisfaction in providing the supply of public goods.

### **Health Services in the Era of Decentralization**

As stated in the previous section, health services are the rights of every citizen that must be provided by the government as guaranteed by various laws and regulations in Indonesia. This is guaranteed in various laws and regulations starting from the 1945 Constitution and various regulations below. In Article 34 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution, it is stated that the State is responsible for the provision of health care facilities and appropriate public service facilities.

In the post-New Order decentralization policy, there was a division of authority between the central and regional governments in health services. The central government is more positioned as a regulator and policy maker, while the provincial and regency / city governments are spearheading the health service providers. As an example, in Article 12 of Law No. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government stated that health is one of the functions that must be carried out by local governments in addition to education, public works and spatial planning, public housing and residential areas, peace, public order, and community protection, and social.

The right of citizens to obtain health services is also guaranteed in Law No. 36 of 2009 concerning Health. Article 5 paragraph (1) of the law also states that everyone has the same rights in obtaining access to resources in the health sector. In addition, also in paragraph (2) also states that everyone has the right to obtain health services that are safe, quality and affordable.

Regulations regarding health services also exist in North Kalimantan, which shows the extent of the provincial government's attention to public health issues. North Kalimantan Regional Regulation Number 2/2017 concerning Public Health Services states that there are several government obligations stipulated in this regulation. Among them the



regional government is obliged to prioritize health services in remote, coastal and border areas. In addition, fulfilling health services for people with special needs, namely people with disabilities, pregnant and lactating women, infants and toddlers, victims of sexual violence and victims of natural disasters. Local governments are also responsible for planning, regulating and organizing, coaching and overseeing the procurement of health workers fairly and equitably according to the needs of the community. Likewise with facilities and infrastructure, the government is also obliged to provide adequate health posts in rural and border areas to support health services. In terms of budget, the Provincial Government is also obliged to allocate funds for health at least 10 percent of the total APBD (local government annual budget).

Even though the central and regional governments already have a lot of regulations related to health services, the facts show that in certain areas there are still many citizens who have not received adequate health services, including in North Kalimantan, which has many border areas that have limitations in terms of facilities and health personnel. One of the reasons for the low health services in North Kalimantan Province is that in some regions there is still limited access to health services. This is caused by insufficient infrastructure, so that areas that are remote, inland, and borderless have difficulties in seeking treatment in their own countries.

The facts in the border area are that people prefer to seek treatment in Malaysia because the distance taken to get there is much easier and closer, and better quality so that it is more effective and efficient than seeking treatment in their own country (Ruru, 2018). Difficult access can increase the risk of death, due to delays in reaching health facilities in the event of an emergency. On the other hand, the lack of interest in health workers willing to be placed in the remote and outermost areas contributed to the low health status of the community. (Lestari, 2013). The unsatisfactory health status of the people of North Kalimantan, especially from the high infant and maternal mortality rates and the many dangerous diseases that are too late to handle because low accessibility indicates that there must be innovation to reach the public with limited access to services, especially those in border region.

## **FLYING DOCTORS: A COLLABORATIVE MODEL IN IMPROVING HEALTH SERVICES**

### **The Concept of Collaborative Governance**

Collaborative governance is a type of governance in which public and private actors work collectively in certain ways, using certain processes, to make rules and laws for the provision of community needs (Ansell & Gash, 2007). Interaction between the three governance domains, namely government, society and the private sector must be synergistic and refer to the same goals. The governance concept that promotes the principle of cooperation in the administration of government and service affairs is known as collaborative governance. Collaboration is a process whereby organizations that have an interest in a particular problem try to find a jointly determined solution. This collaboration involves a variety of intensive parties, including conscious efforts to enlightenment in goals, strategies, agendas, resources and activities. Some institutions that have different goals to build shared vision and then try to make it happen together.

Collaborative governance is a management practice that appreciates the diversity of values, traditions and organizational culture, works in a relatively loose structure and is



network-based, controlled by shared values and goals and has the capacity to manage conflict (Dwiyanto, 2012). This collaborative management is needed to manage partnerships between government institutions and the private sector and the community in managing border areas. Collaboration of various stakeholders in the field of border area governance is an innovation in the field of governance. If the three pillars of governance, namely state, society and the private sector collaborate for the same purpose, synergy will be created. The synergy will strengthen the government’s capacity to manage border areas.

Relations between stakeholders are transformative from command, coordination, and cooperation to collaboration. Initially the relationship between the government and other stakeholders was command. At this stage it is still hierarchical, there is strong control from the government and stakeholders are not involved in decision making. The second phase is coordinative, where the government and other stakeholders have been collectively involved in decision making. Furthermore, it increases to a cooperative relationship. In this connection there has been a sharing of ideas and resources to get mutual benefits. The final stage of the relationship is collaborative because there has been a relationship to the stage of sharing creation (shared creation) which is realized in the form of permanent and autonomous institutions (Shergold, 2008).

### The Flying Doctors as a Model of Collaborative Governance

Flying Doctors Program or Specialist Doctor to Remote Area, Border and Islands (DTPK) has been rolling since 2014. This program was initiated by the North Kalimantan Governor Irianto Lambrie. ‘Flying Doctors’ is a program to provide doctors, health workers and medicines to reach isolated areas on the border. According to Governor Irianto, the flying doctor’s program needs to be intensified considering that there are still many inland and border areas in Kaltara where people have not been reached by health facilities such as health centers, especially hospitals. Without airplanes, many people in North Kalimantan cannot access health services because land access is still difficult (Ferdiani, kaltara.antaranews.com, 2018). This Flying Doctors is designed to supply health workers to locations that cannot be penetrated by land.

In 2017, there were six points reached by pediatricians and internal medicine specialists and other paramedics as shown in table 9 below. Within a year there are 3 times the flying doctors’ activities carried out every quarter. In every single activity, there were two locations visited. Once the doctor’s services fly, it lasts two to three days. Not only dealing with people who experience ordinary diseases, if there are emergency patients, they are also directly treated because there are at least two specialists in the group (kaltara.antaranews.com, 2018).

Table 9. The Implementation of Flying Doctors Program in North Kalimantan 2017

No.	Location	Sub-District	Regency/City	Specialist Doctors
1.	Puskesmas Atap	Sembakung	Nunukan	Internist & pediatrician
2.	Puskesmas Seimenggaris	Seimenggaris	Nunukan	Internist & pediatrician
3.	Puskesmas Long Bawan	Krayan	Nunukan	Internist & pediatrician
4.	Puskesmas Long Layu	Krayan Selatan	Nunukan	Internist & pediatrician

5.	Puskesmas Pembeliangan	Sebuku	Nunukan	Internist & pediatrician
6.	Puskesmas PembantuSei-Ular	Seimenggaris	Nunukan	Internist & pediatrician

Source: Ferdiani, kaltara.antaranews.com, 2018

The Head of the Kalimantan Utara Provincial Health Office, Usman said that he could not transport many health workers every time the service. In addition because the number of specialists is still minimal, also because of the limited budget. It was stated, the flying doctors' program budget for 2018 was only Rp. 519 million. Mainly the budget will be used to lease aircraft and provide honorarium to health workers involved (ferdiani, kaltara.antaranews.com, 2018).

Of the six times the implementation in 2017, the specialist doctors who were deployed were internists and pediatrician. During the implementation of the program the number of patients successfully treated reached 1,474 people consisting of internal diseases and pediatric diseases as shown in table 10 below.

Table 10. The Number and Types of Treated Patients, 2017

No.	Location of Program	Pasien yang ditangani		
		Internal disease	Child dis-ease	Amount
1.	Puskesmas Atap	179	60	239
2.	Puskesmas Seimenggaris	396	101	497
3.	Puskesmas Long Bawan	268	84	352
4.	Puskesmas Long Layu	137	105	32
5.	Puskesmas Pembeliangan	196	56	252
6.	Puskesmas PembantuSeiUlar	298	115	413
	Jumlah	1.474	521	1.995

Source: Ferdiani, kaltara.antaranews.com, 2018

### Collaboration between Stakeholders in the Flying Doctors Program

As the name suggests, this collaborative governance model will not be possible unless there is collaboration between stakeholders in it. Likewise, the Flying Doctors program in North Kalimantan was successfully implemented despite various constraints and limitations. The Provincial Government is the initiator as well as the main motor that drives this program, including providing and allocating the necessary resources. However, in its implementation, other stakeholders also contribute so that this program can be implemented. The role of the district government in this program cannot be underestimated. The Nunukan and Malinau Governments, the two most targeted areas of this program, supply data to the provincial government, especially the health department, related to the disease that affects most people in the border area, so that the Provincial Health Service can allocate the right resources. During implementation at border or remote area health centers, Nunukan and Malinau health workers who work in the puskesmas also work side by side with specialist doctors who are flown from the provincial capital. The provision of specialists serving in North Kalimantan alone cannot be separated from central sup-

port, especially with the Nusantara Sehat program which then places specialist doctors in North Kalimantan.

Private companies are also not left behind in contributing. There are two airlines that are involved in maintaining this program, namely MAF (Mission Aviation Fellowship) and Susi Air. MAF is an airline that since the 1970s has helped Kalimantan people in the interior to get out of isolation. The airline faithfully provides services to the public without charging because the airline is carrying a social mission. MAF also supports this government program by flying specialist doctors and other health workers to a remote village in the middle of the wilderness of North Kalimantan so that the people of North Kalimantan in the interior and border get better health services with four fleets, in the form of two Cessna planes and two Quest Kodaik aircrafts.

Communities in the border area also do not stay silent. They try according to their capacity so that this program continues. Two times the MAF airline was stopped by the central authority, namely in 2015 and 2017. The impact was that many patients were late handled, even to death. Seeing this, the community, supported by the North Kalimantan Provincial Parliament and the provincial government, then made various efforts including peaceful action and meetings with the transportation ministry, the community finally succeeded in asking the central authority to return to allow MAF to fly and serve the community. Although MAF's operational permit in accordance with the Ministry of Transportation Decree No. KP 59 of 2016 was not extended, the Ministry of Transportation did not revoke the MAF social aviation permit.

There are two main obstacles to this program, funds and availability of specialist doctors. In 2018 the available funds were only 519 million, so this program could not be expected to reach all border areas. As an illustration obtained in the implementation of the program in 2017, the highest cost is for the operational costs of aircraft leasing that reach 60 million rupiah per hour, so that the funds available for 2018 can be predicted will not be able to increase the frequency of services. The budget is also allocated to the personnel honorarium involved as explained in the following table 11.

Table 11. Amount of Payment for the *Flying Doctors Personnel*

Health Workers	Amount of Honorarium
Specialist doctor	Rp. 5.000.000,-
General practitioner/dentist	Rp. 2.500.000,-
nurse/midwifery/pharmacist	Rp. 2.000.000,-

Source: Ferdiani, kaltara.antaranews.com, 2018

The second obstacle is related to the existence of specialist doctors in the province that is still very limited, so that if they are sent to remote areas for long periods or frequencies that are too often, it feared to disrupt services at the referral hospital in Tarakan or TanjungSelor. Therefore the addition of specialist doctors in North Kalimantan is one thing that cannot be bargained again in order to be more optimal in providing more quality services to the people in the border region.

## CONCLUSION

There are four main conclusions drawn from this study. *First*, this study shows that the implementation of the program is inseparable from the pattern of decentralized central and regional relations imposed in post-New Order Indonesia. However, the role of the central government also cannot be underestimated, since as the main regulator in a unitary state, the central government has the highest authority in making national-scale policies, including in allocating resources owned by a State to overcome problems that faced by citizens, including in providing optimal health services to the remote areas. This pattern becomes an ideal political environment for the establishment of collaborative governance for at least two things: the decentralization policy provides flexibility to the regions in terms of discretion to carry out various programs that suit the needs of local communities and regional capabilities; and the decentralization policy has been proven to be able to encourage local governments to take initiatives and carry out various innovations in order to fulfill their responsibilities to provide the best service to the community.

Second, we also suggest that geographical aspect such as areas that are difficult to reach will encourage actors to collaborate. Some border areas in Northern Kalimantan Province only reachable by airplane, such is in Krayan and LumbisOgong sub-districts. North Kalimantan Province as initiator of the program has to collaborate with the regency governments in implementing the program. The Province also has to take the airline into action since the absence of airplane resources. Third, the limitations in allocated budget, structure and infrastructure in a certain public issue, will push the actors to joint their resources into a collaborative actions. Serious health issues in border area are proven to be a trigger for the actors to collaborate. Last but not least, sharing action will be possible if there is a sharing vision between stakeholders. Actors involved in the collaboration aware that the improvement of health condition in border areas is a common concern.

This study has weaknesses in terms of the depth of information obtained due to the limited time available at the research location as the impact of limited resources. As a consequence, this study relies more on documentary data and media coverage without sufficient factual verification. Therefore, more serious field studies are expected to be able to reveal more interesting facts besides those already exposed in the media and documentary data that are the mainstay of this study.

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# **Chapter II:**

## **Local Governance and Urban Planning**

## **Special Autonomy through Anthropological Approach in Papua Province**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Special autonomy in Papua has run for approximately 16 years, which autonomous status is given was based on Law No. 21 of 2001 on Special Autonomy for Papua Province effective since January 1st, 2002. The more extensive authority also means bigger responsibility for Papua province and community, yet it can't be said to be successfully implemented since the social welfare of Papua, as seen in indicators of education, health and economy, is still far from expected. There are many drawbacks in the implementation of Law No. 21 of 2001 on Special Autonomy for Papua Province, despite the fact that a largenumber of funds have been spent for 13-14 years' implementation of special autonomy. The aim of this research is to study and analyze the implementation of special autonomy in Papua Province, specifically by including local characteristics into local governance system of Papua Province and to discover new concept/model for the development of public administration especially in relation with the implementation of special autonomy. This research on special autonomy in Papua Province is based on basic/anthropological values of Papuan people as suggested by (Djojosoekarto, Qisai, 2012), which consists of capital, work, social relationship, time, land, and social security. The method used was qualitative with data collection by observation and in-depth interview. The result of research shows that implementation of special autonomy through the anthropological approach in Papua Province has not been implemented radically and comprehensively into fundamental aspects of the life of local people of Papua. Concept recommended for advancement of implementation of special autonomy in Papua is Asymmetric Decentralization based on community needs, by implementation of following efforts: Implementation of food security program, community-based education, empowerment of people based on livelihood, and character building, Improvement of the role of local government as regulator, culture-based development by improving institutional role or institutional consolidation, Accomplishment of community-based facilities and infrastructures in the villages, Building public awareness for social planning.

**KEYWORDS:** Implementation of special autonomy, programs, social welfare

### **INTRODUCTION**

Special autonomy of Papua is a delegation of more extensive authority to Papua province and community to organize and manage their own interests within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The more extensive authority also means bigger responsibility for Papua province and community to implement the governance and to manage the utilization of natural resources in Papua province for the best benefit of public welfare of Papua as part of Indonesian people according to laws and regulations, but yet it can't be said to be successfully implemented since the social welfare of Papua, as seen in

indicators of education, health and economy, is still far from expected. Based on analysis of strategic issues of Regional Medium Term Development Plan of Papua Province 2013-2018, there are many problems in education, health, and economy, such as:

In Education: 1) Limited access to formal early childhood education; 2) Limited access to the 9-year basic education; 3) Poor management of education; 4) Low school readiness of children for elementary school contributes to high rate of class repetition;

In Health: 1) Limited public access to quality healthcare facilities; 2) high rate of malaria cases as endemic disease; 3) high rate of HIV/AIDS and TB cases; 4) low nutritional status of mothers and children, especially from poor families; 5) limited health facilities and infrastructures; 6) poor health promotional and preventive approach for community and UKBM such as Community Clinic (*Pos Pelayanan Terpadu (Posyandu)*) and Village Clinic (*Pos Kesehatan Kampung (Poskeskam)*).

In economy: 1) ineffective development of people's economy in supporting family income based on indigenous people's rights; 2) ineffective implementation of *RESPEK* in encouraging village productivity growth; 3) poor development of local leading commodity with extensive market potential in national and international scale;

## RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on phenomena mentioned above, in relation with the implementation of special autonomy policy in Papua Province which can be specifically organized into research questions as follows: "How is the implementation of special autonomy through anthropological approach in Papua Province?"

## RESEARCH METHOD

Design of this research was descriptive and analytic with a qualitative approach. Methods of data collection were observation, open interview, and document analysis. Technique of data analysis and data interpretation was as (Marczyk, Geoffrey, 2005) suggested "*In most types of research studies, the process of data analysis involves the following three steps: (1) preparing the data for analysis, (2) analyzing the data, and (3) interpreting the data (i.e., testing the research hypotheses and drawing valid inferences)*."

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Asymmetric Decentralization Concepts

The concept of Asymmetric Decentralization according to Veljanovski (Kemeterian Dalam Negeri, 2012) asymmetric decentralization can be found in various models. Judging from the relation between central and regional authorities, various types of specificity/asymmetry can be identified: first, political asymmetry applied specifically for non-economic reasons and political reasons in countries where the local government units have different capacities. Second, administrative specificity (administrative asymmetry), specificity is achieved by the agreement between the central authority and regional authorities where the competency is agreed upon by considering local administrative capacity. Third, fiscal specificity/ asymmetry (fiscal asymmetry).

Asymmetric decentralization has various objectives, Leemans (1970); Ramses M (2009) in (Kemeterian Dalam Negeri, 2012) states that asymmetric decentralization can

be a model used to achieve political goals, namely the objectives of stability, integration, and legitimacy for national governments. The peculiarities possessed by regions based on history, ethnicity, language, religion or their combination will be accommodated as a potential in resolving ethnic and political conflicts in fragmented social conditions.

### **The Concept and Practice of Special Autonomy in Papua**

Special Autonomy for the Province of Papua is basically a broader authority, therefore the authority and responsibility in administering the government and regulating the use of natural resources should be directed to the greatest prosperity of the people of Papua. Two of regions with special autonomy are Papua and West Papua, of which autonomous status given was based on Law No. 21 of 2001 on Special Autonomy for Papua Province effective since January 1st 2002, and the most recent, Law No. 35 of 2008 on Enactment of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2008 on Amendment of Law No. 21 of 2008 on Amendment of Law No. 21 of 2001 on Special Autonomy for Papua Province into Law.

This is based on empirical fact related with political activities that grew and turned into tendency of separatism from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, thus by special autonomy, Government of Indonesia attempted to recover national unity and rebuild national integrity (Djaenuri, 2011)

Special autonomy given to Papua province is aimed to achieve justice, supremacy of the law, respect for human rights, acceleration of economic development, improvement of social welfare and social advancement of Papua to have equivalent and equal development with other provinces (Djaenuri, 2011).

Some results of research on the conditions of development outcomes in Papua are, the first study conducted by Fibiolla Irianni (2003) in (Kementerian Dalam Negeri, 2012), aimed at analyzing Papua Province's Original Regional Revenues and analyzing the balance funds of Papua Province with the implementation of Law Number 21 of 2001, the theory used in this study is Intergovernmental Transfers with data used in the study are secondary data sources from the budget bureau, BPS, Bappeda Papua Province and Ministry of Finance. The main findings of this study are the population, many schools, the length of the road and the number of poor people have a positive and significant influence on the funding needs of the Province of Papua, while the development of PAD of the Papua Province when viewed from its nominal value from year to year continues to show an increase but when viewed from the real value shows that it is still relatively low.

The second study was carried out by the Ministry of Home Affairs in collaboration with partnerships (in 2008) in (Kementerian Dalam Negeri, 2012), namely on the performance of Papua's special autonomy. The results of his research show that the performance of special autonomy for 5 (five) years of implementation still does not show the expected performance. Special-Autonomy from Papua is still widely understood as special - auto money, and special autonomy also receives special funding support that has increased in number since 2002-2007, however the injection of special autonomy funds has not shown a link with poverty reduction efforts in Papua, also compared to the national poverty level in 2008.

Furthermore, several studies related to special autonomy published in several journals can be seen in below:

The title is *The Challenge of Decentralization in Indonesia: Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Debate* (Nasution, 2016), This study aims to explain some of the issues arising from the implementation of symmetric and asymmetric decentralization based on the experience of Papua and Nusa Tenggara Barat, Theory is Decentralization, Symmetrical Decentralization, Asymmetrical Decentralization, Sequential Decentralization, Sequential Asymmetrical Decentralization, This paper finds that symmetrical and asymmetrical decentralization is not enough to be a solution for local and community improvement. Recommendation is Indonesia needs a new model of decentralization called sequential asymmetrical decentralization. This decentralization is a gradual decentralization model and did not put the province in the same position. The position will be assessed based on merit and ability of local budgets.

Debating spatial governance in the pluralistic institutional and legal setting of Bali (Wardana, 2015), analysis focuses on the legally and institutionally plural character of Bali and thus is not confined to the state legal regime. Theory about decentralization, local government, and local development. The Findings is Decentralization sensitivity toward religious and cultural aspects causing the debate on spatial governance to be widened. The recommendation is discussion is needed of this complex legal and institutional setting about who plays an essential role in determining which concepts of space and whose interests in space are represented through the various legal repertoires in the process of developing a spatial planning.

From 'Entering into a Firm' to 'Entering into a Profession': An Anthropological Approach to Changing Personhood in Japan (Fu, 2016), analyzes to examine the social dynamics involved in the construction of personhood in Japan. Theory use Voronov and Vince (2012), Creed et al. (2014) and others' call for efforts towards personhood research and the integration of individual-level analysis and existing institutional theories. Findings of this research is the article illuminates power asymmetry and the resulting tension between discursive freedom and social exclusion among disadvantaged groups. This necessitates a holistic approach combining macro and micro levels of analysis and, given power inequality inherent in discourse, empirical research methods.

Cultural correlates of national innovative capacity: a cross-national analysis of national culture and innovation rates. (Jang, Ko, & Kim, 2016), introduces a new perspective on non-institutional or informal dimensions of centralization particularly associated with culture. Approach and theory use Hofstede's cross-national dataset capturing national culture, traditional political datasets such as POLCON. While cultural aspects have been examined in technology management at the individual and the firm level, this study fills a gap in the existing literature by exploring their relationship at the national level. database suggest that non-institutional dimensions of centralization account more for the variations in national rates of patents per capita than more formal aspects of centralization. Therefore, more research is clearly needed to explore the roles of non-institutional features facilitating or hampering innovation.

Centralized Decentralization in Norwegian Cultural Policy(Bakke, 1994), the aims of research is described how the Norwegian government has invested money in four cultural institutions. The opinion of Cherbo that: "centralization on a cabinet level could facilitate decentralization, through the determination of what institutional arrangements-levels of government, private institutions, combined private/public partnerships, et cetera-would best satisfy arts policy goals" (Cherbo 1992, 61). This finding shown that

the government initiated the creation of touring cultural institutions with the goal of providing four types of cultural goods primarily to parts of the Norwegian population, therefore that the government also had a legitimate responsibility for providing cultural goods to the people.

An Innovation-Driven Culture in Local Government: Do Senior Manager's Transformational Leadership and the Climate for Creativity Matter? (Kim & Yoon, 2015). Analyzes how senior managers' transformational leadership and the climate for creativity associate with employees' perceptions regarding a culture of innovation in the context of public management reform in local government. Based on a survey of 1,576 employees in the Seoul Metropolitan Government. Related theories are: the significant role of leadership in the context of government reinvention, innovation, and public management reform movements (Damanpour & Schneider, 2008; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2001; Moon & Bretschneider, 2002; Moon & Norris, 2005; Sarros et al., 2008; Waldman & Bass, 1991; Walker & Boyne, 2006). The findings of the study also indicate that the climate for creativity through enhancing the recognition of employee creativity, the flexibility to change, and resources for innovation is significantly associated with employees' perceptions of a culture of innovation.

Inclusive local governance: normative proposals and political practices (Martínez-Palacios, 2017). The aims are specifying the conditions that a democratic expansion process would require in order to be inclusive in the face of complex forms of inequality. The research method is the qualitative analysis of an inclusive local governance experience initiated in Ottawa in 2004 and proposals to integrate the egalitarian perspective of critical deliberative theory and intersectionality theories throws up two elements that facilitate inclusive deliberative governance. The recommendation is democracy theoreticians and technicians should be aware of the possibility of naturalizing the logics of domination through procedures described as democratic expansion. It is in this context that must defend inclusive local governance.

Functional Decentralization Construct in Decentralization Policy in Indonesia ( A study of Irrigation , Education , and Free Trade Sectors ) (Alma, Arif, Maksum, 2017). This aims analyze the practice of irrigation, education, and free trade governance linked with functional decentralization concept in Indonesia's decentralization policy frame, with use constructivist approach and qualitative-descriptive method. Find several factors that cause functional decentralization in Indonesia's decentralization policy for irrigation, education, and free trade is not adopted. Political institution is not adopted, independence of the farmers, integration of river and irrigation web, and state constitution, are the factors from irrigation side. The Construction of Decentralization in the Future of Indonesia's Decentralization Policy especially in irrigation, education, and free trade can be done gradually begin from inter-local government cooperation, state-local collaboration in boards until establishing the functional decentralization's organization.

Territorial upscaling of local governments: variable-oriented approach to explaining variance among Western European countries (Askim, Klausen, Vabo, & Bjurstrøm, 2017). Explanations for structural change have been put forward in the comparative local government literature, and about a small extent been tested empirically. Uses statistical indicators to analyze changes in the local government systems in 17 Western European countries between 2004 and 2014. The article demonstrates that changes tend to occur in situations marked by different combinations of decentralization, urbanization, fiscal



stress and a recent history of territorial upscaling. Suggest that fiscal stress, decentralization and urbanization are relevant for explaining territorial upscaling, although the relative strength of each variable cannot be estimated.

Surveil and Sanction: The Return of the State and Societal Regulation in Ecuador. (Conaghan, 2018), Analyzing the case of Ecuador under the administration of Rafael Correa (2007-present). The study shown how the design of policies aimed at the media, civil society organizations, and higher education have enlarged the scope of regulation and enhanced the powers of the executive branch. The recommendation is Applying Daniel Brinks' notion of analyzing the 'state-as-law', Ecuador stands as example of politicized legalism (*estado de derecho politizado*).

Meanings, drivers, and motivations for community-based conservation in Latin America (Ruiz-mallén, Schunko, Corbera, Rös, & Reyes-garcía, 2015). The goals are to enrich the conceptualization of community-based conservation, by examining the history and development of three community conservation initiatives in Brazil, Mexico, and Bolivia. The result shown that community-based conservation initiatives underlying distinct institutional arrangements can also be conceptualized according to the type of drivers and motivations behind them. The recommendation is contributing to a better understanding of the reasons behind the maintenance or establishment of effective community based conservation under different institutional arrangements and give insights about the challenges of both incentive-based and environmental justice approaches for future conservation strategies.

Merdeka in West Papua: Peace, Justice and Political Independence (Webb-Gannon, 2014). Explores the origins of this supra-uniting vision and provides examples of how merdeka is envisaged by West Papuans as the best outcome of their struggle for peace with justice. Use John Burton's "human needs theory" as "obvious biological needs of food and shelter [and]... basic human needs that relate to growth and development" (1990:36). The findings is critiques the contested meanings of the term but demonstrates that there is considerable unity among West Papuan leaders regarding its components, and in the belief that merdeka cannot prevail in Papua without political independence from Indonesia.

Otonomi khusus Papua sebuah upaya merespon konflik dan aspirasi kemerdekaan Papua (Muttaqin, 2013). Use theory of asymmetrical Decentralization. The findings is Special autonomy until now has not run optimally. Various obstacles came to his journey including; distributed authority and unclear funds flow, inconsistency of the central government and the Papuan government. The success of implementing special autonomy in responding to demands the community will be a system of governance and life in Papua not only depends on the attitude of the central government alone, but also strongly related to the ability and carrying capacity of the Papua region.

Menyorot Kedudukan Dan Fungsi MRP (Majelis Rakyat Papua) Dalam Otonomi Khusus Di Papua (Firdausy, 2007). The goals are given descriptions about the functions of MRP and its authorities in Special Autonomy for Papua Province, it used theory of Asymmetrical Decentralization. This research shown that the MRP will give some influences in Indonesia's system of governance. The recommendation is enhancing the role of MRP namely make contribution on develop process in Papua due regards the exciting values in Papua Province.

Cultural identity, Mobility and Decentralization (Schild & Wrede, 2015), propose a simple model of regional culture investments in a federation to investigate such a trade-off, it used the model of regional culture investments. The model shows that uncoordinated cultural policies generally lead to oversupply of regional culture, and that richer regions face higher incentives to invest in regional culture, conclude that only mild assumptions are necessary to make a strong case for regional cultural integration.

Decentralization and the cultural politics of natural resource management in Kerala, India (Nair, 2014). This brings to light issues of social and environmental justice as well as a wider responsibility to protect and preserve unique flora and fauna. It used interviewed tribal and other local community members, a local politician, administrators and members of the Chalakkudy Puzha Samrakshana Samithi (CPSS). Used in-depth, semi-structured interviews. The political ecology of (decentralized) natural resource management high values on social indicators (Franke & Chasin, 1995; Isaac & Tharakan 1995; Isaac *et al.*, 1997; Véron, 2001). Shown that tribal communities perceive that their place in society restricts their contribution regarding natural resource management and use. Suggests that unless the culture of planning and decision making in the state are changed, decentralized strategies will be ineffective, resulting in a predominately top-down approach towards natural resource management, and will negate Kerala's goal of democratic decentralization.

Transmigrasi era otonomi khusus di Provinsi Papua (Pona, 2009), Analyze about the implementation of transmigration within Papua's special autonomy. It used Theory of social interaction and social relationship. This research shown that the social and cultural planning in the past didn't develop social networking to support the diffusion and innovation adaption process. The recommendation is supposed to be use the new social and cultural approach, strategy, policy, program and action.

Based on the review of several journals related to special autonomy above, the implementation of government and development programs with a formalistic standard approach based on national normality in many cases proved ineffective, while an anthropological approach experimentally indicated that the formulation of government and development instruments - planning and financing, policies, programs and their implementation, which puts human factors in a central manner that has been proven to provide better results, although not yet fully adapted anthropological values in the implementation of governance and development.

Some of the above are distinguishing between the author's research and several previous studies, namely conducting research on special autonomy in Papua Province based on the basic / anthropological values of Papuans, by looking at the shortcomings and advantages of applying the basic values of Papuans in the government program and development so that it is expected to obtain a new formulation of form in the implementation of governance and development in Papua Province.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The authors use opinions (Djojosoekarto, Qisai, 2012) concerning 6 (six) pillars of Papuan anthropological value or basic values of Papuans, as an analytical tool in this study including:

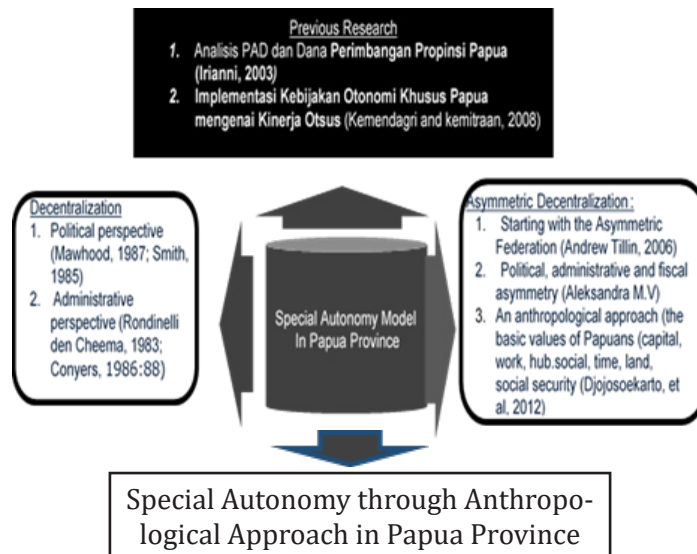
1. Capital, more social/ public spirited, not economic or functional. This means that

people are prosecuted or encouraged to accumulate wealth not in order for this wealth to facilitate life, but rather that wealth will provide social status in society, for example for marriage ceremonies, traditional rituals, or to resolve customary issues.

2. Work, is not merely economic activity but also socio-cultural activity. People work hard not only to earn economic income, but because work has noble values socially and communally, and people who work diligently will get high social positions and awards in the community
3. Social Relations, is a framework based on tribal and clan relations. This affects various activities, including economic activities, where cooperation orientation is more based on ethnic identity and tends to be less open to outsiders (because it is not based on outcome and benefits)
4. Time, is a space where people can allocate activities according to existing needs. Time is not an opportunity or opportunity to accumulate activity, as is the standard of modern understanding, so scheduling and sharing work time in a serial and structured manner is considered not too important.
5. Land, defined as the place where the development process is carried out. But sovereignty is needed means for control and total authority of the land
6. Social Security, Solidarity in Papua is help or assistance given by someone to another person, understood as a reciprocal action that must be reciprocated in a balanced way.

Logical Thinking Framework Special Autonomy through Anthropological Approach in Papua Province could describe as follow:

Figure 1. Logical Thinking Framework Special Autonomy through Anthropological Approach in Papua Province



## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This research on special autonomy in Papua Province is based on basic/anthropological values of Papuan people as suggested by (Djojosekarto, Qisai, 2012):

### Capital for the Development of Papua's Special Autonomy

The abundance of capital sources for development of community/indigenous people of Papua is not necessarily in line with the utilization of the capitals, both of natural resources and other financial resources, due to limited competence of human resources in the management of the social capital. These characteristics are according to opinion by (Koentjaraningrat & All, 1994) who suggested that there are 3 (three) types of social economy of the Indigenous People of Papua:

...People Type 3: Different from people type 1 and 2, they live in large valleys in central mountainous regions of Irian Jaya (Papua), and generally don't gather sago palm. They live by farming in field where they plant various types of tubers, sugar cane and some other crops...

Abundant natural resources make community/indigenous people of Papua feel unchallenged in order to improve their life according to living standard of Indonesian people. They feel content as is, with what nature provides them, which means that they only wait for yield or harvest without managing the natural resources to be more productive to meet their needs. This is ironic, considering the fact that many of indigenous people of Papua (*Orang Asli Papua (OAP)*) are at poverty line despite the abundant capital in Papua, while the capital or wealth is used mostly for events such as ritual or customary activities.

Financial capital is one of sources of social capital owned by OAP in this ritual activities, as suggested by (Coleman, 1990) who defined social capital as "a variety of entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions within the structure". Unfortunately, the source of social capital is all used up, without considering economic or functional principles and without planning and reserves for other activities.

In this case, before government provides education or counseling for better knowledge (social capital) in management and utilization of natural resources for improvement of life quality, it is necessary to implement food security program for community/indigenous people of Papua who lives inland, because OAP shall attend the counseling, promotion, or training programs for knowledge and skills if their needs of food have been met, i.e. providing sufficient food aid and preparing barns in every inland village.

Based on facts above, it can be said that providing of capital for improvement physical quality in advance is the beginning of social capital formation for OAP based on careful and sustainable planning. In line with idea of (Theresia, Aprilia, 2014) suggesting about element social capital, i.e. social relationship (behavior, cooperation, loyalty, wisdom and knowledge). Furthermore, (Fukuyama, 1995) suggests that social capital is a capability that arises from the prevalence of trust in a society or in certain parts of it In addition.

Food security program from local government should be adjusted according to the needs and characteristics of the community/indigenous people of Papua, and is a form of facilitation to encourage or motivate them to participate in promotion/counseling activities by local government in order to improve their knowledge in management and utiliza-

tion of natural resources to fulfill the public needs, or in other words that implementation of public empowerment can be done easily because of good cooperation between OAP and local government. This is in line with idea of (Suharto, 2014) suggesting that facilitation is function related with providing motivation and opportunity to community. Public motivation is basically directed to giving incentive. (Luthans, 2006) also suggest that the key to understand process of public motivation depends on understanding and relationship between needs, impulses and incentive. As the program implementer for programs from government of above level are required to accommodate public needs especially the community/indigenous people of Papua, and this is suggested by (Wasistiono, 2013), Compatibility, which is description of government leader' capability to adapt with policies from government system of above level and to accommodate demands from government subsystem of below level or from the followers.

### **Work in the Development of Papua's Special Autonomy**

Indigenous people of Papua are generally hardworking, that they don't only strive to meet economic needs but also work for social status, however they are less diligent and tough in learning and making efforts, despite the fact that the willingness to work is a positive value that can be used as initial advantage for public empowerment that begins from giving community-based education to both adults and children. Education to adults is carried out by promotion, counseling, and discussion in order to open space for communication regarding what actually they need and to involve them in the development planned by themselves.

Education for children of school age should also be adjusted to their habits and culture so that they would be willing to attend the learning process, that is by community-based approach or more known as school of universe (*sekolah alam*). And if there are 2 (two) tribes in establishment of school, the building should not be built in the middle of two locations of those tribes, but one for each tribe according to characteristic of the tribe, which means that establishment of school should consider the characteristics of its customary building.

In line with (Friedman, 1987) regarding social learning in social planning that this theory has explicit focus because it considers feedback when a plan is discussed with community, and therefore there is transfer of knowledge. In process of social learning, it doesn't emphasize on achievement of purpose, but in the implementation of participatory process.

Process of community-based education for children of school age is by informal learning activities adjusted to time and habits of the community/indigenous people of Papua, which means that children are allowed not to wear formal uniform and not to attend classroom if they feel uncomfortable because they are not accustomed to indoor activities. Therefore, to build awareness of the community/indigenous people of Papua, education board and teachers should adapt with those habits. Local government, in this term is Education Board, has tried to do educational service approach to villages but has disadvantages such as limited number of teachers, unwillingness of teachers to be placed in inlands, and limited facilities and infrastructures to support access to the educational service or learning process.

This Approach different with (Apter, 1987) on behaviorism theory in development,



considering factors that stimulate changes of behavior by avoiding traditional ways and capability of community to take new opportunities. Approach to indigenous people of Papua, especially in improvement of their knowledge (education), in fact has to adjust to their habits in advance in order to build their awareness on the importance of education and activities of other areas such as health and improvement of their livelihood, so that they will be actively moved to increase their own capacity, as suggested by (Korten, 1981), that development should be emphasized on approach of human resource management that relies on community.

### **Social Relationship in the Development of Papua's Special Autonomy**

Strong social relationship in the life of community/indigenous people of Papua can be analogous to Indonesian culture in general, i.e. mutual assistance. This is the social capital for successful implementation of development in Papua Land, therefore local government should be able to lead this "social relationship" into better direction, which means that it should not only be grown internally in a tribe but externally to all tribes in the region by public empowerment program based on their livelihood in form of material assistance and training to improve their knowledge and skills, such as agricultural diversification training for farmers, boat-making training and fish processing training for fishermen, etc.

Counseling/training process in form of material assistance to community has been and is still provided by local government of Merauke Regency, which is in line with what was suggested by (Stewart, 1994) regarding concept of empowerment. Stewart classifies the empowerment into six dimensions: enabling, facilitating, consulting, collaborating, mentoring, supporting.

Based on opinion of experts above, in relation with implementation of special autonomy in Papua, physical development has been implemented but unevenly distributed to inlands and with lack of public understanding, especially people living in villages, regarding special autonomy of Papua, by which they think about is not development but fund to be granted for them, and therefore it is necessary to do extensive promotion on implementation of special autonomy policy and programs programmatically and continuously not only in urban but also rural regions, and it is also necessary to do character building, moral/capacity building for the community/indigenous people of Papua, especially children of the next generation, considering that there are still bad customs such as drunkenness, immoral behavior, etc.

In relation with character building of the community/indigenous people of Papua, it is according to what is suggested by (Suharto, 2014) regarding enabling, that this function is related with education and training for capacity building. All transfer of information is basically form of education. Education is closely related with prevention of various condition that inhibits individual self-confidence. The character building of community/indigenous people of Papua can be implemented in formal education curriculum or in religion-based education by Christian missionaries and collaboration between church and local government, so that OAP themselves can have good moral values and high sense of caring to develop their own region to be equal with other provinces in Indonesia.

### **Time in the Development of Papua's Special Autonomy**

Utilization of time for community/indigenous people of Papua is still not maximal,



that implementation of special autonomy policy in Papua has not been followed-up by making the regulation as follow-up for policy from government of above level to serve as guidance for implementation of development for government of below level.

Based on result of research, special autonomy in Papua generally is not yet fully implemented not because of lack of fund but due to regional regulation (special regional regulation/provincial regulation) has not been made at the level of province that inhibit the making of implementation/technical guidelines at the level of regency/city as basis for development in the area of education, health and economy. Therefore, Papua Province Government should immediately make regional regulations according to public needs in the area of education, health and economy within predetermined time schedule based on the urgency of problems occurring on the field, so that governments of all regencies/cities in Papua Province can immediately follow-up by making special regional regulation or implementation/technical guidelines based on regional potential, public interests and needs in each region.

In this regulation making phase, it is necessary to have agreed time schedule so as not to inhibit the implementation phase of development, which means that it requires careful social planning according to concept by (Hudson, Barclay, Fridman, 1973) regarding trans active planning and social learning, i.e. evolution of decentralization that help people take increasing access to decision making, and also according to Friedman as quoted in (Hudson, Barclay, Fridman, 1973), that planning is not an operation separated from other forms of social action, but rather as a process embedded in continual evolution. Planning should be done by direct contact with the affected community through personal dialog. This is a reciprocal process and an important part of planning. Purpose of the dialog is to accommodate public aspiration, value and behavior, and capacity to grow through cooperation and mutual sharing of knowledge and experience.

Furthermore, in order to improve the performance of local government in making regulation for implementation of special autonomy, it is necessary to have collaboration and control by involving the community and private sector especially that has role in the economic area, as suggested by Kooiman in (Sedarmayanti, 2009) regarding governance, that is: "...series of social-political interaction processes between government and society in various areas related with public interests and government intervention upon the interests".

Public engagement in political area and government in Papua Province is represented by increasing the role and portion of Society Council (*Lembaga Masyarakat Adat (LMA)*) in addition to Customary Council (*Dewan Adat*) as representatives of the community/indigenous people of Papua in bringing public aspiration according to the needs and interests, so that local government is not alone but supported by the councils that bring recommendation/aspiration from community of lower level. In addition, considering that *LMA* has strong legal basis in Law of Special Autonomy of Papua, then it is natural that government should associate the *LMA* as partner in the implementation of development rooted in virtuous cultural norms of the community/indigenous people of Papua. At this time, the role of *LMA* as representative of the people of Papua has not been played optimally, as suggested by Head of *LMA* in April 5th, 2017, as follows: "In implementation of development, government doesn't really associate *LMA*, as seen in operational assistance given to it is less than operational assistance given to customary council".

Based on result of research, in implementation of special autonomy in Papua, it is necessary to have culture-based development, which means that development planning, implementation and evaluation should be based on rooted cultural norms accepted and possessed by the community/indigenous people of Papua themselves, so that when government stimulates the development implementation, community will actively participate and have sense of belonging to maintain the results of development, as suggested by (Munandar, 2011):

Within the context of governance, community doesn't serve as client but citizen. Community is not in position to be commanded by as partner of government in governance and development. Community is not passive object, benefit recipient of policy by government, but as actor and active subject in determining policy.

As form of representation of culture-based development, local governments of Papua Province and regencies/cities in Papua need to improve institutional role or consolidation of the Society Council to be equal with Customary Council, which is in line with suggestion by (Emerson, Kirk, Nabatchi, Tina & Balogh, 2011) Emerson, regarding Collaborative Governance, that is defined as the processes and structures of public policy decision making and management that engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private, and civic spheres to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished.

People of Papua themselves should be able to manage and utilize local institution (LMA) to support this, but they still have difficulty to gain support and to make use their capacity to manage the institution, to make programs, and to implement them according to condition of local community. Meanwhile, local governments of province and regencies/cities that act and serve as facilitator have not yet been able to optimally present in the middle of community and to understand the problems occurring in it.

Increasing role or consolidation of Society Council in Papua need to be done because of the success of policy or program, in this term is the special autonomy of Papua, is not only determined merely by quality of the policy but also by the institutional system in the community that can mobilize public participation (Kurniasih Denok, Setyoko Paulus Israwan, 2017) and, furthermore, that the institution is needed to facilitate government and other sectors to create long lasting social system (Cash, D., Adger, W. N., Berkes, F., Garden, P., Lebel, L., Olsson, P., Pritchard, L. & Young, 2007)

In line with it, early involvement of local community participation in planning, according to (Bryant, Carolie & White, 1987) is:

...Eventually, the project will become property of local community, and their participation provides opportunity to invest in the project and to increase the likeliness that they will preserve it. Finally, participation in the project will ensure that the project is in accordance with social realities in the region, that eventually will develop vital skills of local community and then begin the next process of public capacity improvement known as "public empowerment".

With increasing role of the Society Council (LMA) itself, the role of local government will be easier in develop the community especially in maintaining national integrity, because the LMA can touch and develop great number of tribes with great variety of customs in Papua Land.

### **Land in the Development of Papua's Special Autonomy**

Land in Papua is not an individual property but customary land, which means that albeit seems master less and unpopulated but every inch of the land is property of certain tribe or customary land of certain tribe bordering with land of other tribes, and each land is named after name of the tribe, with philosophy of the shared land/customary land in Papua as "*Oh La Nokh Lah*" meaning: You are on that side, i am on this side, do not cross the border.

Based on result of research, it is concluded that land, in terms of anthropological value of indigenous people of Papua, is not defined as instrument to improve their welfare because they tend to think instantly or want to get easy result without relatively long process or efforts, and that nature spoils their life, where the land is fertile and the resources are abundant, they are in the state of comfort zone. Thus the role of government is required to make change in order to improve their life according to local potential through promotion and counseling.

This is in line with suggestion by (Kasali, 2005), that to "open the eyes" of someone toward change requires repeated confrontation with certain problem. Providing only occasional information will have different result from intensive, interactive and repeated presentation of information.

Above implementations require trained/professional volunteers with sense of caring about quality improvement of human resources of OAP, who are prepared by local government for counseling or promotion to community, and with programs adjusted to needs of the community/indigenous people of Papua. It means that, it requires collaboration between volunteers/universities/NGO and government, as suggested by (Makmur, 2009), that main concept of collaboration is to create togetherness in development of all members of management, for and from whole members of management as inseparable part from social institution and society.

Here, researcher views that it requires collaboration between volunteers and local government in preparing programs for quality improvement of human resources, especially in the implementation of special autonomy in Papua. Government also needs to pay attention to community-based facilities and infrastructures in villages according to habits and convenience of OAP themselves without disregarding feasibility and quality of the infrastructures, so that indigenous people of Papua can settle and do not easily sell land and houses that have been provided by local government.

### **Social Security in the Development of Papua's Special Autonomy**

Based on result of research, it is concluded that indigenous people of Papua already has good social capital, i.e. high social solidarity, for development implementation in addition to capital of abundant natural resources in the land of Papua. What is needed is to build awareness and to direct it according to the corridor of regulations, meaning that, in concrete, social capital is material provided to OAP that is not immediately used up but should be regulated according to planned utilization or by social planning so that it can be continuously effective and efficient for improvement of social welfare. This implementation of social planning is suggested by (Friedman, 1987) that this theory has explicit focus because it considers feedback when a plan is discussed with community, and therefore there is transfer of knowledge. In process of social learning, it doesn't emphasize on

achievement of purpose, but in the implementation of participatory process, so that there are likely new purposes arising from the process of social interaction.

This is supported by suggestion by (Hudson, Barclay, Fridman, 1973) regarding types of social planning in form of trans active planning and social learning that is evolution of decentralization that help people take increasing access to decision making. According to Friedman, as quoted by (Hudson, Barclay, Fridman, 1973), planning is not an operation separated from other forms of social action, but rather as a process embedded in continual evolution. Planning should be done by direct contact with the affected community through personal dialog. This is a reciprocal process and an important part of planning. Purpose of the dialog is to accommodate public aspiration, value and behavior, and capacity to grow through cooperation and mutual sharing of knowledge and experience. Planner and community are involved in informal or non-hierarchical dialog, and the planner serves as facilitator.

In the context of community-engaged planning, it is also referred to as participatory planning because it captures aspiration from people of Papua and engages various stakeholders, government, private sector and community itself, as suggested by (Ndraha, 1990) "To mobilize improvement of condition and standard of living, participatory planning should be implemented by: (1) it should be adjusted according to felt need, (2) it is stimulation for community that serves to encourage public response, and (3) it is motivation for community that serves to motivate behavior"

Based on suggestion of experts above, planning in implementation of special autonomy of Papua should consider condition of the people and the environment and what they really need to improve their standard of living, especially according to their livelihood, whether as farmer, fisherman, trader, etc., that it can be accepted by and can serve as stimulus for the community/indigenous people of Papua so that they actively participate in the planning, implementation and evaluation of the activities for their living.

Building the awareness of indigenous people of Papua requires long time and process and patience and militancy of the assistant and implementer of the program and local government and adjusted to the characteristics and culture of the indigenous people of Papua themselves, which is in line with suggestion by Boeke in (Mintaroem K, 2008), that: traditional villagers can build and develop economic structure autonomously and self-sufficiently.

Based on the explanation above, the implementation of special autonomy in Papua must be based on community needs (Special Autonomy base on community needs), by implementing the following matters:

1. Implementation of food security program for community/indigenous people of Papua who live inland by providing sufficient food aid and preparing barns in every inland village
2. Implementation of community-based education to adults and children accompanied by militant assistant with high sense of caring to process and development of the community/indigenous people of Papua.
3. Empowerment of people based on livelihood, and character building, moral/capacity building for the community/indigenous people of Papua, especially children

of the next generation.

4. Improvement of the role of local government as regulator in order to follow-up the lacking regulation at the level of province and regency/city (making of special regional regulation/provincial regulation) according to public needs in a predetermined time schedule.
5. Implementation of culture-based development by improving institutional role or institutional consolidation, by giving increasing role and portion to Society Council (*Lembaga Masyarakat Adat (LMA)*) in addition to Customary Council (*Dewan Adat*) as representatives of the community/indigenous people of Papua in bringing public aspiration.
6. Accomplishment of community-based facilities and infrastructures in the villages according to habits and convenience of OAP/ indigenous people of Papua.
7. Building public awareness for social planning so that utilization of social capital can be implemented continuously and have great benefit in improvement of social welfare.

The concept above can be described in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Special Autonomy base on Community Needs



## CONCLUSION

Implementation of special autonomy through anthropological approach in Papua Province has not been implemented radically and comprehensively into fundamental aspects of life of local people of Papua. Concept recommended for advancement of implementation of special autonomy in Papua is Asymmetric Decentralization/ Special autonomy based on community needs, therefore by considering characteristics of the community/indigenous people of Papua, it is expected that social planning, that begins from developing the indigenous people of Papua themselves, can be implemented according to the needs and interests of the community/indigenous people of Papua, and eventually can improve their standard of living.



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## **Accountability of Fund Village Management in Infrastructure Development at Tegalrejo Village, Gedangsari District, Gunung Kidul Regency In 2016**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The Village Fund is a right owned by the village. Law No. 6 of 2014 on Villages explains that village finances should be managed with due regard to accountable, transparent, participatory, and implemented principles with discipline and budgetary discipline. Based on accountability, the village government has an obligation to manage the Village Fund and to account for it. The Village Fund is one of them devoted to the development of infrastructure whose output can benefit the welfare of rural communities. This study aims to analyze the accountability of village fund management for infrastructure development located in Tegalrejo Village, Gedangsari District, Gunungkidul Regency. This study uses a qualitative method. Data collection techniques used are interviews and documentation sourced from village government, community, and BPD. The finding in this research is that accountability of village fund management for Tegalrejo Village infrastructure development is poor. This is caused by several problems that consist of: no details of time related to the time of implementation of infrastructure development program; less transparent in delivering budget management reports in infrastructure development; not all communities have been actively participating in the implementation of infrastructure development; has not been maximized in the utilization of Village Information System (SID) in the form of website as a means to inform Village Fund management report for infrastructure development; and village apparatus that lack coordination with the community related to the implementation of infrastructure development.

**KEYWORDS:** Accountability, village fund management, infrastructure development

### **INTRODUCTION**

Village independence is a must owned by the village since the legalization of Law No. 6 of 2014 regarding the village. The law of village gives authority to the villages to own the independence in order having a good competitiveness. One of the village independences is a form of implementation of development carried out by the village government. The purpose is as a way to improve better welfare and quality of life as well as poverty alleviation in village society. To actualize the purpose of village development, all of the villages get Village Funds.

Village Funds is a fund which comes from APBN called by *Rekening Kas Umum Neg-*

ara (RKUN) as a place of state money storage and has been established by the finance minister as the state treasurer. Then it is transferred to the region through *Rekening Kas Umum Daerah* (RKUD) which is a place of region money storage and has been established by the regent/mayor to accommodate all the regional revenues and pay for all regional expenditures. The village then receives transfers from the region through *Rekening Kas Desa* (RK Desa) designated as a place of money storage for receiving funds from the region and paying all village expenditures recorded in the Village APB. Then each of village government should be responsible for the use of village fund (accountable) and be transparent in managing the village fund.

Katarina (in Fajar, 2016) explains that the managing of public finance should be based on the accountability, government as the manager of finance public should do the First, government must have the legislation which guarantees the government to publish budget transparency to the society in order it can be accessed by the society. Secondly, the government should: (a) publish the budget usage plan to the society, (b) do the meeting routinely with the society at least once every three months, like *Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan* (Musrenbang), (c) publish the financial report, (d) have a proactive closeness to the society regarding budget transparency through the website, (e) allocate the Human Resources (SDM) for transforming the information to the society, (f) be professional in serving the society, (g) from all those points, should be stated in law.

Departing from the major theme discussed, therefore Tegalrejo Village is an exact object for digging the information of village government accountability in managing the special Village Funds which is allocated for infrastructure development. Tegalrejo Village is the largest Village Fund recipient located in Gedangsari District, Gunungkidul Regency and has the mandate to manage the Village Fund by prioritizing development. The total funds received by Tegalrejo Village for development is Rp. 818,533,600 and one of its uses is for infrastructure development. The amount of funds is in accordance with what has been planned in the Tegalrejo Village Work Plan (RKP Desa) in development priorities in 2016. The development carried out by the Tegalrejo Village Government should also fulfill the Accountable principle, as mandated in Permendagri No. 113 of 2014 Article 2 paragraph 1. The accountability of Tegalrejo Village Government in implementation of infrastructure development in 2016 should be followed by the budget transparency which later the Tegalrejo Village community will know what the development priority implemented by the Tegalrejo Village Government in 2016 is. Therefore, this study analyzes the accountability of Village Fund management to develop the infrastructure at Tegalrejo Village 2016.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The theory contained in the Village Fund Management Accountability research in Infrastructure Development in Tegalrejo Village, Gedangsari District, Gunungkidul Regency 2016 is divided into two theories, they are the theory of accountability and village development. Darise in Riyanto (2015:4) states that the accountability is an obligation form of someone or work unit in being responsible of management and control of resources as implementing policies in order to achieve the stated purpose. Then, (Astuty and Fanida, 2013: 5) define accountability is one form of government ideals, that is in realizing *good governance*. To actualize the accountability carried out by government agencies can be done by implementing those principles, the purpose of implementing *good governance* is that, in order the government can improve the performance effectively and transparently.

1. Ellwood in Fajar (2016:21) states that the accountability has elements as follows:
2. Honesty Accountability and Law Accountability. Honesty Accountability is a form of responsibility (*abuse of power*), meanwhile Law Accountability is guarantees obtained because of the law which guarantees it in the use of public fund.
3. Process Accountability. Process Accountability is a form of action taken to carry out various procedures which has been established, in order to be able to give a good public service.
4. Program Accountability. Program Accountability is a form of purpose consideration established can be achieved or not, and consider the alternative programs which provides the optimal result with minimal costs.
  - a. Policy Accountability. Policy Accountability related with responsibility of the coach, management and supervisor for the policy which has been taken. The public sector recognizes some forms of accountability, they are:

Upward Accountability

- b. It is the obligation to report from the central leader to the executive leader, such as the director general to the minister.

Outward Accountability

- c. It is a duty of the leader to report, consult and respond the client group and stakeholder in society.

Downward Accountability

A leader should give direction or communicate and socialize his every policy to the downward, in order to be understood by all of the staffs.

Meanwhile Waluyo, (in Sina, 2017:53) explains that the advantages of accountability as an effort to actualize the accountability system in organization are: To restore and maintain the trust of society toward organization; To encourage the creation of transparency and responsiveness of organization; To encourage the participation of society; To make the organization more able to operate efficiently, effectively, economically, and responsively toward the society aspiration and its environment; To encourage the development system of terhadap aspirasi masyarakat dan lingkungannya; To encourage the development of a reasonable assessment system through the development of performance measures; To encourage the creation of a healthy and conducive work climate and increase the discipline; and To encourage improvement in the quality of service to the society.

After knowing the accountability theory above, it is necessary to add theories about village development to the relevance of the theory in this study. Siagian (in Safi'I, 2009:8) states that development defined as an effort sequence to actualize the conscious growth and change planned which is taken by a Nation State towards modernity in the terms of nation-building. Then Henry (2013:614) states that the development meant as a process, the process of describing the development, including the process of growth or change in social life together.



Village development according to Nyoman (1991:48) states that the village development is a movement, where the improvement effort of existing living standards and welfare of the people was finally determined by the initiative and self-help of the society itself, this means an increase in the standard of living of the society which is determined by itself. Therefore village development always be linked to the improvement effort of initiative and self-help of society, so that the participation of society in development is an obligation

There are three main principles which underlay the implementation of village development, they are:

1. Village Development is carried out in an integrated manner by developing self-help mutual cooperation..
2. Development is seen as a process, a method, a program, and a movement. (The ability of society to develop themselves with their abilities and resources).
3. The main targets in village developments are, to accelerate the growth of villages into self-sufficiency villages, village economic development and equitable development to strengthen the National security.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The research uses a qualitative descriptive method model. Data collection used is by conducting the interview with related party or data owner and processing document which is rewritten into paragraphs. Moleong (2016:6) explains that the qualitative research is a research which aims to understand the phenomena about what is experienced by the subject of the research, for example behavior, perception, motivation, and action by using the description in a form of words and language, in a special natural context by utilizing various natural methods. Qualitative Research is considered very appropriate to be used in research which will be conducted, because this research provides a large opportunity for researchers to focus on the problem which will be examined in depth. Technique used in this study is Interview approach technique and data collection regarding the accountability of Fund Village Management in infrastructure development in Tegalrejo Village 2016.

## **DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS**

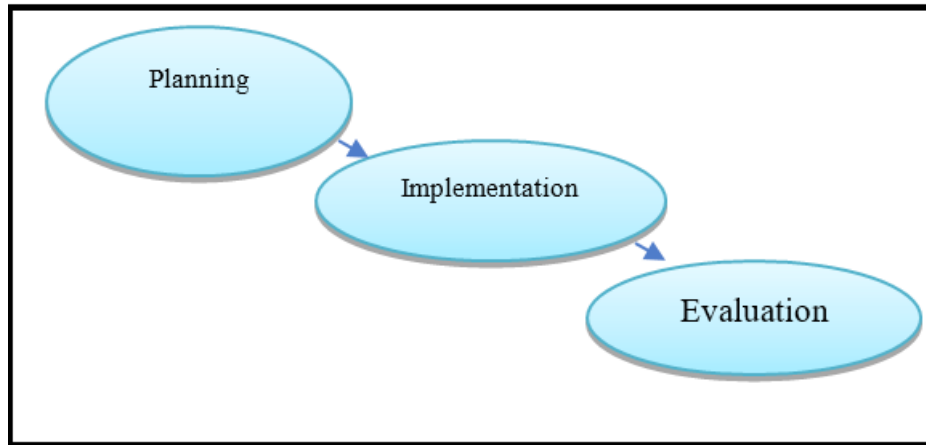
The accountability of Village Fund Management in Tegalrejo Village has some classifications in planning until evaluation. To measure the accountability of Village Fund Management by the Tegalrejo Village Government, has four indicators, they are:

### **Suitability of Village Fund management for Infrastructure Development with Applicable Regulation**

Law No. 6 of 2014 regarding Village states that village finance is village right and obligation in the form of money and goods to carry out village interests. One of the uses of Village Fund is that to finance the infrastructure development. Village Fund Management intended for infrastructure development at Tegalrejo Village should have three phases in its management, they are planning phase, implementation, and until the last phase is evaluation. The depiction of three phases is as follows:



Picture 1 Village Fund Management Phase



Source: Processed from Gunungkidul Regent Regulation No. 49 of 2015 regarding Guidelines for Village Financial Management.

Law No. 6 of 2014 regarding Village explains that in Village Fund Management should be appropriate with the applicable regulation. The planning of Village Fund Management for infrastructure development at Tegalrejo Village should have suitability between Village RPJM and Village RKP. As happened in the field (Tegalrejo Village), it was found that the RPJM of Tegalrejo Village was only for 2014-2019, while in Perbup Gunungkidul No.49 of 2015, stated that the Village RPJM should have planning for six years or during a period of village administration. Seeing these regulations can be found the incompatibility between the preparations of Village RPJM and the applicable regulations.

In response to this, the Tegalrejo Village Government gave clarification that they realized if the RPJM of Tegalrejo Village was not in accordance with the existing regulations. Therefore, Tegalrejo Village Government in 2018 will revise the RPJM of village Oleh kerana itu Pemerintah Desa Tegalrejo pada tahun 2018 into a period of development planning for 2014-2020 or six years in a one period of government and to the RPJMD of Gunungkidul Regency. RPJMD Gunungkidul Regency has a focus on development in tourism sector, considering that the Gunungkidul Regency is one of regency located in DIY which has a large tourism sector potential. Preparing for this, the Tegalrejo Village Government will develop its tourism potential. Tegalrejo village has Curug Tegalrejo and batik making village which was inaugurated in August 2017 by Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X.

Then Village Fund allocated for infrastructure development amounts to Rp. 403,533,600 or 29.7% of the total Rp. 818,533,600 of the Village Funds which is allocated to the overall development sector in Tegalrejo Village. Table of suitability between the budget which is in Village RPJM document, Village RKP, and Tegalrejo Village APB can be seen on the table below:

Table 1. Budget of Village Basic Infrastructure Development Program which Sources from Village Fund in 2016

Description	RPJM Tegalrejo Village (Rp)	RKP Tegalrejo Village (Rp)	APB Tegalrejo Village (Rp)	Information
Village Street Development	20.000.000	20.000.000	20.000.000	Appropriate
Construction of Settlement Roads at 11 Villages	110.000.000	110.000.000	110.000.000	Appropriate
Development of Turap Talut Bronjongan Village Road	181.000.000	181.000.000	181.000.000	Appropriate
Construction of Water Tunnel Drainage Channel	67.533.600	67.533.600	67.533.600	Appropriate
<i>Rehabilitasi Pemeliharaan Cor Rabat/ Turap/Talut/ Brojongan jalan desa</i>	25.000.000	25.000.000	25.000.000	Appropriate
Total	403.533.600	403.533.600	403.533.600	

Source: Processed from the document of Village RPJM, Village RKP, and Tegalrejo Village APB Tegalrejo Village 2016.

According to the explanation above, that there is suitability between the financial recorded in the Village RPJM document, Village RKP, and Tegalrejo Village APB in 2016. Besides the suitability above, that for measuring the accountability in Village Fund management should be suitability in the implementation of Village Fund management for infrastructure development with the applicable regulation and there is suitability in the evaluation of village fund management for the infrastructure development with the applicable regulation. The implementation of infrastructure development in Tegalrejo Village should have a control. Regent regulation of Gunungkidul No. 49 of 2015 regarding the Village Fund management orientation states that BPD is a representative from the society chosen based on the democratic representation of the region in the village. BPD has duty as a village financial supervisor which the financial is in Village APB. In its implementation, BPD has very basic authority in managing village finance, especially the management of Village Fund which is intended for infrastructure development.

BPD and the society of Tegalrejo village have the authority to accompany the village fund management trip carried out by the government of Tegalrejo Village start from the planning process until the evaluation. Like what happened in the field that in every activity especially in infrastructure development, the society and BPD always be involved in the implementation. The capacity owned by BPD very central to participate in the government implementation. Interview result with the Head of Tegalrejo BPD, Jumadi states that the Tegalrejo Village Government in the implementation especially related to Village Fund management always involve BPD as supervisor and the representative of Tegalrejo Village society to know and control the village financial. Village finance which later is intended for infrastructure development should be approved and delivered to the government above and to the society of Tegalrejo Village. (Interview on 23/0/2017 at 10.00 WIB)

Overall the suitability of village fund management for infrastructure development with the applicable regulation is bad. Apart from the suitability between the budget for infrastructure development recorded in the Village RPJM, Village RKP and APB Tegalre-

jo Village in 2016, there is a discrepancy between the Village RPJM regulated in Regent Regulation of Gunungkidul No. 49 of 2015. The regulation explains that the Village RPJM should be for development planning for six years or one period of the village head's administration, while the Village RPJM in Tegalrejo Village is only for five years (2014-2019).

### **Suitability of Village Fund Management Planning and Realization and Time of Infrastructure Development Implementation**

Village Fund management should have suitability between the planning and fund realization and the time of program planning. That aims to ensure the village fund management can be benefit for the society. Besides, to guarantee the achievement of village development purpose in accordance with the target set. The first Village fund management at Tegalrejo Village 2016 for infrastructure development has been the suitability between the planning and fund realization for infrastructure development. Meanwhile from the perspective of the implementation infrastructure development planning, in the time of settlement realization has been in accordance with the planning time of infrastructure development implementation which has been set. However in the implementation document However, in the implementation document, it is only limited to the time needed to complete the infrastructure development program, there is no detail on when to implement it as described in the following table 1.2:

Table 2. Suitability between Time Planning and Time Realization of Tegalrejo Village Infrastructure Development in 2016

No	Description	Plan of Time	Realization of Time	Information
1	Village Street Development	Finish in 30 days	Finish in 30 days	Appropriate
2	Construction of Settlement Roads at 11 Villages	Finish in 60 days	Finish in 60 days	Appropriate
3	Development of Turap Talut Bronjongan Village Road	Finish in 90 days	Finish in 90 days	Appropriate
4	Construction of Water Tunnel Drainage Channel	Finish in 30 days	Finish in 30 days	Appropriate
5	<i>Rehabilitasi Pemeliharaan Cor Rabat Turap talut</i>	Finish in 30 days	Finish in 30 days	Appropriate

Source: Processed from the document of Accountability Report in the Tegalrejo Village development implementation 2016.

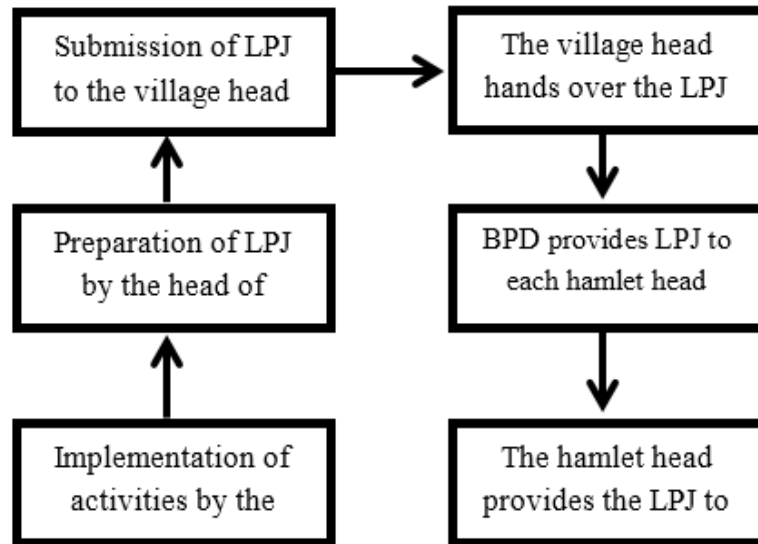
The suitability between time planning and time realization of Tegalrejo Village Infrastructure Development in 2016 is still not good. That is because in the planning and implementation of infrastructure development at Tegalrejo Village is not attached when the time for the implementation of the activity, there is only a plan and the activity implementation.

### **Transparency of Village Fund Management in Infrastructure Development Program by the Village Government**

Transparency in Fund Village management will make the society more trust with the village government because the society can find out what has been planned and implemented by the Tegal rejo Village government especially for infrastructure develop-

ment. Besides, the Village Fund management can be accounted for its use to the society. As stated by Sugiman the Head of Tegalrejo Village explains that the accountability of the Village Fund use in infrastructure development has been adjusted by Regent Regulation of Gunungkidul No. 49 of 2015. The following is the sequence of accountability for Fund management transparency in Tegalrejo Village for infrastructure development in 2016:

Picture 2. The Sequence of Accountability for Village Fund Management in Infrastructure Development in Tegalrejo Village in 2016



Source: Processed from the primer data, 2017.

Accountability of Village Fund management carried out by the Tegalrejo Village Government in infrastructure development in 2016 there are six sequences, they are: *First*, the society is directly involved in the implementation of infrastructure development. This step carried out in order the society feels more satisfied and the form of infrastructure development which is expected by the society will be as expected; *Second*, the head of the development affairs of the Tegalrejo Village makes the Accountability Report in the form of documents and verbally to the Tegalrejo Village Head; *Third*, the head of the development affairs gives the Accountability Report to the village head in every development-related activity delivered to the village head in depth details, then to review and evaluate the implementation of infrastructure development activity in the form of village government internal meetings before being communicated by the society.

*Fourth*, the village head received a report from the head of development affairs, then the village head gives the Accountability Report to the BPD Tegalrejo, then hold a meeting with the head of the hamlet and five representatives of the Tegalrejo Village society leaders to present the report of the activities carried out by the Tegalrejo Village Government. *Fifth*, BPD gives the report to the head of hamlet to be delivered to society. The head of hamlet has the capacity as the coordinator which can give the report to the society regarding the form of submission of the accountability report of Tegalrejo Village Government work program. Then the BD has an important role with the society as stated in Regent Regulation No. 49 of 2015 which says, BPD conducts general control through village fund management in the context of implementing village regulation on village APB. BPD of Tegalrejo has a function to control the transparency of Tegalrejo Village Fund management in the context of implementing the village regulation on Village APB.

*Sixth*, the society received the Tegalrejo Village Government Implementation Report for infrastructure development in 2016 at a meeting held by each hamlet. Then, after the meeting, each hamlet head will hold a meeting with each Chairperson of the RT with the society in each hamlet area to deliver the result of the report delivered by the village head to the Tegalrejo Village society (village coordination).

Transparency of Tegalrejo Village Finance management in 2016 is still not good. As stated by Purwanto as a resident of the Tegalrejo Village society that the Village Government is less active in using the website to inform village activity report that it has not been uploaded on the website as shown in the picture below:



Source: Processed from the website of Tegalrejo Village, 2017

Then, the next example is Submission of information in the form of village reports related to the construction of hamlet roads, the new society is given information long after the implementation of the hamlet road construction was carried out, and the result was not in accordance with what had been planned especially in the form of budget. For the example is the purchase of cement, which the price of per bag of cement at the store is Rp 40.000, while in the report the price becomes Rp 45.000. After all, choosing the material for the building is from the society, and the society also knows the price. Then, in this period Tegalrejo Village government is not so fast in development especially in its infrastructure development (interview on October, 22 2017 at 11.45 WIB).

According to that finding it can be analyzed that the accountability of village fund management for infrastructure development is not good caused by some factors, they are:

*First*, from the perspective of planning which involves the society, the Tegalrejo Village Government tend to only involve the society which always agree with the policy specified by the village government. Meanwhile, the people who really think about the sustainability of the Village Fund management to be right on target (critical) are not even involved in the Tegalrejo Village Musrenbang. *Second*, the implementation of infrastructure development at Tegalrejo Village in 2016 always involves the society both in form of physical or financial involvement. Then, every activity implementation in each infrastructure development project, is informed through the information board provided by each hamlet and each object of the implementation of infrastructure development activity.

*Third*, form of evaluation which involves the society in Village Fund management transparency for infrastructure development at Tegalrejo Village, include: Complaint from the society who convey the difference in the amount of budget between the amounts of budget which is appropriate in the market with the realization. Then, the delivery of the Village website in the form of Village Information System (SID) is still not good. That is caused by the inadequate human resources to carry this duty and there should be assis-



tance to village website management in order to be able to convey village report form not only for the infrastructure development program but also for overall work program activities of the Tegalrejo Village Government, so that a transparent government can be achieved and accountable.

**Society Participation in the Village Infrastructure Development Program.**

Society participation is very important in the implementation of programs carried out by the village government, one of which is society participation in infrastructure development. That is because after all the society is the main purpose in implementing the policy direction by the village government which has the purpose of improving the welfare of rural society. Society participation in infrastructure development is divided into three, they are: the participation of society in planning, implementing, and evaluating of village infrastructure development program.

Society participation in planning the program of Tegalrejo Village infrastructure development begins with a discussion meeting for each RT with one time implementation in each development program, at the meeting discusses about the implementation of development activity and discusses about self-help of society involved in implementing infrastructure development program. Furthermore, there is hamlet discussion which is also held in one activity program, the agenda inside it also discusses about what is the priority in the infrastructure development and discuss about the location of its implementation. Following is the formation of Tegalrejo Village society participation in infrastructure development planning:

Table 3. Form of Community Participation in Village Development

No	Activity	Time of Implementation	Information
1	Meeting of RT	One time of activity program	Discussing on the implementation of activity program and society self-help.
2	Hamlet Discussion	One time each activity program	Discussing on the implementation of development at each priority point
3	Coordination Meeting of Stakeholders Representatives of Tegalrejo Village	Every Monday	Monitoring and Evaluation of infrastructure development activities
4	Musrenbang	One time at the end of the year	The society is present and evaluates the implementation of infrastructure development program for one year

Source: Processed from primer data, 2017.

The participation of the Tegalrejo Village society in village fund management for infrastructure development can be concluded that participation is in accordance with the theory of Soetrisno (1995), that there are two models of society participation they are pure and apparent participation. *First*, pure participation is the involvement of the society in analyzing the form of the report on the activity implementation, and the participation of the Tegalrejo Village society in implementing the activity until the society self-supporting for the implementation of infrastructure development such as the analysis findings above.



*Second*, apparent participation associated with the coordination meeting conducted by Tegalrejo Village government does not involve the active people in criticizing the government's performance, but who are involved only the people who are in village government side to carry out the infrastructure development program.

## CONCLUSION

According to the result and analysis of the study above, it can be concluded that the accountability of village fund management for infrastructure development at Tegalrejo Village is not good. This is because of some factors, they are: There is no detailed time related to the implementation time of the infrastructure development program; Lack of transparency in delivering budget management report of infrastructure development; Not all people have actively participated in the implementation of infrastructure development; Not maximal in utilizing the Village Internet System (SID) as a means to inform Village Fund management report for infrastructure development; and The village apparatus which lacks coordination with the society regarding the implementation of infrastructure development. Therefore, the recommendation of this research is that the Tegalrejo Village Government should provide complete and detail report regarding the implementation time of infrastructure development activity; Tegalrejo Village Government should be more transparent to the delivery of the budget use report in infrastructure development; the active participation and synergy between the society and village government in village fund management and village development; it is necessary to conduct training and assistance to village officials regarding to the management of Village Funds and the management of SID as a source of information; and further research is needed to be conducted regarding the evaluation of Village Fund management and research on village government innovation in the IT-based Village Funds management.

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## The Properness Analysis of New District Formation in Pacitan Regency: Regulation Perspective of Government Regulation Number 17 of 2018 about Sub-District

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### ABSTRACT

The big advantages offered due to the expansion of region becomes the driving factor of expansion demand in several regions in Indonesia. The regional expansion phenomenon becomes one of the realities that creates regional autonomy policy in Indonesia. The decision making process will depend on the public. The participation and access to the government will also be closer. If the control is not too far, the implementation and building will be more effective and efficient. This research was conducted to explain the properness possibility of new district formation in Pacitan regency based on the government regulation number 17 of 2018 about subdistrict. The properness analysis of new subdistrict formation was conducted based on the properness of administration, technique and basis. The selection of location was conducted purposively based on the planning of new subdistrict formation and subdistrict deletion or integration. This research was conducted using descriptive-quantitative and qualitative method. There were 2 kinds of data collected in this research; *primary* and *secondary*. Primary data was collected through observation and interview. Secondary data was collected through documentation and triangulation. Processing method and data analysis used descriptive method (interactive analysis). The result shows that based on the administration and technique side, the formation of subdistrict in Pacitan is proper to expand. Meanwhile, based on the basis, it can not be formed and expanded because it does not fit the basic requirement.

**KEYWORDS:** Properness, expansion, technique, regional physic, administration

### INTRODUCTION

Regional expansion is a phenomenon that accompanies the implementation of regional governance in Indonesia. The condition has influenced the trend of regional expansion. The rise of regional expansion in post-reformation is beneficial because it gives a place for aspiration, diversity and local autonomy which is ignored in the era of new order. The effort of regional expansion is called as a new innovation to accelerate the building through the improvement of quality and the easiness of getting public service. Ermaya Suradinata (2000: 10) states that regional expansion is an effort to improve the regional government skill in giving the easiness of government service. So, it will improve the ef-

fectiveness of government implementation and building management.

Regional expansion is expected to improve the economy growth by upgrading the potential that has not been reached by the regional government. It is also expected to improve natural and human resources. Therefore, public can participate in the process of building to improve their life. Andrew William (2011:167) states that expansion *reveal positive changes in genuine participation within processes of governance for local communities*.

The inability of government in conducting the maximum service functions is caused by the large area, the increase of the population number, and other supporting facilities. It creates discrepancy in society. The society is relatively close and far from the central government. It shows that there is a paradigm movement because governmental apparatus (subdistrict government) is demanded to give optimum service to the public. Andrew McWilliam (2011:168) states that expansion process (large inefficiency) can decrease the geographical and social distance that separates the population of mountain and island in developing trade and industry.

The law number 23 of 2014 about regional government in article 209 explains that subdistrict is regency or city officials as stated in paragraph 2 letter "F". Subdistrict is formed to improve the coordination of governmental implementation. The subdistrict head must coordinate all the needs in subdistrict and give public service and empowerment to the public.

Based on the administration, Pacitan regency is divided into 12 subdistricts such as Pacitan, Kebonagung, Arjosari, Tulakan, Ngadirojo, Punung, Pringkuku, Donorojo, Nawangan, Tegalombo, Sudimoro, and Bandar. The subdistricts plan to improve the public welfare and service.

Table 1. The Division of Administrative Region in Pacitan Regency

No.	Subdistrict	Number of vil- lage/ district	Number of population	Width of area
1	Donorojo	12	38.559	109,09
2	Punung	13	32.571	108,81
3	Pringkuku	13	37.122	132,93
4	Pacitan	25	74.776	77,11
5	Kebonagung	19	46.312	124,85
6	Arjosari	17	41.096	117,06
7	Nawangan	9	51.059	124,06
8	Bandar	8	44.098	117,34
9	Tegalombo	11	50.935	149,26
10	Tulakan	16	82.885	161,62
11	Ngadirojo	18	45.862	95,91
12	Sudimoro	10	32.100	71,86
Total		171	577.375	1.389,90

Source: the division of Pacitan regency, 2017

The population distribution on each subdistrict must be smooth and large because

each subdistrict is unbalanced among others. The willingness of Pacitan regency is expanding the subdistrict. The increase of government activity, building, society, population number, large area and the rise of several subdistricts (Pacitan, Tulakan, Ngadirojo, Kebonagung) emerge a plan to break the subdistrict and create a new one. It is aimed to make sure that implementation of service tasks in governance runs well. Dr. Noldy Tueareh et.all (2006:1) states that expanding a region into autonomy region is expected to make the public service more efficient and effective. The government and public welfare implementation will increase.

The service approach through regional government is expected to give a better service to the public. The public will join the new region through the previous regional government with closer service area. One of the advantages of regional expansion is the formation of new autonomy which is expected to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of regional government in giving the public service and social welfare (Yudoyono, 2001 : 22)

Based on the article 4 number 17 of 2018 about the subdistrict, it strictly states that physical requirement to form a subdistrict is related to the minimum population number, area width, and minimum subdistrict age. Based on the area coverage above, the formation of new subdistrict can be divided. Subdistrict potential can be formed through expansion and combination. The range of government control especially in Pacitan, Ngadirojo, Tulakan, and Kebonagung is very large. In Tulakan subdistrict, the range of government control reaches more than twice of Pacitan regency which is the location of regency capital. The large range of control is expected to accelerate the regional building and public service approach. The regional expansion is believed as a solution of the building inequality. Ida Loude (2005: 15) states that the expansion enables the resources to be sent to the undeveloped region. Local democracy develops through the authority division on the smaller level. What is the feasibility of forming a sub-district in Pacitan district, therefore the planning must be learned comprehensively.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Subdistrict is the division of administrative region in regency/ city which consists of villages. The government regulation number 17 of 2018 in paragraph 1 article 1 states that subdistrict is called as a part of regions in regency/ city which is lead by the subdistrict head.

As the officer of regency/ city, the subdistrict head conducts a half of the authorities of regent/ mayor. As the stakeholder of general business in governance, the subdistrict head also completes the tasks of central government in subdistrict area. With the position, subdistrict has a very strategic role in regency/ city based on its tasks and functions, organization, human resources and payment sources. Therefore, it needs its own setting in managing the government implementation in subdistrict and government regulation.

Therefore, the half authority for the regent/ mayor to the subdistrict head is conducted to create an effective regional governance in subdistrict and optimum public service which directly faces the society. The authority is conducted based on the law regulation.

The implementation of subdistrict government needs a leader who can lead their employees to do the tasks and responsibility, participate in government programs, and

do the building and social activity. The success of building will be seen through the high productivity and prosperous citizens.

The subdistrict head is as the regional head (working area which has no area or authority). The task is doing general task in the area of subdistrict especially attributive tasks in the sector of coordination government towards all institution of government, the implementation of tranquillity and orderlines, the maintenance of law regulation, the guidance of village government implementation and other tasks. Therefore, the position of subdistrict head is different from other institution heads because the tasks implementation of other institutions must be coordinated by the subdistrict head (Agus Subagyo 2008:2).

In improving public service in subdistrict, it needs the expansion policy in each subdistrict. The expansion is actually aimed to solve the lag and public service (Agus Subagyo 2008:3). The requirement in forming the region must be filled. The requirements are the number of population, minimum area width, minimum amount of village/ district, minimum age of subdistrict and the others which have been regulated in the law number 23 of 2014 about regional government. The aim of expansion is to create advanced region and prosperous society. The expansion is conducted based on the government regulation number 17 of 2018 about the subdistrict.

In the government regulation number 17 of 2018, it strictly states that the formation of subdistrict is conducted through (a) the expansion of 1 subdistrict into 2 subdistricts or more; (b) the unity of the part of subdistrict which is located in an area of regency/ city and creates a new subdistrict. In article 2 paragraph 2 number 17 of 2018, it states that the formation of subdistrict as stated in paragraph 1 must fill the basic, technical and administrative requirement.

Pacitan regency is located to the south of East Java. It consists of 12 subdistricts with various characteristics. Based on the village distribution in 12 subdistricts, it needs expansion policy because the public service has not been optimum. Therefore, this research will analyze the properness of the new subdistrict formation in Pacitan regency which is based on the government regulation number 17 of 2018.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This research belongs to descriptive research. Descriptive research is aimed to describe and explain the phenomenon in the field and the potential of proper expansion in improving the service quality for the society in Pacitan. Descriptive research is aimed to describe the facts and characteristics of a population or certain region systematically, factually and thoroughly (Subiyantoro, Arief and Suwanto, 2007:28).

The research location was conducted in 12 subdistricts in Pacitan regency; especially in Pacitan, Kebonagung, Tulakan and Ngadirojo. Technique of data analysis was conducted through three steps by Miles and Huberman namely triangulation technique which consists of three steps such as data reduction, data presentation and conclusion.

Data analysis was conducted through;

- a. Basic requirement of subdistrict formation



Table 2. Selected Indicators and its Explanations

NO	Area	The number of population/ family head	Width of area	Scope of area	Age of sub-district
1.	Provinces in Java island	Minimum population in each village is 6000/ 1200 family head and minium population in each subdistrict is 8000/ 1600 family head	Minimum 7,5 Km2	A minimum of 10 villages/ districts for regency/ 5 for villages/ districts for city	At least 5 years
2.	Etc (Based on the government regulation number 17 of 2018 about sub-district)				

Source: government regulation number 17 of 2018 about subdistrict

b. Technical requirement of subdistrict formation

It consists of the ability of regional finance, government facilities and other technical requirements (subdistrict area burden, the subdistrict name that will be formed, the location of the subdistrict capital, and the suitability with the plan of space).

c. Administrative requirement of subdistrict formation

There is an agreement of village conference and the decision of communication forum in regency which is called with another name in main and new subdistrict .

**RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

**The potential mapping of new subdistrict formation based on the scope of area (number of village)**

Based on the article 4 paragraph 1 on the government regulation number 17 of 2018, it states that the requirement of subdistrict formation related to the scope of 0

area for regency must consist of 10 villages/ districts. Related to the area scope, it can form a potential of new subdistrict formation in Pacitan regency as elaborated at the table below;

Table 3. Potential of Subdistrict Formation in Pacitan Regency

No	Subdistrict	The number of villages	The number of villages	Explanation
1	Pacitan	25 villages/ districts	25 villages/ districts	It can be formed 2 sub-districts
2	Kebonagung	19 villages	53 villages	It can be formed 5 sub-districts
3	Tulakan	16 villages		
4	Ngadirojo	18 villages		
5	Sudimoro	10 villages	10 villages	Unchanged
6	Donorojo	12 villages	38 villages	3 subdistricts (no change)
7	Punung	13 villages		
8	Pringkuku	13 villages		
9	Arjosari	17 villages	28 villages	2 subdistricts (no change)
10	Tegalombo	11 villages		
11	Nawangan	9 villages	17 villages	2 subdistricts (no change)
12	Bandar	8 villages		

Source: government regulation number 17 of 2018.

Based on the area scope, it can be stated that there are several subdistricts that fill the requirements to form new subdistrict, such as;

1. Pacitan subdistrict can be formed into 2 subdistricts, such as;
  - a. Main subdistrict (Pacitan subdistrict) with 15 villages/ districts in its area scope.
  - b. The candidate of new subdistrict (east subdistrict subdistrict) with 10 villages in its scope.
2. Kebonagung, Tulakan and Ngadirojo with 53 villages can be formed into 5 subdistricts through the process of unity/ deletion;
  - a. Main subdistricts (Kebonagung, Tulakan and Ngadirojo) with 11 villages on each area.
  - b. The candidate of subdistrict/ new subdistrict (Ketrowonojoyo) with 10 villages of unity/ deletion (8 villages of Kebonagung and 2 villages of Tulakan)
  - c. The candidate of subdistrict/ new subdistrict (Wonokarto) with 10 villages of unity/ deletion (7 villages of Ngadirojo and 3 villages of Tulakan)
3. Sudimoro subdistrict still has one subdistrict. It can not form a new subdistrict through the expansion or unity/ deletion.
4. Pringkuku, Punung and Donorejo have 38 villages and 3 subdistricts. If it forms new subdistrict through unity/ deletion using the composition for main subdistrict of 30 villages (10 villages), the villages are 8 on each main area. It does not

fit the requirement because there are only 8 villages.

5. Tegalombo and Arjosari have 28 villages and 2 subdistricts. If it forms new sub-district with unity/ deletion, the composition on each area consists of 10 villages for main subdistrict and 8 villages have not filled the administrative requirement.
6. Nawangan and Bandar have 17 villages and 2 subdistricts. Each subdistrict needs 10 villages more.

### Properness analysis of new subdistrict formation

The mapping of new formation in Pacitan regency is recommended into new sub-district as follows;

#### 1. Main subdistrict (Pacitan Subdistrict)

Properness analysis of subdistrict forma

No.	Indicator Requirement New subdistrict formation		Analysis result	Explanation
1	Basic properness analysis	a. Number of population	74.776 inhabitants  77,11 KM2	It has not filled the requirement because there is less than 6000 inhabitants and less than 1200 family head and on each district has less than 8000 inhabitants and less than 1600 family head
		b. Minimum width area	Pacitan subdistrict has existed for years	less than 1600 family head
		c. Minimum subdistrict head	25 villages/ districts have been more than 5 years	Eligible
		d. Number of districts/ villages on its scope	The formation of Pacitan subdistrict with 15 villages/ districts; 1. Sidoharjo district 2. Ploso district 3. Baleharjo district 4. Pacitan district	Eligible

			<p>5. Pucangsewu district Bangunsari village 7. Sedeng village 8. Sumberharjo village 9. Ponggok village 10. Sambong village 11. Bolosingo village 12. Semanten village 13. Widoro village</p> <p>Villages for new sub-districts; 1. Kayen village 2. Sukoharjo village 3. Kembang village 4. Sirnoboyo village 5. Arjowinangun village 6. Menadi village 7. Mentoro village 8. Purworejo village 9. Banjarsari village 10. Tambakrejo village</p>	
2.	Technical analysis	a. Regional finance ability	Ratio of employees expenditure towards the regional budget which is not more than 50%	Eligible
		b. Government facility	It has a land to support public facility	Eligible

		c. Another technical requirement	- Area burden has not been regulated in regional regulation - Pacitan subdistrict (main) - Location of capital in Sidoarjo district - Based on the regional regulation of Pacitan number 3 of 2010 about the plan of space area in Pacitan regency in 2009-2028	Eligible
3.	Administrative analysis	a. The agreement of village conference/ communication forum b. Village conference c. The decision of regency communication forum	The result of village conference and communication forum agreed. There is program news letter of conference result.	Eligible

Source: government regulation number 17 of 2018

a. Basic requirement

Based on the requirement above, it can be stated that Pacitan subdistrict has not filled the basic requirement to form a new subdistrict. There is no fulfillment of the number of population in village and district.

b. Technical requirement

Based on the result of interview with the officers of Pacitan subdistrict and villages, it can be concluded that most of people state that the capital subdistrict is Sidoarjo district.

c. Administrative requirement

Based on the result of village conference in program news, the member of BPD and village chief in Pacitan subdistrict shows that everyone has agreed the plan of new subdistrict formation. It is expected that new subdistrict will increase public service, social welfare and improve the public needs.

## 2. Main subdistrict (Kebonagung Subdistrict)

Properness analysis of subdistrict formation

No.	Indicator requirement new subdistrict formation	Analysis result	Explanation
1.	Basic proper-ness analysis	<p>a. number of population</p> <p>46.312 inhabitants</p> <p>124,85 Km<sup>2</sup></p> <p>b. minimum width area</p> <p>Kebonagung subdistrict has existed for years</p> <p>c. minimum subdistrict age</p> <p>19 villages in Kebonagung subdistrict have existed for 5 years.</p> <p>11 villages in main subdistrict:</p> <p>d. number of districts/ villages on its scope</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Plumbungan village</li> <li>2. Karangnongko village</li> <li>3. Kalipelus village</li> <li>4. Katipugal village</li> <li>5. Klesem village</li> <li>6. Sidomulyo village</li> <li>7. Gawang village</li> <li>8. Karanganyar village</li> <li>9. Kebonagung village</li> <li>10. Purwoasri village</li> <li>11. Banjarjo village</li> </ol> <p>5 villages for unity;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ketro village</li> <li>2. Sanggrahan village</li> <li>3. Gembuk village</li> <li>4. Ketepung village</li> <li>5. Punjung village</li> <li>6. Wonogondo village</li> <li>7. Worawari village</li> <li>8. Mantren village</li> </ol>	<p>It has not filled the requirement because there is less than 6000 inhabitants and less than 1200 family head</p> <p>Eligible</p> <p>Eligible</p>



2.	Technique properness analysis	a. regional finance ability	Ratio of employees expenditure towards the regional budget which is not more than 50%	Eligible
		b. government facility	It has a land to support public facility	Eligible
		c. another technical requirement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Area burden has not been regulated in regional regulation</li> <li>- kebonagung subdistrict (main)</li> <li>- Location of capital in Kebonagung district</li> <li>- Based on the regional regulation of Pacitan number 3 of 2010 about the plan of space area in Pacitan regency in 2009-2028</li> </ul>	Eligible
3.	Administrative properness analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. the agreement of village conference/ communication forum</li> <li>b. village conference</li> <li>c. the decision of reGENCY communication forum</li> </ul>	The result of village conference and communication forum agreed. There is program news letter of conference result.	Eligible

Source: government regulation number 17 of 2018

a. Administrative requirement

Based on the requirement above, it can be stated that Kebonagung subdistrict has not filled the administrative requirement for unity/ deletion. There is no fulfillment of the number of population and family head in village.

b. Technical requirement

Based on the result of interview with the officers of Pacitan subdistrict and vil-

lages, it can be concluded that Kebonagung subdistrict is at Kebonagung village. The access, geographical position and infrastructure are adequate. Based on the requirement above, it can be stated that Kebonagung has filled the requirement of unity/ deletion.

c. Technical properness requirement

Based on the result of village conference in program news, the member of BPD and village chief in Pacitan subdistrict shows that everyone has agreed the plan of new subdistrict formation. It is expected that new subdistrict will increase public service, social welfare and improve the public needs.

**3. Main subdistrict (Tulakan subdistrict)**

Properness analysis of subdistrict formation

No.	Indicator requirement new subdistrict formation		Analysis result	Explanation
1.	Basic properness analysis	a. Number of population	82.885 inhabitants  161,62 Km <sup>2</sup>	It has not filled the requirement because there is less than 6000 inhabitants and less than 1200 family head
		b. Minimum width area	Tulakan subdistrict has existed for years	Eligible
		c. Minimum subdistrict age	16 villages in Tulakan subdistrict have existed for more than 5 years.	Eligible
		d. Number of districts/villages on its scope	Have existed for more than 5 years.	Eligible
			11 villages in main subdistrict: 1. Nglaran village 2. Wonoanti village 3. Padi village	

			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Bungur vil- lage</li> <li>2. Tulakan vil- lage</li> <li>3. Jatigunung village</li> <li>4. Gasang village</li> <li>5. Ngile village</li> <li>6. Bubakan village</li> <li>7. Losari village</li> </ol> <p>5villages of unity subdistricts:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ketro village</li> <li>2. Kalikuning village</li> <li>3. Wonosidi village</li> <li>4. Ngumbul village</li> <li>5. Jetak village</li> </ol>	
2.	Technical proper- ness analysis	a. regional finance abil- ity	Ratio of employ- ees expenditure towards the regional budget which is not more than 50%	Eligible
		b. government facility	It has a land to support public facility	Eligible
		c. another technical re- quirement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Area burden has not been regulated in regional regu- lation</li> <li>• Tulakan subdistrict (main)</li> <li>• Location of capital is in Bungur vil- lage</li> </ul>	Eligible

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Based on the regional regulation of Pacitan number 3 of 2010 about the plan of space area in Pacitan regency in 2009-2028</li> </ul>	
3.	Administrative properness analysis	<p>a. the agreement of village conference/ communication forum</p> <p>b. village conference</p> <p>c. the decision of regency communication forum</p>	The result of village conference and communication forum agreed. There is program news letter of conference result	Eligible

Source: government regulation number 17 of 2018

a. Basic requirement

Based on the requirement above, it can be stated that Pacitan subdistrict has not filled the basic requirement to unity/ deletion. There is no fullfilment of the number of population and family head in village.

b. Technical requirement

Based on the result of interview with the officers of Tulakan subdistrict and villages, it can be concluded that most of people state that the location of unity/ deletion is in Bungur village in Tulakan. The access, geographycal position and infrastructure are adequate.

c. Technical requirement

Based on the result of village conference in program news, the member of BPD and village chief in Pacitan subdistrict shows that everyone has agreed the plan of new subdistrict formation. It is expected that new subdistrict will increase public service, social welfare and improve the public needs.

#### 4. Main subdistrict (Ngadirojo sub district)

##### Properness analysis of subdistrict formation

No.	Indicatorrequirement new subdistrict formation	Analysis result	Explanation
1.	Basic properness analysis	<p>a. number of population 45.862 inhabitants 95,91 KM<sup>2</sup></p> <p>b. minimum width area Ngadirojo subdistrict has existed for years</p> <p>c. minimum sub district head 18 villages/ districts have been more than 5 years 11 villages in main subdistrict</p> <p>d. number of districts/ villages on its scope 1. Bodag village 2. Cokro Kembang village 3. Bogoharjo village 4. Ngadirojo village 5. Wiyoro village 6. Pagerejo village 7. Tanjungpuro village 8. Hadiluwih village 9. Sidomulyo village 10. Hadiwarno village 11. Wonodadi Wetan village</p> <p>6 villages of unity subdistricts: 1. Wonokarto village 2. Wonoasri village 3. Wonosobo village 4. Cangkring village 7. Tanjunglor village 8. Nogosari village</p>	<p>It has not filled the requirement because there is less than 6000 inhabitants and less than 1200 family head.</p> <p>Eligible</p> <p>Eligible</p> <p>Eligible</p>
2.	Technical properness analysis	<p>a. regional finance ability Ratio of employees expenditure towards the regional budget which is not more than 50%</p> <p>b. Government facility It has a land to support public facility</p>	<p>Eligible</p> <p>Eligible</p>

		c. Another technical requirement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Area burden has not been regulated in regional regulation</li> <li>- Ngadirojo subdistrict (main)</li> <li>- Location of capital is in Ngadirojo village</li> <li>- Based on the regional regulation of Pacitan number 3 of 2010 about the plan of space area in Pacitan regency in 2009-2028</li> </ul>	Eligible
3.	Administrative properness analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. the agreement of village conference/ communication forum</li> <li>b. village conference</li> <li>c. the decision of regency communication forum</li> </ul>	The result of village conference and communication forum agreed. There is program newsletter of conference result	Eligible

Source: government regulation number 17 of 2018

a. Basic requirement

Based on the requirement above, it can be stated that Pacitan subdistrict has not filled the basic requirement to unity/ deletion. There is no fulfillment of the number of population and family head in village.

b. Technical requirement

Based on the result of interview with the officers of Tulakan subdistrict and villages, it can be concluded that most of people state that the location of unity/ deletion is in Ngadirojo village in Ngadirojo. The access, geographical position and infrastructure are adequate.

c. Technical properness requirement

Based on the result of village conference in program news, the member of BPD and village chief in Ngadirojo subdistrict shows that everyone has agreed the plan of new subdistrict formation. It is expected that new subdistrict will increase public service, social welfare and improve the public needs.



## 5. New Subdistrict (East Pacitan Subdistrict)

### Properness analysis of subdistrict formation

No.	Indicator requirement new subdistrict formation	Result analysis	Explanation
1.	<p>Basic properness analysis</p> <p>a. number of population</p> <p>b. minimum width area</p> <p>c. minimum sub district age</p> <p>d. number of districts/ villages on its scope</p>	<p>24.998 inhabitants</p> <p>25,29 KM<sup>2</sup></p> <p>East Pacitan subdistrict has existed for years</p> <p>10 villages in East Pacitan subdistrict have existed for more than 5 years.</p> <p>10 villages in East Pacitan subdistrict;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Kayen village</li> <li>2. Sukoharjo village</li> <li>3. Kembang village</li> <li>4. Sirnobojo village</li> <li>5. Arjowinangun village</li> <li>6. Menadi village</li> <li>7. Mentoro village</li> <li>8. Purworejo village</li> <li>9. Banjarsari village</li> <li>10. Tambakrejo village</li> </ol>	<p>It has not filled the requirement because there is less than 6000 inhabitants and less than 1200 family head</p> <p>Eligible</p> <p>Eligible</p> <p>Eligible</p>

2.	Technical properness analysis	a. regional finance ability	Ratio of employees expenditure towards the regional budget which is not more than 50%	Eligible
		b. government facility	It has a land as the subdistrict office which is ready to use in giving the public service	Eligible
		c. another technical requirement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Area burden has not been regulated in regional regulation</li> <li>- East Pacitan subdistrict</li> <li>- Location of capital is in Sirnoboyo/ Menadi village</li> <li>- Based on the regional regulation of Pacitan number 3 of 2010 about the plan of space area in Pacitan reGENCY in 2009-2028</li> </ul>	Eligible
3.	Administrative properness analysis	<p>a. the agreement of village conference/ communication forum</p> <p>b. village conference</p> <p>c. the decision of reGENCY communication forum</p>	The result of village conference and communication forum agreed. There is program newsletter of conference result	Eligible

Source: government regulation number 17 of 2018

a. Basic properness

Based on the requirement above, it can be stated that East Pacitan subdistrict has not filled the administrative requirement to form a new subdistrict. There is no fulfillment of the number of population and family head in village.

b. Technical requirement

Based on the result of village conference in program news, the member of BPD and village chief in Pacitan subdistrict shows that everyone has agreed the plan of new subdistrict formation in East Pacitan subdistrict.

Based on the area scope, it can be concluded that the candidate of East Pacitan subdistrict has filled the requirement to form a new subdistrict because it has reached 10 villages.

Based on the result of interview with the officers of Pacitan subdistrict and villages, it can be concluded that most of people state that the location of capital is Sirnobojo and Menadi village. The access, geographycal position and infrastructure are adequate.

c. Administrative requirement

Based on the result of village conference in program news, the member of BPD and village chief in East Pacitan subdistrict shows that everyone has agreed the plan of new subdistrict formation. It is expected that new subdistrict will increase public service, social welfare and improve the public needs.

### 5. New Subdistrict (Ketrowonojoyo Subdistrict)

#### Properness analysis of sub district formation

No.	Indicator requirementnew subdistrict formation		Analysis result	Explanation
1.	Basic properness analysis	a. number of population	34.711inhabitants  9264,14KM <sup>2</sup>	t has not filled the requirement because there is less than 6000 inhabitants and less than 1200 family head
		b. minimum width area	Ketrowonojoyo subdistrict has existed for years	Eligible
		c. minimum subdistrict age	0 villages in Ketrowonojoyo subdistrict have existed for more than 25 years.	Eligible
		d. number of districts/ villages on its scope	There is a program news on the agreement of 6 villages;	Not eligible

			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ketro village</li> <li>2. Sanggrahan village</li> <li>3. Gembuk village</li> <li>4. Ketepung village</li> <li>5. Punjung village</li> <li>6. Kalikuning village</li> </ol> <p>There is a program news on the disagreement of 4 villages;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Jetak village</li> <li>2. Worawari village</li> <li>3. Mantren village</li> <li>4. Wonogondo village</li> </ol>	
2.	Technical properness analysis	<p>a. regional finance ability</p> <p>b. government facility</p> <p>c. another technical requirement</p>	<p>Ratio of employees expenditure towards the regional budget which is not more than 50%</p> <p>It has a land as the subdistrict office which is ready to use in giving the public service. Gembuk village still needs to look for the area.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Area burden has not been regulated in regional regulation</li> <li>- Ketrowonojoyo subdistrict Gembuk village</li> <li>- Location of capital is Ketro village</li> <li>- Based on the regional regulation of Pacitan number 3 of 2010 about the plan of space area in Pacitan regency in 2009-2028</li> </ul>	<p>Eligible</p> <p>Eligible</p> <p>Eligible</p>

3.	Administrative properness analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. the agreement of village conference/ communication forum</li> <li>b. village conference</li> <li>c. the decision of re-gency communication forum</li> </ul>	The result of village conference and communication forum agreed. There is program newsletter of conference result	Not eligible
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Source: government regulation number 17 of 2018

a. Basic requirement

Based on the requirement, it can be stated that Ketrowonojoyo has filled the administrative requirement because the age of governance implementation has been more than 5 years. 10 villages in Ketrowonojoyo has implemented the village government for 5 years. Based on the other requirements, the candidate of Ketrowonojoyo has not filled the administrative requirement to form new subdistrict because there is no fullfilment of the number of population and family head in village.

b. Technical requirement

Based on the result of interview with the officers of Kebonagung and Tulakan sub-district and villages, it can be concluded that if the requirement has been filled, the location of capital is in Gembuk/ Ketro village. The selection of Ketrowonojoyo is between the two community health center in Gawang village. The access, geographycal position and infrastructure are adequate.

c. Administration requirement

There are several village which disagree to unite;

1. Wonogondo village Kebonagung subdistrict;
2. Mantren village Kebonagung subdistrict;;
3. Worawari village Kebonagung subdistrict;;
4. Jetak village Tulakan subdistrict;

There are several village which agree to unite;

1. Ketro village Kebonagung subdistrict
2. Ketepung village Kebonagung subdistrict
3. Sanggrahan village Kebonagung subdistrict
4. Gembuk village Kebonagung subdistrict
5. Punjung village Kebonagung subdistrict

6. Kalikuning village Tulakan subdistrict

Based on the administrative properness requirement, Ketrowonojoyo has not filled the requirement to unite.

**7. New Sub district (Wonokarto Subdistrict) Kecamatan Baru/Calon Kecamatan (Kecamatan Wonokarto)**

Properness analysis of subdistrict formation

No.	Indicator Requirement	New subdistrict formation	Analysis result	Explanation
1.	Basic properness analysis	a. number of population	39.165 inhabitants  7674,83KM <sup>2</sup>	It has not filled the requirement because there is less than 6000 inhabitants and less than 1200 family head
		b. minimum width area	Wonokarto subdistrict has existed for years	Eligible
		c. minimum sub district age	10 villages in East Pacitan subdistrict have existed for more than 5 years.	Eligible
		d. number of districts/ villages on its scope	There are program news of agreement of 4 villages: 1. Wonokarto village 2. Wonoasri village 3. Wonosobo village 4. Ketro village  There are program news of disagreement of 6 villages: 1. Cangkring village 2. Wonodadi Kulon village 3. Tanjung Lor village 4. Nogosari village 5. Wonosidi village 6. Ngumbul village	Not eligible



2.	Technical properness analysis	a. regional finance ability	Ratio of employees expenditure towards the regional budget which is not more than 50%	Eligible
		b. government facility	It has a land as the subdistrict office which is ready to use in giving the public service	Eligible
		c. another technical requirement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Area burden has not been regulated in regional regulation</li> <li>• Wonokarto subdistrict</li> <li>• Location of capital is in Wonokarto village</li> <li>• Based on the regional regulation of Pacitan number 3 of 2010 about the plan of space area in Pacitan regency in 2009-2028</li> </ul>	Eligible
3.	Administrative properness analysis	a. the agreement of village conference/ communication forum b. village conference c. the decision of regency communication forum	The result of village conference and the refusal of program newsletter of conference result to the unity deletion	Not eligible

Source: government regulation number 17 of 2018

a. Basic properness

The number of village to the unity/ deletion has filled the scope of 10 villages. The composition consists of 7 villages of Ngadirojo subdistrict and 3 villages of Tulakan subdistrict. It has filled the requirement of unity/ deletion. However, there is no fullfilment of the number of population and family head in village.

b. Technical requirement

Based on the result of interview with the officers of Ngadirojoand Tulakan subdistrict and villages in new subdistricts (Wonokarto), it can be concluded that the location of capital is Wonokarto village. The access, geographycal position and infrastructure are adequate.

c. Administrationon requirement

Based on the requirement above, Wonokarto subdistrict has been filled the administrative requirement that the age of village government implementation is more than 5 years. 11 villages in Wonokarto subdistrict has been more than 5 years.

Based on the result of village conference, there are several villages which disagree to join new subdistrict such as;

1. Cangkring village Ngadirojo subdistrict;
2. Nogosari village Ngadirojo subdistrict;
3. Tanjunglor village Ngadirojo subdistrict;
4. Wonodadi Kulon village Ngadirojo subdistrict;
5. Wonosidi village Tulakan Subdistrict;
6. Ngumbul village Tulakan subdistrict.

There are several villages which agree to join new subdistrict such as;

1. Wonokarto village Ngadirojo subdistrict;
2. Wonoasri village Ngadirojo subdistrict;
3. Wonosobo village Ngadirojo subdistrict;
4. Ketro village Tulakan subdistrict.

Based on the administrative properness requirement, Wonokarto has not filled the requirement to unite. To determine the properness of new subdistrict formation in Pacitan through the requirement aspects above, it needs a study as reflected in government regulation number 17 of 2018 about the subdistrict. The regulation has managed the detailed factors and indicators toward a subdistrict area which will be expanded.

## **CONCLUSION**

1. Based on the basic requirement analysis in Pacitan subdistrict, it can form one new subdistrict namely East Pacitan subdistrict and 2 new subdistricts with basic requirement can not be formed because it does not fill the basic requirement.
2. Based on the technical requirement analysis, it has filled the requirement to form a new subdistrict. It has a land as the subdistrict office which is ready to use in giving the public service
3. Administrative requirement analysis can not form a new subdistrict because of the refusal of joining a new subdistrict such as Ketrowonoyo and Wonokarto. There is a program new of joining disagreement.
  - a. Ketrowonoyo subdistrict
    - 1) Agree to join

Ketro village Kebonagung subdistrict  
 Ketepung village Kebonagung subdistrict  
 Sanggrahan village Kebonagung subdistrict  
 Gembuk village Kebonagung subdistrict  
 Punjung village Kebonagung subdistrict  
 Kalikuning village Tulakan subdistrict

2) Disagree to join

Worawari village Kebonagung subdistrict  
 Wonogondo village Kebonagung subdistrict  
 Mantren village Kebonagung subdistrict  
 Jetak village Tulakan subdistrict

b. Wonokarto subdistrict

3) Agree to join

Wonokarto village Ngadirojo subdistrict  
 Wonosobo village Ngadirojo subdistrict  
 Wonoasri village Ngadirojo subdistrict  
 Ketro village Tulakan subdistrict

4) Disagree to join

Cangkring village Ngadirojo subdistrict  
 Wonodadi Kulon village Ngadirojo subdistrict  
 Nogosari village Ngadirojo subdistrict  
 Tanjung Lor village Ngadirojo subdistrict  
 Wonosidi village Tulakan subdistrict  
 Ngumbul village Tulakan subdistrict

d. To make it clearer, detailed and understandable, it can be elaborated through the table of the properness of new subdistrict formation in Pacitan subdistrict below;

No	Requirement	Criteria	Explanation
1.	Basis requirement	Not eligible	Article 4 about government regulation number 17 of 2018 about the subdistrict

2.	Technical require-ment	Eligible	Article 5 about government regulation number 17 of 2018 about the subdistrict
3.	Administrative re-quirement	Not eligible	Article 6 about government regulation number 17 of 2018 about the subdistrict

**SUGGESTION**

- a. In the implementation of new subdistrict formation in Pacitan subdistrict, it needs to observe the government regulation number 17 of 2018 about the subdistrict and the law number 23 of 2014 about regional government.
- b. In forming a new subdistrict, regional government should conduct working evaluation of subdistrict and district before conducting the further policy.
- c. Based on the condition of regional finance, the policy must not sacrifice the public service and social welfare. The addition of new subdistrict must be appropriate with the availability of general facility and adequate social facility.

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## The Effectiveness of *Unit Layanan Pengadaan* as Assessor of E-Procurement in Central Java

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### ABSTRACT

E-procurement is part of the application of e-government for the procurement of goods and services. These innovations include activities which are intended to achieve a minimum standard of quality in local government procurement systems. This activity is a manifestation of the government's seriousness in reforming the procurement process with the principles of fairness, accountability, transparency, competition, efficiency and effectiveness as well as transparency, in an effort to improve better service to the public, to empower local entrepreneurs to be more competitive broadly, and to increase the efficiency of resource development. LPSE (Lembaga Pengadaan Secara Elektronik) is a national institution that decentralized E-Procurement into several provinces with the purpose of managing sustainable procurement. LPSE work especially in government good and services. This is to achieve easiness in planning and or maintaining the procurement process. To achieve good quality public and e-procurement, the Indonesian government created the *Unit Layanan Pengadaan* (ULP), an institution which would focus on the implementation of procurement duty or daily operations of procurement. This institution work in region. The stability of work of ULP, effectiveness and efficiency are crucial in the accountability of provider qualification. The efficiency of time management and budget management are crucial as an assessor. In other hand, the dividing of job also needs to be detected as the assessor. The handover management with another institution would be implemented by the assessor as well.

**KEYWORDS:** Effectiveness, *Unit Layanan Pengadaan* E-Procurement

### INTRODUCTION

Based on Presidential Decree No. 80 of 2003 on Guidelines for Procurement of Government Goods and Services as amended by Presidential Decree No. 61 2004, it is allowed for government agencies to conduct procurement electronically online by the name of *E-Procurement*. E-procurement is part of the application of e-government for the procurement of goods and services. These innovations include activities which are intended to achieve a minimum standard of quality in local government procurement systems.

E-procurement is part of the application of e-government for the procurement of goods and services. These innovations include activities which are intended to achieve a minimum standard of quality in local government procurement systems. This activity is a manifestation of the government's seriousness in reforming the procurement process with the principles of fairness, accountability, transparency, competition, efficiency and effectiveness as well as transparency, in an effort to improve better service to the public, to empower local entrepreneurs to be more competitive broadly, and to increase the efficiency of resource development.

LPSE (Lembaga Pengadaan Secara Elektronik) is a national institution that decentralized E-Procurement into several provinces with the purpose of managing sustainable



procurement. LPSE work especially in government good and services. This is to achieve easiness in planning and or maintaining the procurement process. The supply chain institution also works for the strategic sourcing that become the upstream of procurement in government good and services. Meanwhile, the operational procurement becomes the downstream.

To achieve good quality public and e-procurement, the Indonesian government created the *Unit Layanan Pengadaan* (ULP), an institution which would focus on the implementation of procurement duty or daily operations of procurement. This institution works in region. The stability of work of ULP, effectiveness and efficiency are crucial in the accountability of provider qualification. The efficiency of time management and budget management are crucial as an assessor. In other hand, the dividing of job also needs to be detected as the assessor. The handover management with another institution would be implemented by the assessor as well.

### RESEARCH QUESTION

1. How effective is *Unit Layanan Pengadaan* in the assessment of E-Procurement in Central Java?
2. What is the factor that influenced *Unit Layanan Pengadaan* in auction winner determination?

### RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses qualitative research methods to collect data and information. Qualitative research aims to describe and interpret the data to achieve the final result. The locale of the study is Central Java, focusing on the case of Assessing System and Process ruled by the *Unit Layanan Pengadaan* (ULP) and *Layanan Pengadaan Secara Elektronik* (LPSE). Both of this institution is located in Semarang City, Central Java Province.

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Telgen, Harland and Knight (2010) provided findings of an international research study on public procurement involving senior government practitioners and leading management academics. In this study, there have been differences in the degree of alignment of public procurement strategy and government policy present, with some territories exhibiting close alignment and proactive use of public procurement as a lever of reform. Udoyono (2012) stated that the result in the brief discussion of several questions about E-Procurement availability was to create the accountability in procurement. Nurmandi (2015) confirmed conventional variables that actually affect the efficiency and effectiveness of E-Procurement. His research tries to answer why some variables have no effect on the dependent variable. Throughout the test, the impact of all independent variables on efficiency and effectiveness of E-Procurement were not statistically significant at any of the local governments.

### E-Procurement

According to Davila, et al. (2003) in (Harjito, 2015) E-Procurement technologies are defined as technologies that are designed to facilitate the existence of goods (public goods) by organizations commercial or government via the Internet. Internet technology including e-procurement software, B2B (business to business) auction, B2B market ex-

changes, and purchasing focused on the automation workflow, consolidation and spending power of the organization and identify opportunities via the Internet.

According to Nurmandi (2013), Indonesia has implemented E-Procurement since 2008. This E-Procurement was implemented to minimize the possibility of corruption budget on the provision of goods and services in the government and create the effective and efficient in procurement implementation. Nurmandi said that the following are the several factors that can affect E-Procurement: Leadership, Human resources, Planning and management, Policy and regulations, Infrastructures and standardization. And Private integration systems of e-government procurement on the efficiency and the effectiveness of E-Procurement.

### **Effectiveness**

Effectiveness is a relation between output and goals in order to measure how far the output stages and the procedure policy (organization) have achieved goals. Theoretically, no one universal agreement states the exact definition of effectiveness. However, effectiveness could generally mean that a policy has made an impact by using the method in activity implementation (achieve the optimal result). The effectiveness in simple way is focused on the result or achievements. Those three analyses will become one vision of responsible managerial that will affect the effectiveness of the three actors. The efficiency of resources will identify the capability of the input.

Work will be implemented successfully when the quality and quantity of work has the same quality and quantity result or output. The plan of output is usually created on the first month or January. Meanwhile, the punctual time and target also is also used as a measurement of effectiveness in the work, job and function for every employee. When those four tools are done by the employee, effectiveness is assured. In this research the researcher will be focused on two measurements; *price and time*.

### **ULP as Assessor**

Based on Chief's Regulation of ULP (PERKA ULP) No. 5, Y.2012, the job and function of ULP included the creation of electronic auction. LPSE as the electronic institution will help ULP through updating E-Procurement.

## **CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION**

### **Effectiveness**

Effectiveness is the way to achieve the goals by vision and mission. Effectiveness can also be called as the tools to measure the attainment of goals by comparing the goals and the achievement of the policy. Effectiveness is the relationship between output and the attainment of the objective. ULP will be effective when all the officers are doing their job and function punctually as written in regulations.

### **E-Procurement**

E-Procurement is the procurement process based on technology/internet/ electronic in order to improve the efficiency in monitoring, assessing and evaluating. Auditing is also conducted to facilitate government in the provision of goods and services faster and more efficient. E-procurement also hoped to decrease the availability of corrupt in

procure.

### **ULP as Assessor**

The stability of work, effectiveness and efficiency are crucial in the accountability of provider qualification. The efficiency of time management and budget management are crucial as an assessor. In other hand, the dividing of job also needs to be detected as the assessor. The handover management with another institution would be implemented by the assessor as well.

### **Operational Definition**

The following are the operational definition of terms as used in this study:

1. *Effectiveness*. There are several indicators of effectiveness; however, the author focused on two indicators as *price* and *time*. Price refers to minimizing the price credit. Time, on the other hands, refers to the attainment of a shorter time in bidding of procurement. Time is a great indicator of responsiveness in E-Procurement.
2. *ULP as Assessor*. ULP is an authorized administrator of E-Procurement websites (LPSE) to achieve work stability and is tasked to monitor and control the Provider Qualification and Provider Electability in the auction. It cooperates with LPSE in planning and selecting the good qualification and electability of each provider before auction are implemented.
3. *Responsibility* and *responsiveness* are the main characteristic of an assessor. Responsiveness here means that ULP should responsive in auction issues, most especially when auctions are pending. ULP should use the authority in managing the situation to alleviate the situation.

### **Types and Data Sources**

1. Primary data. Direct observation and in-depth interview are utilized by the researcher to obtain data through asking the management system of procurement and E-Procurement in Central Java, the qualification of provider, number of providers every year, a detailed data of provider auction in 2015, and the evaluation process of E-Procurement.
2. Secondary Data. The secondary data are obtained from PERKA ULP, Keputusan Gubernur Jawa Tengah about procurement and the contract of ULP and the providers.

### **Technique of Data Collection**

1. Observation. This research observes the situation of significant objects such as: work habits, the provider electability in joining the competition, amount of auction each year, and the brief effectiveness of ULP in assessing process.
2. Documentation. The researcher will take documentation from the database of the provider such as SOP and regulations. In addition, data were also obtained from the complete data of auction from the Self Consultation Services.

## Data Classification

In this research, researcher will use primary data and secondary data to come up with an analysis. Primary data is taken through in-depth interviews and secondary data are collected through various sources such as books, records, journals, articles, documents, official government websites etc.

## ANALYSIS AND DATA INTERPRETATION

This research aims to evaluate the effectiveness of ULP as an assessor in E-Procurement in the Central Java Province. In this chapter, the researcher will discuss the research results gathered from in-depth interviews with the key actors on the auction of E-Procurement in Central Java until the determination of the winner. Most specifically, this research focuses on two factors essential to the effectiveness of procurement, price and time.

### Effectiveness

Effectiveness is associated with efficiency. The effectiveness of the officer reflects the conduct of service. Below are important factors contributory to the effectiveness of the officer during transactions: The good bidding of procurement, the good structure of ULP/LPSE as the actor of procurement and standard system of E-Procurement, The cheapest price of auction, The shortest time of auction, The updated status of procurement, Good quality of work, Good quantity of work, and Targeted. These eight factors are influenced in the effectiveness of ULP as a daily actor of procurement. This research will focus on two factors of effectiveness – price and time.

#### a. Price

Price or budgeting is one of the important values in public service management because the cheapest price in the bidding is a salient point in the auction. The price introduced on the initial stage of procurement is called the “self-estimated price” or *Harga Perkiraan Sendiri*. This self-estimated price is used to measure the budget availability of the department that holds the bid or auction. The winner of procurement usually comes from the provider with the most realistic bid in price offering or price bidding wherein there is a lesser gap between the self-estimated price and price offering.

Figure 1. Example of Self-Estimated Price and Price Offering

Tahap	Mula	Selesai	History Perubahan
Pengumuman Pencabutan/Keputusan	27 Mei 2016 00:00	02 Jun 2016 11:00	1 kali Perubahan
Download Dokumen Pengadaan	27 Mei 2016 00:01	06 Jun 2016 11:00	1 kali Perubahan
Pembelian Pengisian	30 Mei 2016 11:00	30 Mei 2016 12:00	Tidak ada
Upload Dokumen Penawaran	30 Mei 2016 12:01	07 Jun 2016 10:00	Tidak ada
Pembukaan Dokumen Penawaran	07 Jun 2016 10:01	09 Jun 2016 09:00	Tidak ada
Evaluasi penawaran	09 Jun 2016 09:00	24 Jun 2016 11:00	1 kali Perubahan
Evaluasi Dokumen Kualifikasi	17 Jun 2016 09:00	27 Jun 2016 09:00	Tidak ada
Pembukaan Kualifikasi	21 Jun 2016 10:00	27 Jun 2016 10:00	Tidak ada
Upload Berita Acara Hasil Pemilihan	27 Jun 2016 09:00	28 Jun 2016 12:00	Tidak ada
Persetapan penempatan	28 Jun 2016 10:00	28 Jun 2016 11:00	Tidak ada
Pengumuman Penempatan	28 Jun 2016 11:01	28 Jun 2016 14:00	Tidak ada
Masa Tanggah Hasil Lelang	29 Jun 2016 00:00	02 Jul 2016 10:00	Tidak ada
Surat Penunjukan Pemilik Barang/Jasa	12 Juli 2016 00:00	12 Juli 2016 15:00	Tidak ada
Pembayaran Kontrol	13 Juli 2016 00:00	18 Juli 2016 15:00	Tidak ada

Sources: Lpseprovjateng.go.id, 2016

Figure 1 shows the example of self-estimated price in E-Procurement. Sometimes the price offering is higher than the price initially offered however, still close to the self-es-

timated price. Those who lay down the self-estimated price and price offering also attend the *Pagu Paket* as the main base on the bid's price.

Of course, we need the lower price or the cheaper price during bidding. The auction will work well when the price is not as high as the *pagu paket*; the implementation of the auction by the lowest price prevents the possibility of corruption (An interview with Agus Munawar Shodiq, S.H on November 25, 2016 09.00 AM).

The budget management is important since it will affect the sustainable development in local and national stages. The planning for price management must be done systematically as part of the budget management system. Price management hoped to minimize the budgeting needs in procurement for it encourages the efficiency in public procurement.

The price that should be prepared by the government is amount the same as the amount that should be prepared by the providers. *Pagupaket* that become the standard of auction also shows the ability of providers. Again, the most realistic and reliable price offering that will be declared as the winner of certain auction. The data minimization also refers to evaluation methods-based-quality. The next methods-based on quality and budget will be main focused in this subchapter. Here are several requirements that should be fulfil by both of ULP and providers in auction plan.

Simple way to evaluate the budget quality in procurements;

- a. Evaluate the administration requirements by *sistemgugur*;
- b. Assess on price offering by value system (*sistemnilai*);
- c. Assess of budget offering by passing grade;
- d. Summarize the final result by this formula (Nilai/skor penawaran teknis x bobot penawaran teknis) + (nilai/skor penawaran Biaya x Bobot Penawaran Biaya);
- e. Clarify and negotiate the best price offering, and
- f. This clarification and negotiation should be referring to the performance framework (KerangkaAcuanKerja)

These seven ways will become the simple way in evaluating the availability of price offering that helped the ULP in identifying the winner. The good quality of price offering also causing the better e-procurement implementation in the future. When the price is settled, the way of procurement will be move on the next step.

## b. Time

Time management is a way to plan the availability of implementation of the project or program. The time management is used to minimize the tendency to corrupt the funds since it will determine the beginning of the signing of the contract until the end of the procurement process. The shortest time to be offered during the bidding has the highest tendency to win.

Figure 2. The Long-term of Auction

Tahap	Mulai	Sampai	History Perubahan
Pengumuman Peralihan	27 Mei 2016 09:00	02 Juni 2016 11:00	1 kali Perubahan
Download Dokumen Pengadaan	27 Mei 2016 09:00	06 Juni 2016 11:00	1 kali Perubahan
Pembuatan Penjelasan	30 Mei 2016 11:00	30 Mei 2016 12:00	Tidak ada
Upload Dokumen Penawaran	30 Mei 2016 12:00	07 Juni 2016 10:00	Tidak ada
Pembukaan Dokumen Penawaran	07 Juni 2016 10:00	09 Juni 2016 09:00	Tidak ada
Evaluasi penawaran	08 Juni 2016 09:00	24 Juni 2016 11:00	1 kali Perubahan
Evaluasi Dokumen Kualifikasi	17 Juni 2016 09:00	27 Juni 2016 09:00	Tidak ada
Pembuatan Kualifikasi	21 Juni 2016 10:00	27 Juni 2016 10:00	Tidak ada
Upload Berita Acara Hasil Pelelangan	27 Juni 2016 09:00	28 Juni 2016 12:00	Tidak ada
Penetapan pemenang	28 Juni 2016 12:00	28 Juni 2016 13:00	Tidak ada
Pengumuman Pemenang	28 Juni 2016 13:00	28 Juni 2016 14:30	Tidak ada
Masa Sanggah Hasil Lelang	29 Juni 2016 00:00	01 Juli 2016 10:00	Tidak ada
Surat Penunjukan Penyedia Barang/Jasa	11 Juli 2016 09:00	12 Juli 2016 10:00	Tidak ada
Persandatangan Kontrak	13 Juli 2016 09:00	18 Juli 2016 10:00	Tidak ada

Figure 2 shows the examples of the implemented bid. The long-term bidding process also shows the time management. The stages of bidding were beginning from the giving out of information from the provider (i.e. post-qualification) until the determination of the project provider. Here are several stages in bidding implementation (ipseprovjateng.go.id):

1. Pre and Post-qualification of provider;
2. Downloading of the procurement document (for each provider);
3. Forum Group Discussion about the material of procurement;
4. Uploading the offering of documents;
5. The preface of the offering of documents;
6. Evaluation of offering;
7. Evaluation of qualification documents;
8. The proof of qualification;
9. Uploading the information of bidding result;
10. Enactment of the winner;
11. The information of the winner;
12. The interruption of the bidding result;
13. The letter of pointers in procurement; and (*surat penunjukan penyedia barang dan jasa*)
14. Signing of the contract.

Those fourteen stages of bidding are the general way to conclude the winner of the auction. The management of time for one bid is about nine (9) months in general. The long-term duration of the procurement process is due to the type of procurement, the location of procurement and the by the participant of bidding. The effectiveness of ULP as daily actor also can be seen from the availability of good human resources in the office. The long term of bidding is also shows the availability of providers in having the implementation of procurement.



“The other way to identify the time of procurement can be seen from the readiness of provider itself. When the provider become ready with the short time and the lowest prices. We are as the winner determination will be choose those providers to come with us (An interview with Irawan Kristianto on Friday, November 25, 2016 10.30 AM)

By this interview known that the other factors that can be determine the winner of procurement can be seen from the price and time. The monitoring of procurement implementation also should be managed by the society instead of the government. The society also has the authority to claim about some problem that caused by the building procurement. Found some of procurement in central java already mentioned clearly about the availability of procurement in certain area.

### **ULP as Assessor**

Unit Layanan Pengadaan or ULP as the actor of procurement should implement their job efficiently since its focus is on the obligation to provide quality service as the procurement officer. In this research, the researcher identifies the important indicators that affect quality of procurement of ULP in the Central Java Province.

#### **a. Updated on Website**

Since 2010, ULP served as the actor of E-Procurement in the process. The information provided by Unit Layanan Pengadaan will be collected by the LPSE, the department that focus on information concerns. The assessment of ULP as has not been mentioned in the regulation.

There is a regulation that states the importance of assessing ULP from the Governor of Central Java which can be found in Governor Regulation No. 08 in 2012 about Unit Layanan Pengadaan (ULP) or the re-exchangeable version from Law number 66 2012 which has become the derivative of Law No. 54 in 2010. (An interview with Agus Munawar Shodiq, S.H on Friday, November 25, 2016 09.00 AM)

Law No. 54/2010 is about the procurement system that has the same operational function with Law No. 70/2012. The significant change between them is only in the efficiency of direct procurement. In Law No. 54/2010 only one hundred million rupiahs has been budgeted for the procurement while Law No. 70/2012 has upgraded the budget to two hundred million rupiahs. Presidential Decree (Peraturan Presiden) Number 4/2015 provides details on the innovation of the electronic aspect of procurement, specifically e-tendering and e-purchasing. This regulation published in Jokowi's Era is hoped to bring several facilities and easiness in procurement.

As much as there is a provision of local regulation for procurement from the other aspects of government, the regulation of procurement itself should be broken down into local regulation.

Actually, we have not found any regulation about “assessing” the regulation which only mentioned about the availability of ULP and also the job description of ULP (An interview with Irawan Kristianto on Friday, November 25, 2016 10.10 AM)

Until now, the assessing values are not ruled and regulated clearly and deeply in the regulation. However, every job description quoted a few assessment values; every officer of ULP including experts should monitor the whole procurement processes starting from the annual plan. The regulation is not concerned on the technicalities of the job and

its function but is concerned on the employee's or officer's facilities such as the salary per month and some other facilities the officer will receive. The newest regulation also mentions clearly about the availability of e-catalogue that which has caused the ease in the procurement process itself.

This regulation was enacted on January 23, 2013 and has been implemented immediately even though we do not have any room to archive the procurement document. The room serves as a single Bangda. After 2 years, ULP have been provided the proper building in supporting the work and as a result, this province has become efficient compared to another surrounding provinces ex: Special Province of Yogyakarta and East Java (An interview with Agus Munawar Shodiq, S.H on Friday, November 25, 2016 09.00 AM)

The actor of this regulation is of course the people from ULP itself. The organization structure is composed of the Chief of ULP, Secretary of ULP, Information Technician team, and the sixteen-work group (kelompok kerja) coming from certain department that should have their auction through ULP. (An interview with Agus Munawar Shodiq, S.H on Friday, November 25, 2016 09.00 AM)

Every ULP officer must be informed of the regulation in detail and with utmost specificity so that every employee can fulfill their obligation as workers and are bestowed the right for the use of facilities to support their job. The problem is some of officers seem to not totally understand the general law of procurement, hence, the Governor Regulation should be expedited to the officer. In reality, the process of auction was not as easy as the officer thought based from the regulation. The process of auction itself needs several stages to be fully completed. Meanwhile, the regulation also does not focus on the external issues of procurement and e-procurement thus the partnership with LPSE wherein it will serve its purposes on documentary system, data verification, and making of the procurement application.

For us, the impact of this regulation is nil as it only facilitated us (ULP) in doing the work. The work of ULP became more specific, indeed, but it did not give better facilities or obligations for the actors of auction. (An interview with Agus Munawar Shodiq, S.H on Friday, November 25, 2016 09.00 AM)

The effect of the regulation was different between Bangda. For Bangda, it helped expedite their work but ULP considered the regulation only as a facilitative tool. Hence, the implementation of the regulation is essential to bring positive impact in program implementation.

This regulation served as the sub-law because ULP did not become the new division, instead it became the subdivision of Bangda (Biro Administrasi Pembangunan Daerah) (An interview with Agus Munawar Shodiq, S.H on Friday, November 25, 2016 09.00 AM).

In addition, a ULP officer explains on the role of the regulation:

Yes, I agree with what Mr. Agus have said before, that the Presidential Decree mentioned the details of the monev (monitoring and evaluation). That decree also became the basis for every province in Indonesia wherein ULP operates as the daily actor of Procurement. (An interview with Irawan Kristianto on Friday, November 25, 2016 10.30 AM)

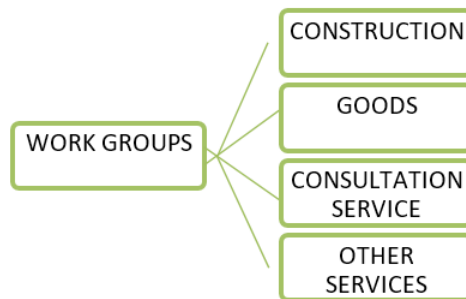
Both statements concluded that the monitoring and evaluation are mentioned in the Presidential Decree as it focuses on the innovation of procurement as shown in the availability of *E-procurement*, *E-tendering*, *E-catalogue* and *E-purchasing*. The electronic

systems will be implemented by LPSE which currently focuses on information system and is independent of the roles focused by ULP. The actual way in procurement is when the estimated price more than 200.000.000 rupiah, it should be implemented by ULP. In order to fulfill the obligation of ULP as the actor of assessment in procurement, the ULP was structured in a specific way as stated below:

The number of officers this year (2016) were 60 which is composed of the TI team: 12 people, Admin: 6 people, the Chief, the Secretary, expert team: 5 people. The members of the expert team were taken from the Bangda department which focused on the infrastructure development. The TI team were all filled by men wherein 10 people will stay at ULP and the rest would stay at Bangda. (An interview with both of IrawanKristianto and Tri Febrianto NH)

Below is a sample table about the work group structure:

Structure 1. Work Group Structure



Sources: Interview with ULP officer, 2016

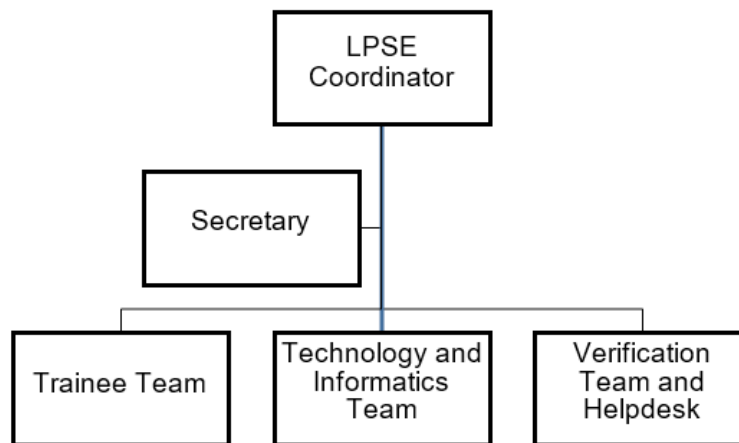
Structure 1 shows the factors affecting the evaluation of work group structures. In 2015, the work groups consisted of 6 work groups of construction work, 7 work groups of goods procurements, and 3 work groups of consultation services. From that evaluation, it is concluded that the amount of spent on goods and services led to a higher amount of personnel expenditure.

In LPSE, the structure is not as robust as ULP since LPSE is only an actor of electronic services. It's like LPSE is the supermarket, ULP is the customer, and the Providers are the goods that are sold in supermarket. The number of officers in 2015 were only 14 people that were divided into 14 sectors; the guarantor, the chief of LPSE, the secretary of LPSE, coordinator of technology, administrator of system and network, coordinator of administration and verification, secretary ship, coordinator of application services and verification, helpdesk, and trainer (An interview with Mr. AgusAminuddin on December 28, 2016 at 12:33 PM)

With the answer from Mr. Aminuddin, it is having been known that LPSE only caters to the electronic system and not on anything else outside their scope; hence serving only as the middleman of the goods from the provider to the customer who wants to buy the goods, in this case, the middleman between the project providers and ULP. The effectiveness of LPSE can be seen in the final report of auction in the year, which is helped by the efficiency in the cheapest cost of e-procurement than the traditional way of procurement.

The structure below shows the organizational structure.

## Structure 2. LPSE Organizational Structure



Sources: LPSE Website, <http://lpse.jatengprov.go.id>, 2017

Structure 2 aims to provide the process of electing and choosing officers in LPSE who would do the whole job description. The main job of LPSE is to verify the data from the provider who would join in the auction. In addition, LPSE becomes a subdivision of the Department of Transportation, Communication and Informatics that focuses on Information System to facilitate cooperation. Therefore, when it comes to the error in LPSE website, it becomes the responsibility of LPSE.

In one of the data provided in the system, the researcher spotted a discrepancy between the corrected price (*harga terkoreksi*) which is zero (0) rupiah and the estimated price (*harga perkiraan*) which is more than 100.000.000 rupiah. To clear this, below is a statement from LPSE and ULP:

Huh? Are you sure that the corrected price is only 0 rupiah? It's weird. Maybe the LPSE officer forgot to input the price in the website. Of course, it is forbidden to write only in 0 rupiah. Maybe the LPSE officer does not monitor along the auction, or maybe because the auction is cancelled (An interview with Irawan Kristianto on Friday, November 25, 2016 10.30 AM)

In the other hand, the LPSE officer who was the administrator of the website who knows about procurement auction has a different explanation about the discrepancy:

When you ask about the indication 0 rupiah for the price, for us as servers, it is normal. It is not our fault in updating the website. The price is just 0 rupiah. Example, the estimated price for certain auction is 500.000.000 rupiah in terms, and 551.000.000 in text, after several way of elimination, we found the winner of the auction (of course ULP which is decided the winner). When the corrected price does not increase or decrease and if it is the same as estimated price, the system will write down 0 rupiah. It means that the officer does not need the current price (An Interview with Mr. Agus Aminuddin on December 28, 2016 at 12:33 PM)"

The differences in answers from ULP and LPSE above reflect the current situation of the bureaucracy of Indonesia, especially in Central Java Province. The lack of communication and coordination causes a massive impact to the society. Here, it shows that the effectiveness between ULP and LPSE needs more improvement to make the website more stable. The stability of work can also be perceived as the effectiveness of work. The sta-

bility is seen from the upgraded amount of procurement, the number of officers and the final report document. Stability of work is also rated by good moral, free of self-interest or some community, and the accountability of the officer in ULP.

With the issue on the discrepancy of amounts, many of assessors from the private sectors and college students asked for the transparency in auction. The zero (0) rupiah of procurement is the amount of correction and when the auction does not have the different amount than what is estimated, it means that there is no need to correct the price in the auction. Below is a figure showing the possibility of the existence of a corrected price of 0 rupiah.

Figure 3. Example of zero (0) rupiah

The screenshot shows a web interface for an e-procurement auction. At the top, there are details about the auction: 'Nama Lelang: Pembuatan Sistem Informasi Jasa Tengah', 'Kategori: Jasa Konsultansi Perencanaan', 'Sifatnya: Kantor Pemukiman Jakarta', 'Pagu: Rp 227.000.000,00', 'MPS: Rp 227.000.000,00', 'Nama Penawang: CV. ARIFA Sufrenawa', 'Alamat: Jl. Abadi-Ahman Saleh No.26A - Senarang (Juka) - Jawa Tengah', and 'Harga Penawaran: Rp 0,00'. Below this, a table lists various bidders with their names, addresses, and bid amounts. The bidder 'CV. ARIFA Sufrenawa' is highlighted with a green checkmark and has a bid amount of 'Rp 0,00'.

No.	Nama Penawar	Alamat	Tabelas	Harga Penawaran	Harga Terendah	Penawaran
1	PT. PANGSAH Cipta Mandiri - 73.376.233.5-413.000					
2	CV. SAFIRA MEDIA UTAMA - 23.004.989.2-417.000					
3	PT. MANANINGGIA ABITA ABADI - 71.046.004.9-513.000					
4	CV. COSMET MEDIA - 02.205.473.2-940.000					
5	CV. ARIFA Sufrenawa - 03.830.668.8-503.000		✓ ✓	Rp 0,00	Rp 0,00	★
6	PT. Bina Teknologi Indonesia - 86.487.591.3-071.000					
7	PT. EZRA PRATAMA - 23.040.109.7-060.000					
8	CV. SURYA APARTAMA - 02.773.687.5-517.000					
9	PT. RINDO GEMILANG - 02.120.795.6-011.000					
10	PT. CITRAMUDA INDO CONSULTANT - 02.209.411.5-537.000					
11	CV. ARIFA OUTA SINGHTY - 03.376.319.5-517.000					
12	PT. DITINTRA CPTAMARVA - 02.002.793.2-940.000					
13	CV. ATRIAR - 72.072.488.8-903.000					
14	CV. BIRUK - 77.067.738.4-510.000					

Source: LPSEprovjateng.go.id, 2016

The example of zero (0) rupiah that shows above were focused on the implementation of daily procurement. However, the mishap of procurement also refers to the human resources management in appraisal. Before held the appraisal, the officer should be remaining the effectiveness in every side of job description. Some of officer were not really understood of law and regulation. The statements bellow become the one of answer that shows about effectiveness. Below is a statement regarding the effectiveness of ULP:

When you talk about the appraisal, we could only refer to the effectiveness of our job as seen in the availability of e-procurement. The e-procurement helps us (officers) in work. For example, when the provider has already joined for more than three auctions, then we can monitor that provider, which is really different with the past public procurement system. However, sometimes we find something disturbing in the report of auction about the application of the network due to a slow connection. We don't know anything about those kinds of network and application because that's the main job of LPSE (An interview with both Irawan Kristianto and Tri Febrianto NH)

Based on the statement, e-procurement helped in minimizing the vulnerability of corruption since there is a minimal to no case of personal interaction with the provider and the customer. In addition, previous transactions could be monitored, hence, the convenience of comparing.

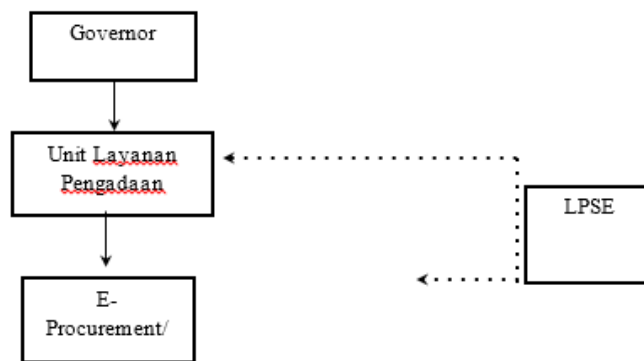
To further the assurance of transparency, LPSE will be monitored by LKPP (Lembaga Kebijakan Pengadaan Barang dan Jasa Pemerintah) or Government Procurement of



Goods and Services Agency (national level). LKPP is the higher position of public procurement department in Indonesia. To assist LKPP, the president declared to create a special team that focuses on public procurement. It should be remembered the update in website actually is not the main job of ULP, in order to assess the procurement system of Central Java Province; the ULP takes a role to monitor and control the website update. The assessment values were implemented by ULP in monitoring and controlling the auction (if the last corrected price was less than 200.000.000 rupiah).

**b. Monitoring and Controlling Provider Qualifications and Provider Electability**

Monitoring is a process to control the progress of an on-going activity, whether it runs well and corresponds to the plan periodically and systematically. Systematically, the ploy of monitoring system of ULP towards E-Procurement. E-Procurement system is shown in the figure below:



Source: Primary data (Interview with ULP)

ULP would focus on the procurement starting from the pre and post qualification while LPSE would inform the society about the auction availability. In this case, both ULP and LPSE have the right and obligation to monitor and control the e-procurement implementation.

The provider qualification in the auction should be mentioned clearly in the registration form provided in the LPSE website as the procurement actors also needs to get special treatment and facilities in order to create a good procurement process. To attain a better understanding of the qualifications, the chief of infrastructure said:

Some of works cannot work effectively because of the lack of infrastructure. Every work group does not have their private room, the room is used for two work groups, ULP does not have any archived room for saving their documents, and also the rule from LKPP has not mentioned about salary, the higher stage of promotion and also special salary. All those three were managed by Regional Personnel Agency (Badan Kepegawaian Daerah) (An interview with both Irawan Kristianto and Tri Febrianto NH)

Based on the interview above, the challenge of ULP in delivering effectively is its lack of infrastructure. An efficient infrastructure inspires effective conduct of affairs for it would provide the space for proper documentation of auctions. The complete database is only found from LPSE and it only accounts for the 2015 auction. The other auction that does not mentioned in the monitoring website of LPSE.

Provider qualification is one of the most important requirements for joining the auction. For example, when the provider is from the garment sector, it should join an auc-



tion related to garment. Fashion is one example that can be used in procurement because of the availability of daily formal attire for civil servant. In reality, the provider that joins the auction will be a winner for more than one time. The other example also from the food-related factory should be joining the procurement that related to the food.

Oh, it is ok, and it does not matter if the provider wins more than twice a year since it already shows the capability of provider. Meanwhile, the maximum number for becoming a winner is 6 times. It means that the maximum chance for provider to win the auction is only 6 times in a year (An interview with Agus Munawar Shodiq, S.H on Friday, November 25, 2016 09.00 AM)

The provider qualification also shows the time accuracy in submitting the final report. Even though some auctions are ruled by ULP, the final report is also made and created by the several departments that need the auction. The formal way to identify the winner is by 2 factors: internal factor and external factor. The *internal factor* decides the winner by the following qualifications:

1. Success on administration requirement and technical requirement;
2. The competitive price is commended; and
3. Meeting and discussing about the material and requirements of auction;

The administration requirement should consist of the newest documents like NPWP, corporate certificate, the license of the corporate to join the auction, and the list of expert staff. The completion of these requirements is needed so that once it is entered into the LPSE system, the provider does not need to fill the registration form anymore, hence, being more efficient.

The *external factor* finds the winner by seeing the provider capability from the previous auctions. Those external factors are decided by the Commitment Maker Officer (Pejabat Pembuat Komitmen/PPK) who focuses on the funding and commitment of the provider that will join the auction. Sometimes, the external factors relate to the interest of the officer and below is a clarification:

PPK does not become a part of ULP structure. It's another structure that is taken from ombudsman or another apparatus. And I'm sure that central java province does not ensure the self interest in deciding the winner (An interview with Agus Munawar Shodiq, S.H on Friday, November 25, 2016 09.00 AM)

The technical requirement is needed to monitor the capability of the provider to respond on technical issues. In addition, the prices set should be competitive and realistic. To ensure the provider's capability, a meeting is vital. After this, evaluations would be made which are aimed at giving guides for implementation in the future, to help the governor in the procurement process and to clarify the budget. The budget evaluation will be implement after finished the procurement.

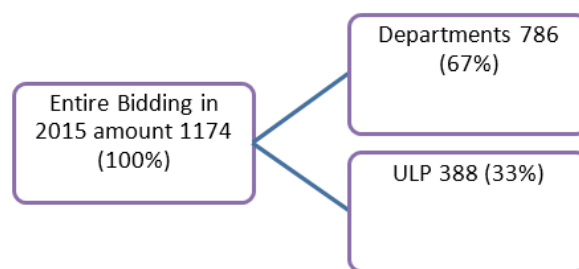
Honestly, we do need more spaces to keep the archives of procurement. Even though the procurement implemented by ULP is not as much as the total amount of procurement in Central Java, around 1100 auctions in 2015 were reported by LPSE and that's going to take a huge amount of space (An interview with both Irawan Kristianto and Tri Febrianto NH).

The stability of work that causes the effectiveness and efficiency of the work can be

seen from the infrastructure that the officers get. The good and clean infrastructure can be concluded as a good facilitation. When the facilitation is fully accomplished, the work of job description will be better and positively. The other way to show the effectiveness of ULP officer is by having final report that mentions the entire auction in a year. The report in each institution can be different. The report of ULP was attached in the attachment.

The report of auction listed by LPSE was the total amount of auctions in a year. However, ULP only reports the availability of procurement that is implemented by ULP itself. The auction that is implemented by ULP in 2015 is 33% of the total auctions, 388 auctions held by ULP. The other of 67% was implemented back by the certain department. The department that has a lot of auction in 2015 is Dinas Bina Marga that rules the street maintenance.

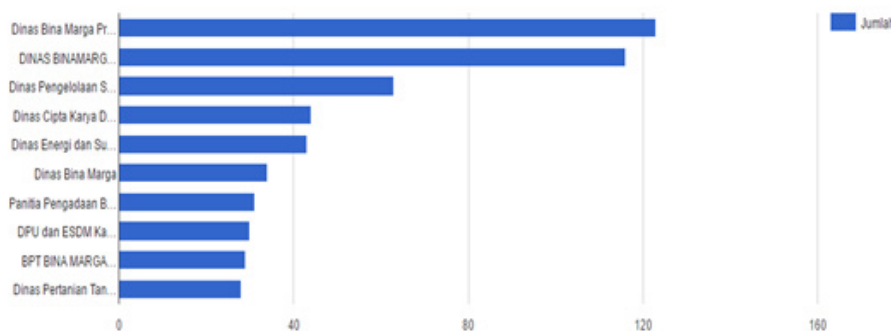
Figure 4. Figure of Procurement in 2015



Sources: Interview with ULP officer, 2016

Figure 4 shows there were 1174 packages auctioned in 2015. The 67% of the auction went back to its originating department. Most of the successful winners of the auction were on the procurement of construction, goods, and consultation services. In addition, the success of the auction is also affected by the capability of provider which can be traced from its previous records. The unsuccessful data of auction were not been found in the website that monitor the whole procurement implementation in Central Java.

Figure 5. Top Ten list of Procurement from Departments



Sources: LPSEprovjateng.go.id, 2016

Figure 5 shows that the last in rank is Department of Agriculture with less than 40 auctions in 2015. This list shows that the maintenance of public space is needed in Central Java. Dinas Bina Marga focused on the public space maintenances such as local street (jalanlokal), Regional street (jalan antar kabupaten), and bridge. Governor Regulation of Central Java 72/2008 stated that Dinas Bina Marga took a large part in the construction

procurement, as noticed in every report.

The other way to say the conclusion from the winner determination of ULP officer, can be seen from the internal and external factors. Those two factors were having different focused. Internal factors can be seen from the current regulation, budget, facilities, and value. In other side, the external factor can be referring to Melua of procurement, social and politics factor.

**Internal Factors** that focused on the regulation already mentioned in the PERKA ULP as guidelines. For budget will be referring to the local budget that can be increasing every year. The facilities that got by the officer also should be fulfil the work stability. Example of the facilities already mentioned above. In case of **External Factors**, the value can be seen and clarify by the availability of value of good governance. The good governance can be inspiring a lot of government project. The social factors also seen from the chance of the collusion between officer and providers. The last is politics, this factor became the most difficult factor to avoid. Some of officer that already joined the political party will be joining into the circle of political interest.

### **Responsible and Responsive Conduct of Affairs**

In achieving a good quality standard of services, the government of central java concerns on creating the good governance values in daily services. The good governance values mentioned here are; responsible and responsive. Both of responsible and responsive will never be apart in the value. And the researcher is going to mention and analyses about the responsibility and responsiveness of ULP in procurement. The responsibility is used to clarify the good quality control of standard in auction. Meanwhile, the several of primary responsibilities, should be founded in every services.

Good governance requires a responsible and responsive conduct of affairs. The responsibility is used to clarify the good quality control of standard in auction. Here are the primary responsibilities of the procurement process (Scottish Policy Authority, 2008):

- a. Acting as the interface between the contracting organization and the external marketplace on commercial matters;
- b. Determining requirements and establishing specifications in collaboration with end users;
- c. Challenging the organization's/end-user's requirements critically for the need and cost effectiveness, taking account of whole life costs and cooperating social responsibility/sustainability issues;
- d. Conducting market engagement and research;
- e. Managing supplier relationships, including responding to suppliers' inquiries and complaints;
- f. Managing commercial relationships;
- g. Managing procurement competitions;
- h. Managing the award of contracts;

- i. Contracting management;
- j. Establishing a comprehensive contract register; and
- k. Establishing arrangements related to authority to procure.

Other examples of the responsibilities of the procurement officer is to focus on *health and safety, fair business practice, environmental protection, human rights, and local community development*.

Figure 6. Procurement Responsibility



Source: <http://www.tatasteeleurope.com>, 2011

Figure 6 shows a cycle of important values in procurement responsibility. Furthermore, below are the important values explained in detail (Tata Steel, 2011):

1. Health & Safety – expect the suppliers to adopt management practices in respect of Health & Safety which provide a high level of safeguarding for their workers.
2. Fair Business Practices – the Tata Code of Conduct outlines the ethical standards and fair business practices by which Tata Steel conducts business and we expect our suppliers to adopt similar principles.
3. Environmental Protection – expect the suppliers to maintain effective policies, processes and procedures to manage their environmental impact.
4. Human Rights – expect the suppliers to develop and implement policies and procedures to ensure all human rights in their business and to encourage their suppliers to do likewise.
5. Local Community Development – expect the suppliers to contribute to the social, economic and institutional development of the communities in which they operate.

In case of Indonesian procurement, ULP as the procurement actor has the following responsibilities:

1. Preparing the form before uploading to LPSE website;
2. Rechecking the availability of auction;
3. Rechecking the location that will be used in auction;

4. Clarifying the health and safety of the location before auction;
5. Helping the department in order the successful of auction; and
6. Monitoring and controlling the entire auction in a year, especially the auction that implement by ULP.

An interview with ULP officers further elaborates its role as an actor:

ULP is responsible for jobs that it ought to do. However, there are several job desks that do not work properly so we take initiative of the job to help them. But again, most of us are responsible people who know to act (An interview with both of Irawan Kristianto and Tri Febrianto NH).

The interview revealed that some members of the work group came from other departments during auction, hence, the need to take over on some works that are not fully attained by the latter. The statement from ULP was argued by the LPSE officer as quoted below:

ULP is not functioning responsibly as what they are saying in reality. Some ULP officers do not join general meetings which declare the winner of the auction. However, there are still diligent and participative officers in the general meeting. For me, the values of responsibility are marked 7. Why seven? It's because the responsibility value is not implemented by all officers (An Interview with Mr. Agus Aminuddin on December 28, 2016 at 12:33 PM)

**Responsive** becomes the most important thing in public services. The public service will work effectively and efficiently when the officer has responsiveness and responsibility in work. Responsiveness also can be the factors of the bidding documents in auction. The responsiveness will be gathered by the responsibilities that are offered by the officers. Responsiveness is one of the most important values in public services since it can be a factor during bidding. The example of responsiveness in procurement is:

Of course, we are responsive, if we aren't the auction will be cancelled. Sometimes, some vendors who take a part in the auction tell us about the error in the website or the application. In case of LPSE job desk, we should not help the vendor in fixing their site. However, we helped them by contacting the admin of website or application to fix it up. It means that ULP is a responsive institution (An interview with both Irawan Kristianto and Tri Febrianto NH)

From the statement above, it could be understood that to expedite the process, one department goes out of its way to aid the other department's problem – that is being responsive to the need of the time. The figure below shows the indicators of responsiveness:

Figure 7. Responsiveness in Public Service

1. Listening to citizen-users	2. Informing citizen-users	3. Responding to public concerns
Public consultations	Educational initiatives	Changes in service provision
Customer and user surveys	Public health initiatives	Reallocation of resources
Deliberative initiatives	Availability of service information	Complaints procedures
Local needs assessments	Spend on service information	Complaint outcomes
Local partnerships	Spend on educational initiatives	Feedback initiatives
Choice initiatives	Availability of procedural information	Ongoing evaluations
Use of user-held budgets	Spend on procedural information	Impacts of service changes
Representation on committees	Transparency of procedures	Explaining why <i>no</i> change
BME engagement	Feedback on service changes	Tracking preference changes
Engaged Leadership (in interaction with the public)	Visionary leadership (from front)	Responsive Leadership (from behind and below)

Sources: *Handbook of Public Procurement, 2016*

To be more responsible and responsive, ULP officers should listen to the concerns of its customers in order to provide deliberative initiatives. They should monitor and control the implementation of the job description and should conduct awareness dissemination to the citizen-users in order to give more initiatives on education, public health, and to inform on the availability of the service. In addition, ULP needs transparency in its procedures and visionary leadership to be responsive.

The final step for effective responsiveness is for the officer to check if the initiative aligns with the public issue. First, it needs to determine if there is a change in the service provision and now has the ability to fix the procedure, the stable evaluation, and explanation about the change. When the officer comes with these three factors, the officer can be declared as responsive. The responsiveness of ULP can be seen from the answer of an LPSE officer:

Yes, they (ULP) really help in responding to the problem in LPSE. As we know, LPSE is only a system of e-procurement which has no role in the management of the auction. ULP helps the LPSE officer in fixing the issue that is related to bidding (An Interview with Mr. Agus Aminuddin on December, 28<sup>th</sup> 2016 at 12:33 pm)

Based on the interview above, it is observable that the responsiveness of ULP to the needs of LPSE has brought a positive impact on implementation. The researcher noticed that most of the workers are men, hence, the answer of ULP:

Are you curious about the officers and why they are men? It is because the work of ULP is hard. We need to dig deeply into the place or the thing that we will use for the target of e-procurement. I know that it is a gender inequality, but when the officers are women, it should be difficult for responding in a good way (An interview with both Irawan Kristianto and Tri Febrianto NH)

The statement shows that women jobs are only concerned on office works and therefore they can't work on the field for these mainly concerns on the construction of good and services. If Central Java needs to fix some roads or buildings, the ULP officer should visit the certain place before having an auction and it would be responded immediately if the officer is a man.

With price and time as the two main research variables in this research, it was found out that the implementation of E-Procurement in Central Java paved the way for



more efficient and effective procurement process. Data show that ULP and LPSE worked in cooperation for the responsible and responsive delivery of goods, therefore addressing the needs of the public.

## **IMPLICATION**

This research is analyses the result and the way of ULP and LPSE in preventing the miss operation in the job. This research ends up to find that the effectiveness of ULP is unsuccessful. This is based on the unsuccessful auction growth in 2015. The effectiveness of an officer showed the efficiency in handling auctions.

## **CONCLUSION**

The previous chapters discussed the effectiveness of ULP as an assessor of E-Procurement in Central Java. This chapter focuses on the identification of weaknesses that need to be improved in order to maximize work and effectiveness. Activities that improve effectiveness and efficiency are:

### **E-procurement in Central Java**

E-Procurement enables the provider to participate in the auction easily because of the convenience brought by only uploading the documents in the LPSE website. In addition, providers who participate in the auction can monitor the entire process of registration, the requirement of the auction and the announcement through the LPSE website. This process can decrease the vulnerability of corruption. The availability of E-Procurement also affects the stability work of procurement. The rules declared by the governor of Central Java became one of the guidelines and the base of law of ULP and LPSE officers.

LPSE office has infrastructure that is sufficient. In delivering the goods to the providers, the LPSE officers were provided with special computers in order to easily create and fill in documents. However, in 2017, the new application system caused the downgrading of applications. Regarding the system error/down, providers can notify by phone, email, website, by information from SPAMKODOK or can directly come to the LPSE office. In addition, complaints from the participants in the auction human resources in LPSE of Central Java were already addressed.

### **Effectiveness and Efficiency**

The effectiveness of ULP can be seen from the growth of unsuccessful auction in 2015. The effectiveness of an officer showed the efficiency in handling auctions. It is important that the officer does not take a long time in bidding implementation.

The efficiency of ULP also can be seen from the final report (attached) that concluded that the availability of E-Procurement is the bases of efficiency. Without E-Procurement, the process would be inefficient. Efficiency can be seen from the time spent in bidding and implementation and price in funding estimation.

### **ULP as Assessor**

The way of ULP in controlling the website management is sufficient, the ULP officer are coordinating with LPSE in uploading data in the website. The monitoring and controlling provider qualification helped ULP in the procurement process. Responsiveness to

bids is one of the important ways in catering the needs of the provider and the society. It is suggested that ULP should be responsible in managing the mishaps in the auction process to minimize errors.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the problems encountered on the previous chapters, here are some recommendations for ULP as assessor in the procurement. First, recheck the rules and regulation that managed about assessment of procurement, because the assessment values do not mention clearly in the regulation and Law. Second, facilitate the proper room for work group's office in ULP building. This room also can be used in putting the tidy archive. The proper room also affecting the good and stability of work. Third, for ULP to create the official website of ULP to inform anything about ULP (vision, mission, job desk, and current agenda), fourth, For LPSE to create the final Report of auction based on the category of procurement (Construction, Goods, Consultation Services).

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## **Empowerment of Community Education in Suburban City: Case Study of the Strategy of TAABAH in Empowering the Led- hok Timoho Community, Yogyakarta City**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This research aims to know the strategies of empowerment TAABAH founded a school Gajahwong for suburban society in the Community of Ledhok Timoho, Yogyakarta City. The method used is a qualitative method, data collection techniques in the form of interviews, observation, and documentation. The primary data sources used are interviews with management TAABAH and Gajahwong School. While secondary data obtained through the search documentation at Community Ledhok Tomoho and Gajahwong School. Data obtained processed and analyzed using the theory of the approach needs to be used in conducting empowerment through education, whether formal or non-formal Community Kindervatter, namely According to the organization, Participatory approaches, Education for justice. The results of this study showed that the use of the approach of empowerment through education, whether formal or non-formal Community Kindervatter, namely: according to the organization, Participatory approaches, Education for justice in accordance with the results of research conducted towards the empowerment strategy of TAABAH founded a Gajahwong School.

**KEYWORDS:** Education of empowerment, schools Gajahwong, Timoho Ledhok Community, suburban society

### **INTRODUCTION**

Poverty is a complex and difficult problem to find a solution. Starting from lack of government attention to the condition of the community, the difficulty of the community to find their own solutions, there is no access for them to find a way out. From unemployment; difficulties in accessing education, lack of skills owned by individuals, difficulty accessing health services and high crime rates. Poverty itself is divided into two, namely Poor Rural and Poor city. There is no significant difference between Poor Rural and city. Basically, rural communities whose education is still low and lack of skills in managing existing resources, make people from villages move to cities with the aim of getting jobs as they want. However, after they move to the city, their abilities or skills are not in accordance with the jobs in the city, giving rise to the term Poor City. That is poverty in urban areas, the class or class of the rich and the poor. For the poor, they prefer to live begging, busking, and picking up trash in order to support their basic needs with uncertain living conditions. This problem occurs in every city with conditions that are not much different, especially the City of Yogyakarta.

Related to this, it takes an institution both from government and non-governmental organizations to be able to help reduce and even alleviate poverty problems. One of the social institutions that exist in Yogyakarta and participates in empowering the education of the poor is the Tim Advokasi Arus Bawah (TAABAH) which is an institution social function that serves as a container for the aspirations of the street people. The institution is formed from a combination of various groups and street communities in Yogyakarta. AA-HABAH was established in the city of Yogyakarta on May 7, 2002 based in Ledhok Timoho, Yogyakarta. Since 2011 TAABAH focused on community social empowerment and also pioneered the birth of the Timoh Ledhok Community. The Timoho Ledhok Community was a group of poor urban communities located on the edge of Gajah Wong River behind the Ganesha Road Housing / Rural Community Development Academy (APMD). The Ledhok Timoho community lives in the administrative area of RT 50 RW 05, Muja Muju Village, Umbulharjo District, Yogyakarta City. Members of this community are urban poor people who work as scavengers, buskers, Pedi cab drivers, and construction workers and so on. TAABAH conducts social empowerment to the Timoho Ledhok Community with the aim of prospering their lives. In empowering, TAABAH provides empowerment programs that can help the community to live more properly. From all the programs carried out by TAABAH, empowerment in the education sector is in the spotlight. The main thing is that education is considered very important because it becomes the main capital for children to be able to develop. It is known that, members of the Timoho Ledhok Community are poor urban communities with low education, so empowerment is needed through education.

In addition, residents of the community of Ledhok Timoho not recognized administratively by the Government. Therefore, they are not included in the data population the village Worship Muju, so in Ledhok Timoho no Chairman of the Tenets of the Citizens (RW) and Chairman of the household (RT). According to the data of citizens Community Ledhok Timoho of the year 2015, the population of the community Ledhok Timoho amounted to 149 people. There are 92 soul or 61.74% more compared to the number of women that is the soul or 38.26% 57. On one hand, population based on education level. As for the population by level of education can be seen in the following table:

No	Level of Education	Number	Percentage (%)
1	University/DI/DII/S1/S2	2	1,34
2	Senior High School	29	19,47
3	Junior High School	27	18,12
4	Elementary School	58	38,92
5	Childhood Education (PAUD)	3	2,01
6	Yet the School	5	3,36
7	No School	1	0,68
8	Unknown	24	16,1
Number		149	100%

Source: Data Ledhok Timoho Community Citizens the year 2015

The above table shows that according to level of education, many citizens are educated Timoho Ledhok Community is low, it can be seen from the large number of Community citizens Ledhok Timoho who only completed Elementary School, with a total of 58 people, 29 finished Senior High School, over 27 Junior High School, being Childhood

Education 3 people, 5 not yet the School, and the 1 No School and school unknown 24 people. But on the other hand, the number of inhabitants according to livelihoods can be seen in the following table:

No	Type of Work	Number of People	%
1.	Scavenger	31	41,9
2.	Labor	30	40,54
3.	Troubadours	7	9,46
4.	Traders	4	5,4
5	Household Assistant	1	1,35
6.	Pedi cab	1	1,35
7.	Others	-	-
Number		74	100%

Source: Data Ledhok Timoho Community Citizens the year 2015

The above table also shows that the livelihood of the residents of the community of Ledhok Timoho is quite varied and all of which are in the informal sector. From these data it is known that the majority of the inhabitants of Ledhok Timoho worked as scavengers with a total of 31 people, followed by labor with only a difference of one person with a total of 30 people, troubadours, merchants 7 people 4 people, 1 household helpers, and pedicabs 1 person.

This study sounds interesting because there had been no previous research to map the empowerment strategies undertaken by TAABAH towards the Ledhok Timoho Community. The writer explained that there were more complex strategies of the two concepts to see the educational empowerment practices undertaken by TAABAH. This research could contribute about theoretical and empirical discussion. Where is the theoretical discussion that is by filling in the gaps in the development of theory. In a previous study conducted by Wahyuni with the title "Empowering Urban Poor Communities by TAABAH, a case study: Ledhok Timoho Community" which focused on implementation and the results of empowerment done by TAABAH in empowering the Timoho Ledhok Community in general. While empirical contributions, this research can help strengthen the empowerment strategy undertaken by TAABAH in empowering the Timoho Ledhok Community. This research is expected to be a learning effort and provide scientific contributions to the study of empowerment. Based on the background description above, the problem of this research can be formulated, namely how the education empowerment strategy through Gajahwong School conducted by TAABAH.

## THEORITICAL REVIEW

### Empowerment

According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), empowerment comes from the word "empowered" which means the ability to do something / act. Empowerment is literally a process in which there is authority and trust given to the community to determine and contribute to programs that aim to prosper their lives such as fulfilling needs through protection and improvement of their standard of living. The empowerment idea developed by Jim Ife has a central meaning for social justice and human rights. Empowerment



is central to the ideas of community work and many of them will choose to define their role in the sense of an empowerment process. In the sense that empowerment becomes a tool for influencing all walks of life that will control their lives, which in turn will also be self-sufficient.

In the case of the poor city precisely by TAABAH against the Ledhok Timoho community, Muja Muju Village, Umbulharjo District, Yogyakarta, empowerment is a highly appreciated program. Empowerment focuses on efforts to help neighbors around the settlement, by providing opportunities to participate in all activities of empowerment and mutual support. This allows individuals to live in geographical areas that make a community and which they unconsciously identify with each other (Anderson & Carter, 1990). With empowerment it can make individuals in this environment have access to resources. Iscoe (1974) identifies that a community where there are individuals who have the skills, desires and resources to engage in activities to improve the lives of people in that particular community.

As for Jim Ife stated that there are three strategies in empowering the community, namely (1) through policy and planning; (2) social and political action; (3) as well as education and awareness. Further focus on empowerment through education and awareness raising the importance of the education process that can equip the community to improve people's welfare.

### **Empowerment through Education**

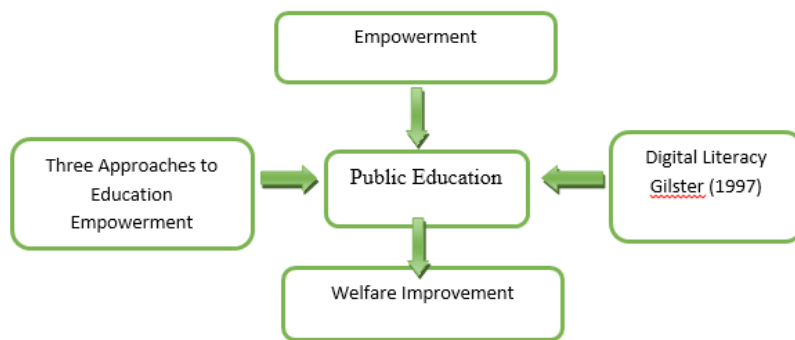
As Jim Ife has said, empowerment through education and awareness which requires expertise for a person can survive in his socioeconomic conditions. So that awareness and education are needed to provide more understanding and help people achieve changes in their living conditions. It is known that empowerment through education is a program that is considered effective, where education is the right of all citizens to get it. Quality public / public education is seen as a social right that cannot be contested and is a priority in realizing a more just and democratic society (Biesta, 2016). In practice, there is an approach that needs to be used in empowering through education, both formal and non-formal according to Kindervatter, as follows:

- a. Community Organization, need to pay attention to several aspects to make the community become active in efforts to change their social conditions, such as: the role of participants in the management; the role of counselor; and method.
- b. Participatory Approaches, the need for involvement of all members in all activities, community leaders also participated.
- c. Education of Justice, emphasis on creating a situation that allows people to grow and develop and is motivated to participate.

In empowering education, the concept of digital literacy is also known, where this idea was developed to provide an introduction to the importance of the internet revolution in the world of education (Gilster, 1997). Empowerment in aspects of life such as education is the basic right in the digital world to promote it. Formal education in which is taught the importance of digital technology and the internet (Aabo, 2005). Digital literacy allows one to get training in social media and can influence people who have the same

interests to follow (Castell, 2009). This is important where it can help those who have low education, poor, isolated (not literate and not technologically literate) so they can read and know current digital developments. There is a social media role in educational empowerment, which in order to encourage community participation can also be supported through social media so that the empowerment process can work. Basically, in empowering both in terms of education, participation becomes a key to success.

Figure 1. Mapping the Concept



**RESEARCH METHOD**

This study uses descriptive qualitative research methods, which are intended to describe and analyze a phenomenon, social activities, perceptions and thoughts of individuals and groups. Descriptive data can be in the form of written or verbal words from people and observable behavior. Data collection methods consist of two types of data sources, namely primary data and secondary data. Both data are needed for the accuracy of a number of relevant information to simplify data collected so that the research can draw conclusions from the data collected and informants who are the target are the respondents who are representative with the purpose of the study.

**RESULT AND ANALYSIS**

The Tim Advokasi Arus Bawah(TAABAH) is an institution that is formed as an aspiration for street children whose initial orientation is to advocate for and fight for the rights of street children. The origins of the first TAABAH members were the urban poor who were generally less educated and economically vulnerable who were buskers, scavengers, beggars and freelance workers who built makeshift houses on the banks of the Gajahwong river located on the boundary of the housing wall on Jalan Ganesha. The City’s Poor Community began organizing themselves by forming a community called the Timoho Ledhok Community. In other words, TAABAH is the initiator of the formation of the TimohoLedhok Community.

The school is Childhood School (PAUD) and Children School (TK) that are located in the community of Timoho, Operating Ledhok, Kecamatan Worship Muju, Yogyakarta. The school was founded by the TAABAH which is in the development of the community, assisted by Ledhok Timoho in the year 2012. This school has a clock that is operational at 08.00 BST until 11.00 pm and is carried out from Monday to Friday. Gajah has two school classes, i.e. classes of Roots and grass. Root class (PAUD) class is dominated by children aged three to four years with up to 30 children. While the Grass (TK) classes are domi-

nated by children aged five to six years with as many as 40 children. The selection of the name of this class is a representation of marginalized people. The entire School pupils this Gajahwong, not only from the originating communities of LedhokTimoho, but also come from various areas in Yogyakarta like Timoho and Sorowajan.

Empowerment through education conducted by the TAABAH in the form of tutoring to school children of Gajahwong. Teachers at the school this is a volunteer Gajahwong came from Universities in Yogyakarta, but does not cover the possibility of volunteers also come from outside the city. In addition to providing formal learning guidance in schools, the volunteers also provide guidance in non-formal learning outside school hours such as Children's Education of the Quran (TPA). In providing tutoring, school Gajah used the curriculum refers to the vision and mission of TAABAH own. It is a given that the School is the empowerment program of Gajahwong TAABAH with a focus to educational empowerment. The volunteers provide tutoring such as learn to read, write and count, don't forget interspersed with games-games that are educational. It aims to make students especially students of this school of Gajahwong for literacy against the letter.

Teaching and learning moment taking action against students and teaching Childhood School (PAUD) and Children School (TK), teachers need of a creative learning methods and innovative. The development of this learning method can be had apart from the learning process of volunteers during the lectures as well as in the environment of the Organization, but can also be obtained by a wide range of media, such as digital technology and the internet. Edukator Gajahwong Schools stated that they sometimes use a variety of learning methods from the internet, such as video games way of counting through song. This doesn't teach Edukator about the importance of the internet and how its use because children of this early age of entry, where they indeed should not be introduced with the gadget. Because of this, the volunteers provide learning that focus on more useful activities such as learning to read, play and so on should things indeed reasonable positive performed by children.

Furthermore, from the results of the research conducted, the authors found several rational reasons and the most basic of the establishment of Gajahwong School, as follows:

1. Protecting rights and improving the welfare of children in the Ledhok Timoho Community. Children in the Ledhok Timoho Community are children who work as beggars, buskers and scavengers who jump into the streets. After seeing this condition, TAABAH has an initiative to establish Gajahwong School.
2. Efforts to change the condition of the community and break the chain of poverty. Gajahwong School is considered to need more attention, where previously TAABAH has provided economic and health empowerment programs that are considered not to provide significant changes. So education is chosen and a focus for TAABAH to empower this community.
3. Increasing parental awareness regarding the importance of education for children. Family conditions that do not allow children to have time to go to school because children are employed as beggars, etc., thus making TAABAH concerned and must provide awareness to parents about the importance of education.

4. Increase the motivation of children to go to school and prevent many children who drop out of school.

The weak motivation of children to go to school is also an important matter which is the reason for TAABAH in the establishment of Gajahwong schools. This is not apart from the fact that the Ledhok Timoho community is post-street people who tend not to pay attention to education. The idea of establishing a Gajahwong school was then conveyed in various ways. The first thing to do is to raise awareness about the importance of education for the Ledhok Timoho community. In the practice of empowerment through education, there are approaches that need to be used both for formal education such as Gajahwong School and non-formal education such as landfill activities according to Kindervatter.

### Community Organization



Source: TAABAH Team Profile

The TAABAH organizational structure which has a multi-layered circle design means that all communities are equal, only different levels of coordination and instruction. The deepest layer in green is the highest forum, the people of Ledhok Timoho, TAABAH officials and TAABAH members. The yellow layers are the names of people and their titles, and the red layer is the programs of TAABAH. In educational empowerment in the Timoho Ledhok Community, the community is included to play an active role in carrying out the educational function through citizen forums and board forums. Starting from the development and management of the Gajahwong School which is managed independently by the community. In addition, TAABAH is also welcome for volunteers who are willing to provide tutoring to students.

### Participatory Approaches

The involvement of each participant in education empowerment through various efforts. In addition to building buildings and managing schools, participants were also empowered to revive Gajahwong School. As it is known that to go to school in this school is free of charge, the article in the study, Gajahwong School involves the participation of parents to turn on this school. The programs launched by TAABAH and carried out independently are among others:

a. Government Assistance

In each year, every child receives assistance from the government in the amount of Rp.1, 100,000. The number of children receiving assistance from dinsos is around 70 children. According to the regulations of the Social Affairs Office, Rp.1, 100,000 is divided into two parts, of which Rp.700, 000 is given to children, while the Rp.400,000 is used for coaching.

b. Garbage Bank

To make Gajahwong School continue to operate, TAABAH programs waste banks using the 3R method, namely reduce, reuse and recycle. This waste is used for learning media for school operational costs. This garbage is obtained from donors who can donate directly by sending or being picked up by the Gajahwong School management.

c. Goat and Chiken Farming

Because school requires a lot of money to operate, the farm becomes a promising road. The community is empowered to raise goats and chickens, where the results can be used for the needs of Gajahwong School and can meet the needs of daily living.

d. Child's Friend

Friends of the child are the wider community who want to give donations to Gajahwong School, can be in the form of cash, textbooks, or other equipment which supports children's learning. Child friends at this time are Chocolate Monggo and Special Sambal. Where chocolate can give donations every month Rp.1,100,000, and Special Sambal one month 100,000.

e. Gajahwong T-Shirt

Gajahwong School also has a T-shirt / T-shirt sales business. All T-shirt sales are used for TAABAH and Gajahwong schools. T-shirts that are sold also vary, there are small sizes that are for adult size. T-shirt prices vary, from 65,000 to 80,000. TAABAH thinks that by buying the shirt, someone has participated in supporting Gajahwong School.

f. Research Funds

TAABAH and Gajahwong schools facilitate anyone who wants to do research, research, internship or KKN there. Therefore, the Gajahwong school resource team has created a funding package system to facilitate researchers who will collaborate with the school. Here are the details:

Program	Number of People	Duration	Cost
Research Program (Undergraduate Thesis or Thesis)	1		500.000
	2-5		700.000
	6-10		900.000
Observation Program	1	1 day	50.000
		Weekly (5x Meeting)	100.000
	2-5	1 day	100.000
		Weekly (5x Meeting)	150.000
	6-10	1 day	150.000
		Weekly (5x Meeting)	250.000
Internship Program	1	1 day	6-10 orang
		Weekly (5x Meeting)	
	2-5	1 day	150.000
		Weekly (5x Meeting)	
	6-10	1 Day	250.000
		Weekly (5x Meeting)	

Source: Data of TAABAH Secretariat in 2018

### Education for Justice

This approach is considered to motivate the community to grow and develop. By establishing this Gajahwong School and supported by the Ledhok Timoho Community in the establishment and management of schools, facilitating children community children. The majority of the citizens of Ledhok Timoho are low-educated. But the awareness to send their children to a level of higher education has been formed. Youth Ledhok youth Timoho has started to educated to high school and College.

Citizens Ledhok Timoho assisted by various elements of the public such as students and other social organizations have set up various institutions of education. As for the education that is on the Ledhok Timoho is the formal education, discussion forum and



education, tutoring, Educational Place Al Quran (TPA), recitation, and the library community.

## **DISCUSSION**

Empowerment carried out by TAABAH towards the Ledhok Timoho Community is TAABAH's determination as an institution that wants to make the lives of marginalized people become more prosperous. Members of the Ledhok Timoho Community are Poor Cities who live on the banks of the Gajahwong river with access to this village can only pass by one lane motorcycle only. The location of the community which is directly adjacent to the housing wall on Jalan Ganesha is clearly the difference that is felt from the pattern of life with each other. In addition, the conditions in which community communities who are generally low-educated and vulnerable economic conditions make TAABAH moved to empower this community.

The empowerment carried out by TAABAH first was for the purpose of this Timoho Ledhok Community to be a better life. The same is said by Iscoe that empowerment of the community is an effort to respond to and improve the quality of life of the community. By empowering the community which is a community so that in its implementation it can run smoothly and produce output that can improve the condition of the empowered group. In an effort to empower, TAABAH involves members to play an active role in carrying out all activities related to this program. This is in line with what Iscoe conveyed that a community where there are individuals who have the skills, desires and resources involved in activities to improve their lives. Empowerment is basically carried out to people who are not just objects, but must be involved directly. Literally Empowerment is a process where there is authority and trust given to the community to take part in carrying out programs that aim to prosper their lives such as fulfilling needs through protection and improvement of their standard of living.

In empowering the Community Ledhok Timoho this, TAABAH do a wide variety of programs, but which became the main beam which is synchronous and deals directly with the vision and mission of the TAABAH is empowerment through education. This is due to that the poor it is society that educated low so need to get access to education. Biesta declared that public education/general quality is seen as a social right that cannot be contested and are the priorities in realizing a society that is more just and democratic. Thus, the education becomes important where educational process can also help the community improve the welfare of her life.

The construction of Gajahwong School is a tangible proof of the seriousness of TAABAH in empowering the community of the Timoho Ledhok Community. This school built in self-help is aimed at children aged three to six years. This school is open to the public, in the sense that this school is not only dedicated to children from the Ledhok Timoho Community but can also be accessed by children from outside the community. Furthermore, in the teaching and learning process, TAABAH volunteers keep abreast of digital technology to get the right method that can be given to students. Meanwhile, Gilster explained that in the empowerment of education, the concept of digital literacy is also known, where this idea was developed to provide an introduction to the importance of the internet revolution in education. Methods that are usually offered through the internet are unique and creative methods. Demands that Gajahwong School volunteers / educators creating a method that can inspire children's learning require educators to be actively seeking out

renewable methods.

The use of digital technology is not only to find a variety of learning methods, but educators also provide learning to TAABAH members to be able to use digital technology such as social media. Basically social media encourages the advancement of understanding of new forms of communication used online to respond to various kinds of questions, actions and responses. GRACE uses social media as a tool to disseminate information regarding the existence of Gajahwong School. Utilization of digital technology is important because it can help community members become technology literate so that they can keep up with current developments. The role of social media in empowering education, in addition to inviting community participation can also make the empowerment process run easier.

This school was founded on the basis of efforts to raise awareness of the importance of education for all levels of society. As stated by Jim Ife, where in empowering the community there is an empowerment strategy, one of which is a focus on education and awareness. The third strategy presented by Jim Ife is what done by TAABAH. In the practice of empowerment through education, TAABAH also uses three approaches in formal and non-formal education according to Kindervatter's view.

### 1. Community Organization

TAABAH pays attention to the aspects of participation in the running of Gajahwong School. Starting from the construction of schools, school management and volunteers who teach in schools. In addition, the learning method has been prepared carefully by the teachers in the school.

### 2. Participatory Approaches

TAABAH strives for various activities so that community members can be directly involved in the empowerment process. Participation is visible from every activity, where these activities are useful to help the school run and ultimately make the community economy even better.

### 3. Education for justice

In creating a situation that allows people to be motivated to participate, TAABAH established the Gajahwong School as one of the solutions. From here the community is motivated to participate in empowerment even in each program.

The establishment of Gajahwong School is not only to facilitate community children to gain education at an early age. However, the establishment of this school also intends to empower every member of the community. Where is the participatory approach to the results of the research, it is known that there are various kinds of programs made by TAABAH for the running of the school. These programs are in reality not only to finance school operations, but have other goals to prosper the lives of community members. Programs such as waste banks and goat farms, which were originally only for school operations. But by seeing community participation that was so good that the results were expected to help their daily lives. The breeding of goats which were initially only a few, now over time experienced a significant change, so that the results can be used by community members to fulfill their daily lives. From here it can be seen that, with the empowerment of education

also encourages empowerment in other forms. Each of these empowerments becomes bound, where the realization goes hand in hand.

By looking at what has been done by TAABAH in empowering the Timoho Ledhok Community through education empowerment, it can be seen that there has been a significant change in the lifestyle of the community. The children of this community who had taken to the streets in search of fortune, after the empowerment of education in this community made these children have more useful activities, namely going to school. Education was felt to change the mindset and character of the community so that they could break the chain of poverty and build empowered community education is the main capital for children to develop. Children who used to be street children, are now more independent and have knowledge that is not inferior to other children out there.

In addition, changes not only occur in children who attend school at Gajahwong School, but adults with this educational empowerment also get other benefits. With various programs to support school operations, adults are also empowered so that they can improve their welfare. Seeing the effect of educational empowerment practices at Gajahwong School, TAABAH has high hopes to be able to establish an Elementary School that is accessible for children in the Timoho Ledhok Community as well as by the wider community.

Basically in empowering both in terms of education, participation becomes a key to success, which provides encouragement and motivation for the community to be empowered. Community participation broadly provides encouragement and motivation to make the community empowered and can improve shared prosperity. Empowerment itself is a process towards maturity of development, seen from real action. Empowerment cannot be done if the community wants to be empowered as an object only, the community must be involved directly. In addition to the aim of improving the welfare of the empowered community, an empowerment project is also carried out to make the community integrated.

## **CONCLUSION**

TAABAH is a social institution that aims to empower the poor communities and communities of the city. TAABAH is in Ledhok Timoho, Muja Muju Village, Umbulharjo Sub district, Yogyakarta. TAABAH as a social institution has programs that aim to overcome the problems faced by the Poor City. There are various ways to achieve the goals, one of which is building the Gajahwong School. In detail there are several rational reasons for the establishment of Gajahwong School, namely, first, TAABAH's efforts to protect children's rights and improve the welfare of the children of Ledhok Timoho. Both, efforts to change community conditions and break the poverty chain. Third, increase parental awareness in terms of children's education. Fourth, increasing the motivation of children to go to school and prevent the number of children who drop out of school.

In addition, in the practice of empowerment through education, there are approaches used both for formal education such as Gajahwong School and non-formal education in accordance with TPA activities according to Kindervatter, namely: First Community organization, Second Participatory approaches, as well as community or community participation with the proclaimed program by TAABAH and carried out independently, among others: waste banks, goat farms, child friends, government assistance, and research funds;

and Third Education for justice.

In empowering the Timoho Ledhok Community, the TAABAH strategy provides significant changes to economic conditions and community lifestyles. Community children have more useful activities than having to go into the streets, which is busy in school. It is known that the importance of education is the main capital for children can develop. In addition, adults also receive other benefits with the empowerment of this education. With various programs to support school operations, adults are also empowered so as to improve their welfare.

There are a number of things that TAABAH still needs to pay attention to in its educational empowerment strategy for the Ledhok Timoho community, especially in education empowerment, including the following:

- 1) TAABAH needs to carry out cadre for members of the Timoho Ledhok Community and members who are members of the TAABAH network in Yogyakarta to continue the struggle relay. This is because fewer members of TAABAH and old members have not been too excited as before, so there needs to be management reform so that fighting spirit does not stop.
- 2) Increasing the professionalism of educators and volunteers.
- 3) Promoting the Gajahwong School as a quality school to the wider community that implements an education system that is different from other schools so that it can become a reference, reference and role model for other schools.

Encourage and further raise awareness about the importance of education for the urban poor, especially the residents of the Timoho Ledhok community so that their children's education will not stop until basic education. The government should also have a large share in the sustainability of the Gajahwong School. The involvement of the government, both from the Education Office and the Social Service, is very necessary, especially in the matter of costs, because so far the Gajahwong School has not been able to be independent, it still needs donations from various parties to run school operations.

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**Chapter III:**  
**Public Policy, Governance Administration, and**  
**Justice**

## **The Application of the Principles of Good Governance at the Hospital UNS Surakarta**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The concept of good governance is urgency in an attempt to realize the hospital governance that is effective, efficient, and independent in an effort to do the acceleration of development; one of that is in the field of health relating to the target Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 2015. Hospital UNS Surakarta in efforts to implement the principles of good governance was confronted by a number of problems, such as not yet optimal performance, lack of transparency and accountability, a convoluted bureaucracy, low participation the public and private sectors as well as there is still a gap of the three pillars of governance. Therefore, the focus of the research is on the application of the principles of good governance in hospitals UNS Surakarta. The goal is to find out the application of the principles of good governance in hospitals UNS Surakarta. The methods used in this study i.e., qualitative descriptive were analyzed using the theory of dimensions of good governance according to Kaufman Kraay, and Mastruzzi. The results showed that it has not been optimal implementation of the principles of good governance in Surakarta UNS Hospitals because four of the six dimensions of good governance based on Kaufman, Kraay and Mastruzzi have not been implemented to its full potential, including Voice and Accountability, Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, and Control of Corruption. The advice of the researchers so that the application of the principles of good governance in Surakarta UNS Hospitals more optimal is to maximize the role of each of these pillars of governance and all stakeholders by increasing cooperation and commitment to matter of the importance of the improvement of health services.

**KEYWORDS:** Transparency, accountability, responsibility, independence, fairness

### **BACKGROUND**

Good corporate governance is a system, where the operating are human, as for the success of its implementation is heavily dependent on the integrity and commitment. Good corporate governance is a universal principle, so it can be found on the culture of culture anywhere. The thing that distinguishes the practice of Good Corporate Governance in a country is Good Corporate Governance as a system because it must always comply with the legal system, the State and the development progress, as well as the culture of the nation itself (Wibowo, 2010). Some studies about the application of good corporate governance in Indonesia gave indications that indeed are needed encouragement law to realize the change of culture towards the better. However, of course, this is not the only

answer to all questions.

A comprehensive approach covering the application of the regulation, a consistent implementation, included in the sanctions are indispensable to create a deterrent effect which is also supported with a fair performance appraisal system; in the long run, it can be behaviour change (Wibowo, 2010). Daniri (2008) as cited in Wibowo (2010) said that in order to build an ethical culture and its good governance, the role of the leader is indispensable in order to be a role model and build integrity. With respecting to the importance of the implementation of GCG, the Government is also aware of the necessity of application of making good governance in the public sector given the implementation of GCG by the corporate world which is not possible without such as can be realized good public governance and participation the community.

The creation of Good Corporate Governance (GCG) in the organization is one of the elaboration of the implementation of the Organization's risk management mechanisms through the system designed in order to identify and analyze the risks that may the case, which arose due to factors both external and internal factors potentially impeding (Budiarti, 2010).

General guidelines for good corporate governance from KNKG (2006) require companies whose shares have been listed on the stock exchange, State enterprises, companies, regional companies that gather and manage the funds of the community, and companies whose products or services used by the wider community, as well as companies having an impact on environmental sustainability.

According to KNKG (2006), Good Corporate Governance (GCG) is necessary to encourage the creation of an efficient market, transparent and consistent with the legislation. Therefore, the implementation of GCG Principles needs to be supported by three interrelated pillars, namely the State and its apparatus as a regulator, the corporate world as market participants, and the public as users of the products and services of the corporate world. Meanwhile, each company also must ensure that the principle of good corporate governance applied to every aspect of business and across all ranks of the company. The principle of good corporate governance, namely transparency, accountability, corporate responsibility, independence and fairness, and equality needed to achieve business continuity (sustainability) and the company with attention to stakeholders (stakeholders).

UNS teaching hospital is one of the 17 teaching hospitals in Central Java which was recently inaugurated on August 10<sup>th</sup>, 2016. UNS hospital has officially operational and getting permission that is specified as a Type C General Hospital, based on the decision letter of the head of the Department of health of the Sukoharjo Regency Number 445/8426/VI/2016 June 28<sup>th</sup>, 2016. Thus, the UNS has had a strong legal basis to be health care providers in the field of hospital. As a teaching hospital giving the modern infrastructure and facilities and complete, in one of the mission mentioned that the hospital will organize the governance of hospital-based good hospital governance to achieve the reputation Excel nationally and internationally. The governance of the hospital is good (good governance) which is the application of management functions hospital based on the principles of transparency, accountability, independence, corporate responsibility, equality, and fairness. As the educational advantages that RS can be obtained namely hospitals can do the 3 pillars in the form of service, education, and research.

Applying the principles of good governance in practice is not easy let alone in im-

proving employee performance RS UNS Surakarta. There are many constraints facing both from internal and external that it does hamper its implementation. Internal and external barriers is indeed a reasonable case occurs and is a challenge for RS UNS Surakarta to continue to make improvements in the application of the principles of good governance to further improve the performance of the RS UNS Surakarta.

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The formulation of the research problem is how the implementation of the principles of Good Corporate Governance on Hospital UNS Surakarta. The purpose of this research is to analyze the implementation of GCG principles in Hospital UNS Surakarta.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This study uses descriptive qualitative methods. The researchers use qualitative methods of descriptive research with qualitative approach, since it emphasizes its analysis on the process of inductive and deductive false assertion as well as on an analysis of the dynamics of the relationship between other phenomena observed using the logic of science.

The subject of the research was the primary source of research data, i.e., data regarding variable-variables examined (Azwar, 2013, p. 35). The subject was basically that was subject to the conclusion of the results of the research. In this study, the subject of the research was a hospital UNS Surakarta.

The primary data sources in this study was the result of the interview. The researchers use the the interviews in order to obtain information from a wide range of interviewees regarding the implementation of GCG in the hospital. The secondary data sources in this study were organizational structure, job description, as well as other information required through the company.

The resource assignment techniques the researchers using nonprobability sampling is a technique. Nonprobability sampling as sampling technique used by the researchers is a kind of purposive sampling. Purposive addition is the technique of determination of samples with specific considerations (Sugiyono, 2015, p. 300). The researchers used these techniques with the goal of keeping the selected informer really fit and appropriate to the needs of the research. In the completion of this study, the researchers first selected the informer as a resource person in the giving of the information needed. The informants were selected, namely:

1. The medical services section Officer Hospital UNS Surakarta
2. An employee of the hospital pharmacy section of UNS Surakarta
3. the officers of the administrative service of the hospital part of the UNS Surakarta
4. Patients using medical services in hospitals UNS Surakarta, with the technique of determination of the informant is done with simple random techniques aside (found at the time of research or data retrieval).

In this study, the method of collecting the data spoken is a semi structured interview. This type of interview is already included in the in-depth interview, which is in its implementation more free when compared to the structured interview. The purpose of this type of interview is to find problems in a more open, where the parties were invited

to an interview requested opinions, and his ideas (Sugiyono, 2015, p. 320).

In this study, it used the three stages in analyzing data, namely data reduction, the presentation of data, and the summary. The reduction of data means to encapsulate, choosing things, focus on the things that are important, look for themes and pattern. Thus, the data that has been reduced would give a clearer picture, and makes the researchers easy to conduct data collection and then look it up when needed (Sugiyono, 2015, p. 337). The presentation of data can be done in the form of a short blurb, chart, and relations between categories, flowchart and the like. Most often used to present the data in a research of the qualitative nature of the text is by the narrative. By presenting the data, it makes it easier to understand what is happening, the next work plan based on what has been understood (Sugiyono, 2015, p. 337-345). The conclusion of the research is qualitative findings that were new which previously have never existed. The findings can be either a description or picture of an object that was previously still dimly lit or dark, so after researching, it became clear; it can be either interactive or causal relationships, hypotheses or theories (Sugiyono, 2015, p. 337-345).

Testing the validity of data in qualitative research can be done by using the triangulation method of the engineering test data used in this research is a triangulation of sources. According to (Sugiyono, 2015, p. 373), triangulation is a technique which source was used to test the credibility of data by way of examining data obtained through several sources. Data that has been analyzed was described and categorized to produce a conclusion which subsequently requested an agreement or doing member checkin with three sources of such data.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

In its application to implement GCG in an enterprise is needed so that the principles of GCG can be done well. According to the (National Committee for Policy Governance) KNKG (Zarkasyi, 2008), the principles of GCG are:

### **Transparency**

It is to maintain objectivity in running the business, companies which must provide information that is important and relevant to the the way that it is accessible and easily understood by stakeholders. Companies should take the initiative to disclose not only the problem that foreshadowed by legislation, but also the things that are important to make decision done by shareholders, creditors and other stakeholders. Here, there are 2 indicators used in assessing the transparency of company information and policy within the company.

### **Accountability**

It means that the company should be able to be responsible with its performance in a transparent and reasonable. In addition, the company should be managed correctly, be measurable and be corresponding to corporate with shareholder interests into account fixed and other stakeholders. Accountability is the necessary requirement to achieve continuous performance. In assessing the accountability of a company, it could be seen from the 2 indicators i.e. the base work and audit.

### **Corporate responsibility**

The company shall comply with laws and regulations as well as carrying out a responsi-

bility towards society and the environment, so sustainability could be preserved in the long-term effort and recognition a good Corporate Citizen in CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) and compliance (compliance) against the legislation.

**Independency**

It is to launch the implementation of GCG principles, the company should be managed independently, so each company does not dominate to each other organs and it can not be intervened by the other party. There are two indicators to assess the independence of the company i.e. the influence of internal and external influences.

**Equality and fairness (fairness)**

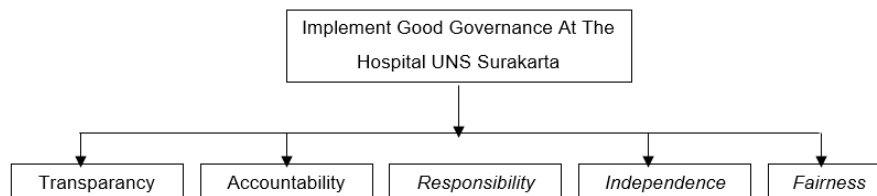
In implement its activities, the company must always pay attention to the interests of shareholders, other stakeholders and all those involved based on the principle of equality and naturalness. For assessing equality and fairness that occur within the company, there are two indicators that can be seen, namely shareholder and stakeholder.

By applying the principles of GCG is no expected that the company could walk effectively and efficiently, so its performance can be optimal.

**TEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

As for the scheme of the framework of thought in the study can be described as follows:

Figure 1. Theoretical Framework



**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Transparency is the delivery of information and openness in the decision-making process. The principle of transparency in the company is seen by the aspect of the delivery of vision, mission, corporate policy, as well as the information that is shared by the employees and the Government. The vision and mission of the company are already known to all employees and implemented properly. Then, about the company’s financial report information should only be known by certain parties as a Commissioner, the Director, and the financial section.

The policy on companies is already presented orally and written, so employees are aware of company policy and every one month once company hold meetings which are large to deliver policies. The company also conducts evaluations every day against a policy that is already made.

About the website on the company, the speaker said that the company has a website which describes information about facilities that provided hospital as well as information about the doctors who are served as the form of transparency towards patients. Then,



it is associated with transparency to Government Hospital once a month to report tax and pay the Annual Notice every once a year.

The company has also been transparent to employees mainly on the issue of salaries, which the company gives employees on salary slip, and then provides additional points of service on employee.

Accountability regards the details of the duties and responsibilities of each of the organs as well as the performance of the company. In the principle of accountability, the implementation of the duties and responsibilities of each of the organs in the company recognized by speaker has been running well since it has been running properly as already planned. A submission and a description of their respective responsibilities are conveyed in written or oral. Regarding the flow of any liability is already very clear. Any staff or unit is obligated to report some activities to the head of each unit. Later, in its operational activities of the hospital having shift-shift work is divided into three shifts i.e. morning shift, afternoon shift, and night shift. Regarding performance evaluation on employees, companies usually do three months in once a year up to two years. The hospital has implemented a system to reward and punishment. Hospital UNS Surakarta applies punishment system by giving SP (warning letter) that there is the level such as SP 1, SP 2 and SP 3. SP 1 is namely the reduction of service points by 20 points; the SP 2 is truncation points greater services i.e. 30 points, and then SP 3 is a letter of dismissal. Meanwhile, the company's reward systems provide additional points of service.

Responsibility is a form of Surakarta UNS Hospital compliance against laws and regulations as well as corporate social responsibility towards society and the environment around the concern. All employees of the hospital are already adhering to the rules of the existing hospital, but according to the third resource person, it sometimes still also breaks them. Then, associated with minimum wage, two of the three interviewees said that there are certain positions that match the minimum wage counties. On the other hand, one speaker said that there is in compliance with the minimum wage counties. The hospital also provides insurance throughout their employees i.e. BPJS health and employment. Later, the company also has obediently toward the consumer laws in accordance with the rules of the Ministry of health.

Related corporate social responsibility to the community, the hospital annually held a charity program, such as providing services for free to people who cannot afford. As for the employees, the company held the outbound sharing at the time of the anniversary of the company; it is according to interviewees becoming a regular activity each year. Concerning the granting of leave to employees, the company delivers a furlough as many as twelve times a year; it applies to employees who have worked at least a year.

The independency of Surakarta UNS Hospitals should be managed independently, so each company does not dominate to each other organs, and it cannot be intervened by the other party. The hospital has so far managed the company in a professional manner. It is recognized if there is a resource conflict in the company then the whole party to join the search for a solution and it does not become an obstacle for the authorities to make a decision.

The hospital has a tax consultant to manage corporate taxation. According to two of the three interviewees, the company uses the tax consulting services due to the lack of human resources working on part of the taxation of the company.

The fairness i.e. hospitals must always pay attention to the interests of consumers and employees based on the principle of fairness and equality. The hospital provides an opportunity for all stakeholders to give suggestions and opinions to advance the company. Later Surakarta UNS Hospitals also treat all employees fairly regardless of differences. Hospital UNS Surakarta also provides customer service to serve the complaint of the patient and on the same day the complaint must be immediately in the following up.

Related to recruitment system, hospitals usually open vacancies through the website or through social media, but according to interviewees, there was the application letter although the company does not open job vacancies. Then, the associated treatment of the company against its employees who made a mistake, usually companies do the coaching and guiding so they did not repeat the mistakes again.

The hospital already implemented the principle of transparency, but it was still insufficient. Global Environmental Management Initiative (GEMI, 2003) mentions that the transparency of the Corporation as the openness of the organization with regarding to the willingness to share information on how the organization operates. There are some things that are not applied by the company as well as information disclosure concerning the financial statements, where the Director can only be a little know financial report information within the company and a particular position only to be figuring it out. Transparency in the form of a commitment is to ensure the availability and openness of information important for the parties concerned regarding the State of financial, management, and ownership of the company accurately, clear, and timely (Wibowo, 2010).

The principle of accountability has been conducted properly; the hospital UNS Surakarta has set the details of the duties and responsibilities which are clear to all employees. It is also expressed by Thomas Kaihatu (2006) that must be the existence of the clarity of function, structure, systems, and questioned the company's organs, so the management of the company would operate effectively. The company also implemented a system of reward and punishment as well, by providing a sanction in the form of the cutting points that can affect salary in May. The National Policy Committee on Governance (KNKG, 2006) also mentions that the company should have performance measures for all ranks of the company consistent with the business objectives of the company, and has a system of rewards and sanctions (reward and punishment system).

Hospital UNS Surakarta has implemented the principle of responsibility, but it was not applied maximally as it was still the presence of employees who do not comply with existing rules. In the guidelines of KNKG (2006), it was mentioned that the parties concerned should hold firm on the laws that have been listed in the legislation, statutes and regulations of the company. Still the granting of salary on employees the Minimum wage does not fit the district.

Surakarta UNS hospitals already did management of the liquid waste, as well as undertake to corporate social responsibility to society in the form of service for free. KNKG (2006) mentions that the company must implement social responsibility with among others care about the community and environmental sustainability especially in the vicinity of the company by making adequate plan and execution.

In the independency, hospital UNS Surakarta was insufficient in implementing it for the presence of employees working still did not match the job description. Then, the internal conflict that occurs in companies did not become an obstacle in making a deci-

sion. Nur'Ainy et al. (2013) conveyed that the independency is a situation where a company is managed professionally without conflicts of interest and influence or pressure from any parties that did not fit the applicable laws and principles a healthy Corporation.

In principles of fairness mentioned, the hospital should provide an opportunity of Surakarta UNS to stakeholders to provide input and deliver opinions for corporate interests (KNKG, 2006). In this case, the company already implement it properly. The company gives the opportunity to all employees to deliver opinions and give suggestions. The treatment of employees who make mistakes also are treated equitably and the absence of mutual away from each other. The company also has a service our customer service to receive suggestions and criticism and customer complaints. Fairness is also defined as fair treatment and equal in fulfilling the rights of stakeholders arising under treaty law and Regulation (Nur'Ainy et al., 2013).

## **CONCLUSION**

From the principle of the transparency of the subject, it does still not thoroughly implement because the financial reporting information is not entirely known to the Director. From the transparency that is already running, the subject is already delivering to the vision and mission of oral or written clearly. The submission information policy has been communicated publicly through meetings and oral or written. The subject has also been opened to consumers through the website that contains information about the services provided.

From the principle of accountability, UNS Surakarta Hospitals already carried it out properly. From the accountability, that is already running, the subject has had an organizational structure as well as the duties and responsibilities by giving a clear job description. The company also did a performance evaluation on employees. The system of reward and punishment is already applied in Hospitals UNS Surakarta as well.

From the side of an already executed responsibility, hospitals have been adhering to the legislation and regulations are legal, but it was not entirely obey by the employees. The company also had obediently toward the consumer legislation. Employees at the hospital UNS Surakarta has also been included in the BPJS health, employment, and the guarantee of the old days. The company also has done waste. The hospital has also been doing corporate social responsibility to the community and employees. The subject has also been granted a leave of employees appropriate government regulations.

The independency that is run by the subject of the research is still not implementing it properly, due to the presence of employees who still work not in accordance with the job description. From the principle of fairness, the subject already does well. The company provides an opportunity to all parties to deliver feedback and on equal treatment.

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## Implementation of Communication Programs in Tourism Sectors

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### ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study are: 1) To determine the communication strategy of the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi in Jambi publish tourist attraction. 2) To determine the constraints or obstacles encountered in implementing the communication strategy. 3) To find a solution that is done in the face and overcome obstacles or barriers in implementing the communication strategy. The method used is qualitative data analysis techniques descriptive with interactive model of Miles & Huberman. The results of this study indicate strategies, barriers, and solutions conducted by the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province to publicize the objects of tourism has not gone up. Inadequate infrastructure facilities, accommodation and transportation are less supportive, as well as access to all the attractions is still a concern where there are still many dirt roads during the dry red dust and the soil becomes muddy if it rains. The bureaucratic process is one issue that is very difficult to overcome because it deals directly with the regulations.

**KEYWORDS:** Implementation, communication programs, tourism sector

### INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is the largest archipelago and has a wealth of natural and cultural richness outstanding. Alam Indonesia has a tropical climate combination, 17,508 were 6,000 of which are inhabited, and the third longest coastline in the world after Canada and the European Union. The tourist attractions in Indonesia is supported by a rich cultural heritage which reflects the history and ethnic diversity of Indonesia dynamic with 719 local languages.

There are 7 locations in Indonesia that has been established by UNESCO in the list of World Heritage Sites. Meanwhile, four other representatives also set out in the UNESCO Representative List of Cultural Heritage of Man, namely puppets, keris, batik and angklung.

Approximately 62% of tourists visiting Indonesia for holiday purposes, while 38% for business purposes. Singapore and Malaysia are two countries with a record number of tourists coming to Indonesia most of the region. While the Asian region (excluding

ASEAN) Japanese travelers in first place followed by China, South Korea, Taiwan and India. Highest number of immigrants from Europe come from countries the United Kingdom, followed by France, the Netherlands and Germany.

The position of tourism as an important pillar of the economy continue to be enhanced worldwide with the current growth reached 5% or two-three times higher than the growth of the world economy. Meanwhile, Indonesia's tourism sector growth reached 11%. One of the locations is a potential tourism in Indonesia precisely in Sumatra that is rarely heard his name that is the province of Jambi. Jambi province is a region that is incorporated in the NKRI (the Unitary Republic of Indonesia) is located on the east coast in the central part of the island of Sumatra. Size Jambi Province 53 435 km<sup>2</sup> with a population of Jambi Province amounted to 3,088,618 people.

There Are More Than 60 attractions of nature and culture which is located in the province of Jambi them are: National Parks Geopark, Mount Kerinci, Kaco, Kerinci Seblat National Park, Cave Tiangko, Sungai Batang Asai, Air Semurup, Grao Solar, GraoNguak & Grao turmeric (Gesyer), Taman Mini Jambi, Taman Mayang Mangurai, Studio Batik PKK, Al'Falah Great Mosque, and different cultural tourism attractions and other realms.

Unfortunately, the state of tourism objects in Jambi Province is currently very poor. Many tourist attractions are not maintained and can even be said to be unfit to serve as a tourist attraction, because of the lack of infrastructure, facilities, and infrastructure in place that not many tourists who are interested to visit the province of Jambi to do a tour.

Lack of Jambi people recognize the potential of tourism attractions in the province of Jambi, also aggravate the situation and make very few people who know Jambi with tourism potential. As a result of the lack of interest of local residents, so if there are international tourists and domestic tourists who ask about tourism in the region, they do not provide information to the fullest.

Less than 7,000 people per year who visit the province of Jambi. The reason why the publication activities of tourism objects less than the maximum, although it has no means of publications such as folders travel guides, CD tourism guides and booklets are less effective publication activities that caused various problems both internally and externally.

Aforementioned problems include differences in the organization of the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi, facilities and inadequate infrastructure, accommodation and transportation are still lacking support, the people who still cannot read a business opportunity, the lack of public facility, level of concern still very poor, bureaucratic process that is still less support, transfer of title, until the shortage of funds is the reason why tourism in Jambi cannot yet developed and developing.

From the foregoing it is clear that things happen very ironic wherein Jambi Province has tourism potential is extraordinary keindahannya terms of both natural and cultural aspects and deserves to be crowned one tourist destination in Indonesia. However, lack of funding is a major obstacle in the development potential of tourism in the province of Jambi, and supported again by the lack of public awareness to recognize the potential of tourism in Jambi Province and is a very interesting thing to study.

Therefore, researchers are interested in examining more deeply about the com-



munication strategy undertaken by the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province in publicizing tourism objects in Jambi.

### **FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM**

Based on the background of the problems described above, then the root of the problem in the writing of this study is: "How Communication Strategy of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province in publicizing tourism attractions in Jambi?"

### **RESEARCH PURPOSES**

Based on the formulation of the problem above, the purpose of this study, as follows: 1) to determine the communication strategy of the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province in publicizing the tourism attractions in the province of Jambi. 2) To determine the constraints or obstacles encountered in implementing the communication strategy of Jambi Provincial Tourism Office in publicizing the tourism attractions in the province of Jambi. 3) To find solutions that do in the face and overcome obstacles or barriers in implementing the communication strategy.

### **BENEFITS OF RESEARCH**

1. Academic Benefits. This research is expected to provide insights, information, and understanding is quite clear about communication strategies that can be applied by the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province, in order to publicize the tourism attractions in the province of Jambi
2. Practical Benefits. This research is expected to provide information and provide input to the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province in applying the strategy of communication and publicize the objects of tourism in the province of Jambi, so more and more people of Indonesia in general and the people of Jambi in particular are familiar with the existing tourism in the province of Jambi. For the people, especially tourists both local and foreign will be informed about the uniqueness and the existence of tourism in the province of Jambi.

Communication model appropriate with this research is a model of circular communication Osgood and Schramm. This model describes a dynamic process. Messages are transmitted through the process of encoding and decoding (Yin, 2011: 18). The relationship between encoding and decoding like source and the recipient of mutual influence. Interpreter double as the sender and the recipient. This model puts the source and the receiver have equal position.

In this study, the Department of Culture Tourism acts as a messenger (encoder) which then interprets it to be delivered into a message received by the public (decoder). In the communication is two-way communication occurs, causing people who initially act as receiver of the message and then give a response and stimulate them into messages. In this process causes people to turn out to be the sender (encoder) and the Department of culture and tourism as receiver (decoder).

According Goldbaher in Muhammad (2004: 67) the process of creating and exchanging messages in a network of mutual relations each other to cope with an uncertain environment and constantly changing. The aims and objectives of the organization implemented a communications company (Ruslan, 2003: 259), among others:

1) As a means of internal communication on a reciprocal basis that is used within an organization or company. 2) To eliminate any misunderstandings or communication barriers between company and employees. 3) As a means of channels or communication tools in an effort to explain about the wisdom, regulations within an organization or company. 4) As an internal communication media for the employee to express desires or brainstorming and to information and reports to the management company (leader).

Definition of Public Relations submitted by W. Emerson Reck in Suhandang (2004: 44), as follows: *“Public Relations is the continued process of keying policies, services, and actions to the best interest of those individual and groups whose confidence and goodwill an individual or institution covets, and secondly, it is the interpretation of these policies, services, and actions to assure complete understanding and appreciation”*

From the above it can be concluded that Public Relations is an arts and social sciences that make the creation of a part or function of management in companies that build and maintain good relations between perusahaan with lingkungannya, where PR in the working process do planning mature in programs to create a picture or a company becomes a good reputation and ultimately the creation of organizational effectiveness and profitability.

Based Yaverbaum (2006: 23-27) regarding Six Stages as the Public Relations program planning method: 1) Situation Analysis. To be able to make a good planning, Public Relations should be able to know how the environmental situation in the company or organization today, both internal environment and the external environment. 2) Establishing goals and Objectives. Setting goals is a step that must be run before making a decision. Once the data is acquired, the public relations began to align with the data the environmental situation of the company. The alignment results will appear the most appropriate destination, then that goal made into a decision. 3) Public. To obtain maximum results, the public relations have to adjust the decisions taken by the target audience. Because the information will be very important if it is delivered to the person who really need the information. 4) Media. After selecting audience through a process of companies, public relations must determine which media will be used in accordance with the decisions taken. In order to support effectiveness of the decision. 5) Budgeting. Calculating costs and adjust to the available funds is the last step performed by public relations before a decision is realized. 6) Evaluation. This process is the stage where public relations reports on the results of its work. The work of public relations can be obtained by doing some research. If the result of the decision be good, then the decision to do more in the future, but should be improved continuously and adapted to developments thus get better results again.

Tourism is a kind of new industry that is able to accelerate economic growth and employment, increasing income, living standards and stimulate other productive sectors. Furthermore, as a complex sector, the tourism industry also realizes industry-classics such as industrial handicrafts and souvenirs. Lodging and transportation economically also viewed as industry (Pendit, 2006: 32).

## **METHODOLOGY**

The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative research methods. According Denzim and Lincoln in Moleong (Moleong, 2009: 5) states that qualitative research is research that uses natural background, with the intention of interpreting phenomena

and done by involving a variety of methods. Researcher using informants / informant as a data source in order to obtain information. Resource used in this study consisted of:

1. **Internal Speakers.** This research will use internal sources to obtain information and data are directly related to the research. The speakers include: Head and Secretary of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province as the party most responsible for the implementation of each activity related to the publication activity tourist attraction in the province of Jambi from planning to implementation, and each activity has to go through the approval of the Head of Culture and Tourism Jambi Province.
2. **External Sources.** This research will use external sources to complete the data and information needed. External resource persons have been selected randomly from communities in the province of Jambi and communities in Jakarta.

Data collection techniques used in-depth interviews and observation, and literature in the form of books, journals, corporate data, and internet / online media. Data analysis techniques in the study prepared by adopting Qualitative data analysis techniques developed by Miles and Huberman is an interactive model analysis (interactive models of analysis). In line with the above-mentioned proposed Bogdan, Miles & Huberman (in Denzin & Lincoln, 2011: 592).

## **FINDINGS**

Promotion of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province in publicizing the objects of tourism in the province of Jambi do direct promotion by making exhibitions, events, and festivals and use promotion through print media such create booklets that contain information about all objects tourism in the province of Jambi, brochures, booklets, folders that contain the objects of tourism development in Jambi, and DVD guide to tourism in the province of Jambi.

Cooperation with various related parties (stakeholders), such as central government, experts, and community among others conducting research in visits UNESCO Geopark Merangin and Muara Jambi enshrinement sites already make Jambi little known by the public and is expected to help finding investors.

Cooperation with the local media. Tourism Office is now a new cooperation with the local media only because of limited funds to carry out activities in the mass media publications with national and international media. Communication Strategies Public Relations conducted by the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province in publicizing the objects of tourism is still very poor due to collide with obstacles ranging from strategy formulation, implementation, teamwork less compact government regulation, bureaucracy, funds are sometimes limiting the room the motion of the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi Province. The strategy has been executed at this time is very difficult to realize the vision of the department of culture and tourism is to realize GOLDEN JAMBI.

## **DISCUSSION & RECOMMENDATION**

Based on the above findings, the researchers recommend: 1) Finding sponsorship of companies concerned with culture and the environment. With the sponsorship can create a symbiotic mutualism between the custom and Tourism Office of Jambi province with company sponsorship. 2) Using the services of a PR consultant in order to avoid clash

between superiors and subordinates and throwing the blame and responsibility, and also can be a maximum of publication activities. 3) Increase cooperation with the agencies involved in the development of such in-charge with the community of nature lovers, in-charge with companies, such as hospitality, telecommunications, and other objects so that tourism in the province of Jambi can be published in accordance with our ultimate goal which is to prepare Jambi became one tourist destination in Indonesia. 4) Developing Human Resources in the field of tourism with up to provide counseling to the communities that exist around the objects of tourism to be more willing to be open to change and move forward. 5) Improving facilities and infrastructures to be easy and convenient to reach their destination tourism in the province of Jambi. 6) Increase public awareness and government about how much potential Jambi province have in the field of tourism from the bottom line, such as school children and all walks of life.

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## An Alternative Model of Space Falling Objects Investigation in Indonesia

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### ABSTRACT

The dynamics of launching space vehicle activities has proven to contribute significantly in supporting the welfare of people in various fields, such as: telecommunication, navigation, remote sensing, mitigation of natural disasters, etc. On the other hand, the launching and placement of satellites in earth orbit also have the potential to cause environmental damage in space and on earth environment. Failure to launch has the potential to cause damage to the earth's environment due to the fall of parts of the space vehicle on various regions of the earth. While the accumulation of the number of satellites in orbit of the earth, especially those in active increasing the amount of space debris. The large territory of Indonesia very potential get space falling object disaster, both man made and a man made space objects. The Government is responsible for protecting the entire territory of Indonesia from the objects within the framework of space activities for peaceful and sustainable purposes. Considering Indonesia as a parties of the various international space treaties, the Government shall ensure that the Indonesia space activities are in compliance with applicable its regulations. Efforts to investigate space falling objects in Indonesia are considered optimal yet because they have not utilized the potential competencies of various government institutions (including non-government) that can contribute to these activities. It is suggested that a model of space falling object investigation activities be prepared as part of coordination activities of various government agencies (including non-government agencies) in handling disasters in a country. The activity focused on several main activities, namely: information acquisition, efforts to coordinate and respond to emergencies.

**KEYWORDS:** Model, space objects, investigation, space falling objects

### BACKGROUND

Newman & Williamson (2018) describe one of the efforts to maintain the sustainability of space space to mitigate and reduce the dangerous impacts that can minimize wider losses for future generations. At a meeting of the Cosmic Object Hazard Panel - UNOOSA, Hedman (2016) stated that one effort was made to reduce the risk of re-entry of space objects into the earth, both man-made space objects (*space debris*) and un man madeobjects (NEO) in a technical and normative framework.

Currently, almost 1000 orbiting satellites that are operated by various countries and international organizations. Each satellite could carry one or more parts that are no longer functioning (*space debris*). Scientific research detected more than 20,000 objects measuring more than 10 cm around the earth and nearly 500,000 fractions measuring 1-10 cm in size were not detected (Wedden, 2011). The existence of space debris in the



Earth's orbit is quite dangerous because it has the potential to hit active satellites or collide with each other, thus increasing the amount of space debris.

Mc Dowells (2008) cites the Center for Orbital and Re-entry Debris Studies data that on average there are 100 to 200 re-entries of man-made space objects per year on Earth. In the last 40 years (as of 2008), as many as 6 thousand tons of man-made objects fell to Earth. An average of two to three tons falls every three weeks without control. Kibe (2006) estimates that the probability of a person's death due to a collision with a space object is 0.36 per year. Uncontrolled re-entry of man-made space objects can be observed in the fall of the 1978 Soviet Union's Cosmos 954 satellite which was uranium-charged and spread 600 km from Great Slave Lake to Baker Lake (Neflia, et al., 2010).

In addition, threats also arise from uncontrolled activities of un man made space objects. Hussein (2016) states that un man made space object in the form of a meteorite / asteroid is a cosmic external threat that has the potential to fall but is difficult to predict or even prevent. The widespread impact on these events continues to be a global concern. For example, the fall of a un man made space object in the form of a meteor in Chelyabinsk - Russia in 2013 which left around 1,500 people dead and a material loss of nearly 1 million ruble.

For Indonesia, the issue of space falling objects is crucial for two reasons, namely: the size of the country and its large population. Indonesia's geographical area is quite large (1.22%) compared to the world's land area. Various surveys show the number and population density of Indonesia are ranked fourth after China. Crowther (2003) states that currently, about 7% of space waste is in the GSO region. Indonesia as an equatorial country is also at 12.3% of the total GSO orbit.

Until now, some of the potential occurrences of space falling objects in the territory of Indonesia were actively monitored by LAPAN so that it could be formulated the last position of the object's fall point. Besides that, an investigative process has also been carried out on space objects (artificial / natural) concerning the territory of Indonesia, for example:

- a. The fall of the motorcycle rocket Cosmos-3M in Gorontalo on 26 March 1981 at 8:13 p.m. The motorbike fell after it was launched about two years earlier (November 1, 1979).
- b. The fall of the Soyuz A-2 rocket motor in Lampung on April 16, 1988 at 10:24 WIB. This rocket is a Cosmos 1938 satellite launcher which is a military spy satellite of the Soviet Union.
- c. The fall of RRT Chinese Cheng-3A (Cheng Long March 3) rockets in KebunKaret, Bukit Harapan IV Village, Ketahun District, North Bengkulu Regency on the morning of October 14, 2003. The size of the initial object is 23.9 m<sup>2</sup> and when it falls by releasing explosions and vibrations like an earthquake. (November 29, 1994).
- d. Fall of Russia's OKEAN 3 satellite in Flores, February 23, 2007, at 7:30 WITA. Events accompanied by explosions were observed in large areas due to objects entering more dense air at an altitude of about 70-110 km.



- e. The fall of a meteorite in the Gulf of Bone on October 8, 2009. The meteorite was 10 m in diameter and caused an explosion equivalent to 50 TNT ~ 2 Hiroshima bombs. There were no fatalities in the incident because the explosion occurred in the air.
- f. The fall of the former Falcon 9 rocket and USA's Space X, on September 26, 2016, Sumenep Madura,
- g. The fall of the former Rocket CZ 3A - China on July 18, 2017, Agam Regency and Limapuluh Kota Regency, West Sumatra.

Indonesia has acceded to the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space (Rescue Agreement, 1968) through Presidential Decree No. 4/1999. As a party, Indonesia must comply with agreements related to assistance and return of astronauts and objects launched into space. This was stated clearly also in Article 58 through Article 68 of Law Number 21 of 2013 concerning Space (Indonesia Space Act). LAPAN is a focal point for national space management, but in the case of disaster investigations, space objects need to coordinate with other government agencies, especially those in charge of national disaster management. Efforts to investigate space falling objects in Indonesia are considered optimal yet because they have not utilized the potential competencies of various government institutions (including non-government) that can contribute to these activities. Considering that Indonesia is a victim area for the disaster of space falling objects both un man made and man made, it is necessary to formulate an investigation mechanism for handling space disasters such as those carried out by countries.

### **RESEARCH QUESTION**

This study is intended to formulate a model of space falling object investigation in Indonesia, by mapping coordination patterns of both government and non-government stakeholders. The pattern of handling Cosmos 954 re-entry in Canada which causes international disputes and harms Canada as a victim country needs to be understood as learning lesson for similar cases in Indonesia. While strengthening the national disaster management mechanism in the case of the investigation of the Chelyabinsk meteor fall in Russia also needs to be studied further in handling the fall of un man made space objects classified as natural disasters at the national level and their coordination with the disaster monitoring network at the global level.

### **RESEARCH METHOD**

This study uses a comparative approach by comparing the investigation practices of space falling objects carried out by other countries. There were two cases that would be adapted by the researchers, namely the fall of the Soviet Union's Cosmos 954 satellite in Canada and the case of the investigation of the Chelyabinsk meteor fall in Russia. Tackling space falling objects and spaceflight search and help is mandated in Article VII of the Indonesia Space Act.

The data collection process is carried out through interviews with related experts involved in the study of space falling objects. In addition, he also conducted a library research from various references both books, scientific journals, and other sources considered relevant related to space falling objects. The analysis process through several stages

starts from:

- a. Identification of space falling objects, this identification is also carried out by taking several steps, namely: a). monitoring / tracing space debris, b). Data / information processing related to space waste, c). Conduct an analysis of the space waste.
- b. Identification of relevant stakeholders / agencies in handling space falling objects. This identification is to find out which agencies are involved in handling space falling objects. This identification is carried out by reviewing the literature related to the division of authority and the duties and functions of the government organization,
- c. Analysis of coordination between related organizations / institutions in handling space objects.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Understanding of Investigation in Disaster Management**

Based on Law Number 27 of 2007 concerning Disaster Management stated that disasters are events or series of events that threaten and disrupt people's lives and livelihoods caused by both natural factors and / or non-natural factors as well as human factors resulting in human casualties, damage environment, property loss, and psychological impact. Natural disasters are disasters caused by events or series of events caused by nature, including earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, floods, droughts, hurricanes, and landslides. While non-natural disasters are disasters caused by events or series of non-natural events which include technological failures, failed modernization, epidemics, and disease outbreaks.

The implementation of disaster management is basically a series of efforts which include the establishment of development policies that are at risk of disaster occurrence, disaster prevention activities, emergency response, and rehabilitation. Investigation activities that are the focus of the study according to the researchers are part of disaster emergency response activities in the form of a series of activities carried out immediately in the event of a disaster to deal with the adverse impacts, which include the activities of rescue and evacuation of victims, property, fulfilment of basic needs, protection, management refugees, rescue, and recovery of infrastructure and facilities.

The focus of disaster management activities during emergency response includes:

1. Rapid and precise assessment of location, damage and resources;
2. Determination of disaster emergency status;
3. Rescue and evacuation of affected communities;
4. Fulfilment of basic needs;
5. Protection of vulnerable groups;
6. Immediate recovery of vital infrastructure and facilities.

In accordance with the provisions of the law, during the disaster emergency re-

sponse, the Disaster Management Agency can use ready-to-use funds and direct the use of disaster relief power in all related sectors.

### **Space Falling Objects and their Impact on the Earth's Environment**

Ekweozoh (2013) asserts that environmental damage due to space exploration is caused by two main factors, namely: forward contamination and indirect (backward contamination). Direct pollution, for example the release of biological or nuclear radioactive contamination into space due to the activity of space objects placed, left behind or lost in space, such as: satellites not operating but still intact, debris resulting from explosions or collisions from satellites not operating, level the end of a booster rocket, and a camera or device placed in space. While indirect pollution is the impact of human exploration into space, such as the carrying of space bacteria into the earth. For example, in the Russian Cosmos 954 satellite re-entry that fell and spread radioactive material in a large area in the North of Canada.

Gallais (2007) states that the re-entry of space objects is the movement of man-made and un man-made space objects when entering the planet's atmosphere from the space between planets. A space object is said to be re-entry if the space object enters the atmosphere at an altitude of 120 km. The re-entry of man-made space objects is controlled and uncontrolled. In the case of controlled re-entry, the space object controller performs several maneuvers to change its orbit so that it can fall in a safe area. While for re-entry is not controlled it can only be done by observing the orbit of the space object. The US space command has created an operational procedure to predict the time and location of un man made space objects when entering the Earth's atmosphere (re-entry assessment).

The Indonesia Space Act separates space falling objects as un man made and man-made space objects that fall into the lower atmosphere, can remain or burn in the atmosphere. Data on un man-made space falling objects from rocket or satellite fragments are usually cataloged in the database. Ross (2015) states several cases of re-entry, for example:

1. Mir Russian Space Station, March 23, 2001. Above the Pacific Ocean near Fiji, the 130,000 kg station broke into 1,500 fragments.
2. Skylab US Space Station, July 11, 1979. The 70,000 kg station fell into the Indian Ocean and parts of Western Australia.

Furthermore related to the threat of un man made space objects, various experts describe it as part of natural disasters. This refers to potentially damaging physical events and phenomena, which may cause loss of life, injury or human life disruption, property damage, social, economic, and political disruption, or environmental degradation. Natural hazards can be divided into different groups: geological, hydro-meteorological, climatological, outer space, and biological hazards (Ayala, 2015). Sears, et.all (2016) states that an asteroid collision can be a major cause of biological extinction on earth. Therefore, various researches have been developed which examine the protection of the earth from asteroid impacts or predict the effects that arise if these efforts are unsuccessful. At present various space agencies in the world also give high priority to various asteroid mission activities. Ross (2015) states that asteroids are part of near earth objects including comets, asteroids, meteors, meteorites, and bolides that can cause damage to the earth with impacts or explosions that result in a combination of wind, fire, earthquake, or flood. Data

of several asteroids that fall as follows:

1. The fall of the 17-19 m diameter meteor in Chelyabinsk - Russia in 2013 injured more than 1,500 people with an estimated loss of more than 1 million rubles.
2. A 50 m diameter comet explosion in Tunguska - Russia in 1908, caused trees are thrown more than 2,000 square kilometers.
3. The fall of the asteroid 5-6 km in diameter on the Yucatan Peninsula (Chicxulub), 65 million years ago. This causes a large tidal wave and climate change around the world and the extinction of 70% of species on earth.



Figure 1. Meteor falling in Chelyabinsk  
[source](#) : Ortega, 2013



Figure 2. Meteor footprint in Chelyabinsk  
[Source](#) : Secure Worl Foundation, 2014

Wirin (1985) wrote that Cosmos 954 was launched by the Soviet Union on September 18, 1977, basically for space exploration, but some observers stated that the mission was actually a Soviet spy satellite. On January 24, 1978 the Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs clarified to the Soviet government the re-entry of Cosmos 954 which was contain nuclear. Gummer (1980) describes based on the results of the tracking of NORAD (The North American Aerospace Defense Command) and observations of residents around the Northwest Territories, concerns about the radioactive impact were further expanded from the Great Slave Lake towards Baker Lake. About 65 kilograms of material were found, and almost 18 kg of the material contains radioactive with various evidences in the form of liquid fraction and erosion and various concerns about the subsequent effects.

Weiss (1978) called "Operation Morning Light" for the investigation of satellite fragments launched on September 18, 1977. Barrington (1982) described in more detail that the investigation was carried out on 24 January - 20 April to find various materials and particles containing 90% of uranium and could kill someone who kept contact within a few hours. The activity involved teams from Canada and the United States. The Canadian team is represented by AECB (Atomic Energy Control Board), GSC (Geological Survey of Canada), EM & R (Mines and Resource), and Canadian Forces. While the United States team was represented by US NEST (Nuclear Emergency Search Team).

In detail, Gummer (1980) describes that On 20 January 1978, the Canadian Department of National Defence (DND) warned all regional commanders and Nuclear Accident Support Teams (NAST) across Canada of the imminent re-entry, possibly over Canadian

territory. A number of government agencies were quickly involved because of jurisdictional responsibilities or of special capabilities. The Atomic Energy Control Board (AECB) was given the responsibility for recovery, handling and disposition of debris located, that is, for matters related to the health and safety of people and the environment. Almost 30 scientists and technicians from the AECB, GSC and Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. AECL worked with the Canadian Forces and the U.S. NEST in the search and recovery operations. DND with flight crews, maintenance and support crews, NAST, and command staff, peaked at about 250. Thus the total manpower involved in the field reached several hundred, and in addition to them a significant number of staff from the concerned departments were involved in discussions on planning and coordination in Ottawa.

Roffey (2016) explain that On 15 February 2013 a meteorite entered Earth's atmosphere over Russia. The object exploded over Chelyabinsk Oblast at a height of about 23 km, generating a bright flash, small fragmentary meteorites and a powerful shock wave. Ortega (2013) stated that the meteor's entry velocity was estimated to be around 18 km/s, at around 20° flight path inclination. The force of the explosion was estimated to be nearly 500 kilotons of TNT (Hiroshima = 16 kilotons of TNT).

Roffey (2016) noted about 1500 people were injured, two seriously. All of the injuries were due to indirect effects rather than the meteorite itself, mainly from broken glass from windows that were blown in when the shock wave hit. Some 7 200 buildings in six cities across the region were reported to have been damaged by the explosion. It is the only meteorite known to have resulted in a large number of injuries. The cost of the damage from the meteorite fall has already exceeded 1 billion roubles. Because of the large military industry presence in the area, police set up special surveillance and protection, and enacted plan 'Fortress'. Overall 24.127 people and 4.327 units of equipment were used in dealing with the consequences, including 18.787 people and 3.563 units of equipment of EMERCOM.

### **International Mechanism of Mitigation Space Falling Object**

The term of space object common in all hard law international agreements. For example, refer to the provisions of the Convention on International Responsibility. Against Losses Caused by Space Objects, 1972 (Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Object, 1972) Article 1 point 4: *the term "space object" includes component parts of a space object as well as its launch vehicle and parts thereof.*

Based on these provisions it can be understood that the meaning of space objects includes all man-made objects that are in space, both still functioning and not functioning. Space objects that do not function and enter the Earth's atmosphere are called space falling objects. International treaties limit space objects as something that arises from activities of space activities that are intentionally carried out by humans (man-made). So it seems to ignore the potential for the formation of un man made space objects.

Arrangements regarding the identification and investigation of space falling objects were published in the Rescue Agreement, 1968. In general, this agreement focused on regulating the mechanism of rescue and return to representatives of launching countries against astronauts who were considered ambassadors of humanity. Such activities must be carried out as soon as possible when information on the occurrence of an accident, danger, emergency landing or landing in a place not intended in the territorial terri-



tory of a party or outside its territory (free sea or elsewhere) is intended.

Article 1 states that the party that discovers the spaceship must immediately notify the launching state or if it cannot identify and contact it, it can make a public notification through various information available specifically to the UN Secretary General. In Article 5 the agreement also confirms analogues of the same thing related to the discovery of space objects or their component parts. However, if a State party suspects that there are conditions that can endanger / damage the nature of the incident both in its jurisdiction and anywhere, it is necessary to ensure that the launching state immediately takes effective steps to avoid further danger. All costs in the case of completion of the obligation to recover and recover space objects and their component parts are charged to the launching country.

The study conducted by Von der Dunk (2008), gives a common thread that un man made space object can be included in groups celestial bodies, such as: moon, asteroid, andkomet. *“the Outer Space Treaty uses a quite different term for the category of things NEO’s would easily fit in: that of celestial bodies. Celestial bodies’ refers to natural objects of a tangible and visible nature, to pieces of more or less solid substance traversing outer space.*

Efforts to monitor un man made space objects are carried out by the International Asteroid Warning Network (IAWN). This organization functions to find and monitor potentially dangerous NEO populations and maintain an internationally recognized clearing house for the acceptance, recognition and processing of all NEO observations. Besides that, the Space Mission Planning Advisory Group (SMPAG) was also formed which included representatives from advanced countries of space and other relevant entities. The responsibility must include laying out the framework, time and choice for starting and carrying out space mission response activities. The group must also promote opportunities for international collaboration in the field of research and techniques for deflection of NEO.

## **SPACE FALLING OBJECT INVESTIGATION IN INDONESIA**

### **Rule-based Mechanism**

Regarding to the handling of space falling objects, Indonesia has acceded to the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects. Launched into Outer Space (Rescue Agreement, 1968) through Presidential Decree Number. 4/1999. The international agreement means that Indonesia must comply with agreements related to astronaut’s help, returning astronauts and returning objects launched into space. These efforts at the national level have also been strengthened by the publication of the Law on Space. Provisions on the outline of the mechanism for dealing with space falling objects and the search and help of astronauts have been clearly stated in Article 58 to Article 68 of the Law on Space. Some provisions related to handling falling objects are as follows:

- a. Prohibition of removing or changing the location and taking part of space falling objects in the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the Republic of Indonesia;
- b. Institutional obligation to identify space falling objects in the sovereign territory and jurisdiction of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and coordinate with other government institutions;



- c. The obligation to submit any space object that falls in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia to the institution for the purpose of security and safety, research interests, and scientific development;
- d. The obligation of the institution to investigate the causes and handling of any serious accidents and / or disasters in the administration of space in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. The investigation was carried out by the Expert Technical Team that was formed and responsible to the Minister, the team membership involved at least the expertise in:
  - 1) Mastery of space technology;
  - 2) Mastery of aviation technology;
  - 3) Foreign relations;
  - 4) Nuclear power;
  - 5) Aerospace law.
- e. With respect to foreign space objects that fall within the sovereignty and / or jurisdiction of the Republic of Indonesia, investigations may involve official representatives from countries where space objects are launched, countries where the launching business entity, the designer and the maker of space objects as long as they do not conflict with national interests.
- f. Against Indonesian space objects that fall outside the sovereignty territory and the territory of the Republic of Indonesia jurisdiction and the country where the fall of space objects does not conduct an investigation, the Government of Indonesia must conduct an investigation.

In addition to being influenced by arrangements at the international level, the handling of space falling objects is essentially a state obligation to protect its citizens from all threats to organizing space. The state, especially the authorized institution in the field of space management, is a public actor who is responsible according to his authority to take efforts to deal with these conditions. If the impact of space falling object causes extensive damage it can be imposed an emergency situation of space falling objects in a country. Sorell (2013) states that in an emergency situation the State can also implement emergency politics where the government is pressured to act unusual. Emergency politics places an obligation on public institutions to take action to deal with public emergencies according to their authority.

In accordance with Article 58 of the Indonesia Space Act, LAPAN as a key institution in the implementation of national space is responsible for preparing technical policy formulations in investigating space falling objects in Indonesia. This activity was carried out by involving various institutions in investigating space falling objects in Indonesia, namely:

1. the National Institute of Aeronautics and Space (LAPAN)
2. the National Agency for Disaster Countermeasure(BNPB)

3. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
4. Army force
5. the Nuclear Energy Regulatory Agency of Indonesia(BAPETEN)
6. Meteorology Climatology and Geophysics Council (BMKG)
7. Ministry of Health
8. Ministry of Environment

### **Implementation of Investigation**

Based on the presentation of Yatini and Mumpuni (2017), the investigation patterns of space falling objects carried out in Indonesia are as follows:

#### **a. Initial Handling Phase**

- 1) At this stage, monitoring and analysis of the orbits of space falling objects is carried out. Initial monitoring of the condition of space objects that have the potential to fall in the territory of Indonesia. This activity is one of the tasks and functions of (the National Institute of Aeronautics and Space – LAPAN) as a national focal point of space activities in Indonesia. The task was carried out by one of the LAPAN technical units using software created through the space garbage tracking system / program conducted by LAPAN using the prediction modeling code from CELESTRAC.
- 2) The public / community becomes a source of information on unexpected events that need to be responded as soon as possible. At this stage the National Agency for Disaster Counter measure (BNPb) and the Nuclear Energy Regulatory Agency of Indonesia (BAPETEN) can be involved if the object is suspected of being nuclear-charged and location security is in accordance with applicable technical standards.

#### **b. Observation Phase**

- 1) Identification of objects and based on data analysis immediately convey recommendations about the status of the object widely to the public (press release)
- 2) It is necessary to pay attention to the provisions of space regulation, in particular the Rescue Agreement, 1968 and the Space Act, for example:
- 3) Do not move or change the layout of the object.
- 4) Coordinate with relevant ministries to contact the launching state of the item to inform the status of the incident and request an investigation by the launching country team

#### **c. Follow up Phase**

- 1) Final investigation is carried out by making documentation and compiling a complete report.
- 2) Checking for the follow-up to the recommendations, especially determining solu-

tions to things that have not been met.

## AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL OF INVESTIGATION SPACE FALLING OBJECT IN INDONESIA

### Comparative Practice of Investigation

In this section will be made to comparative the practice of investigating space falling objects with countries in Indonesia. The observed case was an investigation into the falling of the Cosmos 954 satellite in Canada and the falling of a meteor in Chelyabinsk Russia. As for the case of the falling space objects in various parts of Indonesia up to 2016.

Table1. Comparative Practice of Space Falling Object Investigation

Case	Impact	Legal Base	Actor	Explanation
Falling of Cosmos 954	Physical and environmental damage around the Northwest due to 65 kg of nuclear charged material (90% Uranium)	-RA, 1968 -Natural disaster mechanism in Canada	-United Nation Team (US NEST, NORAD). -Uni Soviet Team  -Canada Team (DNB, AECB, AECL, WNRE, NHW, RPB, RCMP, EA, dan Health Physics and Radiation Monitoring)	Not comply the provision of RA, 1968
Falling Chelyabinsk meteor- Rusia	a. killed± 1.500  b. p h y s i c a l damage of environment almost 1 million rubles	Natural disaster mechanism in Rusia	-EMERCOM/NCMC (federal)  - Federal district regional	Comply with natural disaster mechanism
Space Falling Object in Indonesia until 2016	- no killed person - no larger physical environmental damage - non nuclear	-standar and prosedur of space falling object investigation by LAPAN  -RA, 1968	1. LAPAN 2. Community 3. Army force 4. BAPETEN 5. Departement of Foreign Affair 6. Launching State of Space Falling Object (USA)	Comply wit RA, 1968 and Indonesia Space Act

#### a. In the Case of Space Falling of Cosmos 954 in Canada

- 1) The Canadian Team has conducted an effort to investigate disaster management in accordance with the applicable national mechanism by involving the major field organizational responsibilities which may be summarized as follows:

- a) DND is responsible for overall operations.
  - b) AECEB is responsible for safe recovery, transportation and storage of debris.
  - c) EMR scientific management of the air-borne search under DND logistics commands, using detection requirements established by AECEB and other health physics groups.
  - d) AECL made major contributions to the program in several ways.
  - e) Health physics and radiation monitoring staff were loaned to the AECEB to augment its own limited resources.
  - f) The Whiteshell Nuclear Research Establishment (WNRE) is responsible for its sophisticated analytical facilities at the disposal of the search and recovery operations.
  - g) The Department of National Health and Welfare (NHW) contributed through the activities of the Radiation Protection Bureau (RPB).
  - h) The Ministry of the Solicitor General is involved because of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) assistance in the activities of the Territories, in communications, in the provision of portable radiation-detecting instruments for travelers in the area.
  - i) External Affairs (EA) was involved from the start as a result of the international implications of the event, and the intent is ultimately to claim against the USSR for recovery of some large amounts of money spent on the search.
- 2) Furthermore, in accordance with the provisions of the Rescue Agreement, mitigation and investigation efforts have also been carried out in 1968, but Canada is considered negligent in fulfilling the mechanism appropriately by the launching state (Soviet Union) because it has involved the United States at an early stage without the knowledge of the Soviet Union. This caused the Soviet Union to not give maximum compensation for claims of Canadian losses due to the fall of Cosmos 954.
- b. In the case of falling Chelyabinsk meteor in Russia

In the case of falling meteor in Chelyabinsk, Russia, a disaster management mechanism has been carried out in coordination with the National Crisis Management Center (NCMC)/EMERCOM. NCMC was set up in 2008. It is the center for command and control of the RSChS. The structure of the RSChS system of territorial and functional systems, and has five levels: federal, federal district, regional, local and facility level of management in the system, where every level of the system for disaster management has its own coordination unit, such as:

- 1) federal district level: EMERCOM's Crisis Management Centres;
- 2) regional level: EMERCOM's regional centres, including the Regional Crisis Management Centres;
- 3) local level: EMERCOM's offices, including Crisis Management Centres, and local administration; and

4) on-site level: civil defence/emergency management officers or specially assigned personnel.

RSChS operates depends on the situation and the scale of a predicted or actual emergency. There are three regimes of operation: daily, high-alert and emergency regimes.

c. In the case of space falling object in Indonesia until 2016

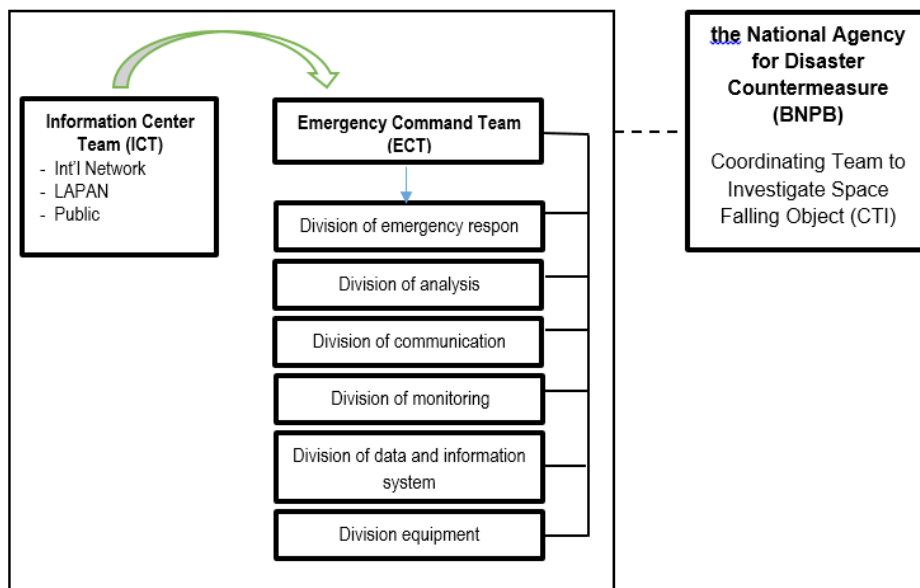
In the case of handling space falling objects in Indonesia until 2016, the following matters can be submitted:

- 1) Implementation of activities based on SOPs established by LAPAN to detect and investigate the space falling objects.
- 2) The duties and composition of the investigation team members are in accordance with the provisions of the Indonesia Space Act and comply with the Rescue Agreement, 1968
- 3) The key institution in disaster management in Indonesia is BNPB (same as EMERCOM in Russia). But in practice, LAPAN remains the main actor in the investigation of space objects. Considering that disaster management is not domain LAPAN, significant obstacles will be encountered in the future, for example: urgent coordination to obtain budget support, technical assistance for hazardous conditions (personnel, equipment and follow-up analysis).

**Recommendation of Model Investigation**

Based on the practice of handling falling objects in the case of the fall of Cosmos 954 and the fall of meteors in Chelyabinsk Russia proposed the investigation of space falling objects in Indonesia base on the provision of the Indonesia Space Act and the space treaties provision as follows:

Figure 4. Ad Hoc Committee to Investigate Space Falling Object



Based on the above models can be described as follows:

- a. Information about space falling objects in Indonesia is obtained from information centre team (CTI), namely: international networks, LAPAN data centers, and public.
- b. as key agency in handling disasters in Indonesia the National Agency for Disaster Countermeasure (BNPB) has function to coordinate the team to Investigate Space Falling Object (CTI)
- c. Emergency response activities carried out by emergency command team (ECT) as ad hoc committee that function to help BNPB for analysing and solving such as : handling space objects (domestic / foreign cooperation), proposed compensation claims, and compile report. The emergency command team is responsible for the coordination agency for investigating space falling objects. The team consists of several emergency management officers from various government agencies (including non-government if needed), such as: emergency response division, analysis division, communication division, monitoring division, data and information system division, equipment division.

## CONCLUSION

Efforts to investigate space falling objects in Indonesia are considered not optimal because they have not utilized the potential competencies of various government institutions (including non-government) that can contribute to these activities. It is suggested that a model of space falling object investigation activities be prepared as part of coordination activities of various government agencies (including non-government agencies) in handling disasters in a country. The activity focused on several main activities, namely: information acquisition, efforts to coordinate and respond to emergencies.

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## **INTERNATIONALIZATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION: DOES GOVERNMENT SUPPORT INTERNATIONALIZATION?**

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### **ABSTRACT**

One of the 17 goals of Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) is to improve the quality of education. Education becomes a social elevator to improve the welfare of individual lives in the future. Higher education becomes an important factor to produce individuals with the skills and knowledge that are needed to build a country in the global competition. Currently, countries around the world are competing to improve the quality of higher education with internationalization. Internationalization is the process of integrating the international component in the academic field. Internationalization makes a standard that can be accepted by countries around the world, so it is to create a ranking of universities in the world with various versions. The Indonesian government also does not miss to follow the trend of internationalization. Hoping to improve the nation's competitiveness, the Indonesian Government targets that universities in Indonesia can become World Class University (WCU) by penetrating the world's top 500 ranks. This article discusses the efforts and support of the Indonesian government in encouraging the internationalization of higher education, especially in achieving the world's top 500 ranks. This research is a qualitative descriptive study. The data collection techniques used in-depth interviews toward Deans and Person in Charge of the International office unit at Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta. The data were analyzed using open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. The research results showed that the government has a huge influence in encouraging the internationalization of higher education in Indonesia. The government makes a policy that binds universities to achieve the indicators of higher education internationalization performance. The government also provides infrastructure support, and World Class University funding support.

**KEYWORDS:** Internationalization, policy, quality, education, world-class university

### **INTRODUCTION**

One of the 17 goals of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) is to improve the quality of education. Education becomes a social elevator to improve the individual welfare in the future (Requena, 2016). According to Requena, higher education can provide greater opportunities for individuals to work as professional workers and avoid unemployment. Higher education can improve individual social classes or maintain individuals

in their social class, so the welfare is guaranteed. Higher education is also a tool for the country's economic growth (Arkadani et al., 2011; Fosket, 2010; Maringe & Nick, 2010; Mohsin & Zaman 2014; Shih 2014). Higher education is an important factor to produce individuals with the skills and knowledge needed to build the country in the era of global competition (Arkadani, et al., 2011; Astuti, 2016; Guo & Guo, 2017). Education is an important investment to produce individuals who are able to compete in the era of globalization. At present, countries around the world are competing to improve the quality of higher education with internationalization (Neale et al., 2018). Internationalization is a process of integrating international components in the academic field, so that they are no longer limited to national, but it is international boundaries (Knight, 2004).

Internationalization Higher Education can be accepted by many universities in the world because they receive benefits. In addition, the state also benefited from the internationalization of universities. Adam (2004) mentioned that the UK benefited from international students worth 2.4 billion euros from all arrivals and created 22,000 job. Guo & Guo (2017) also mentioned that the cost of international students at Forest University Canada is more than three times that of domestic students. This large cost is used to improve financial conditions due to the lack of giving from the government. In addition, according to Guo & Guo (2017), another advantage of international students is that they are a source of experts in the future.

Internationalization makes one standard that can be accepted by countries around the world, so it creates a rank of universities in the world with various versions. The internationalization trend is not spared by the Indonesian Government. With the hope of being able to improve the nation's competitiveness, the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (*Kemristekdikti*) targets that universities in Indonesia can become World Class University (WCU) by penetrating the world's top 500 ranks. One of the way is to increase the number of Indonesian publications. So far, the number of Indonesian publications is still lagging behind with fellow ASEAN countries. In 2016 alone, Indonesia is still ranked fourth under Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand. However, every year Indonesia is slowly able to catch up. In 2017, the number of Indonesian publications was in third place, beating Thailand. Whereas in 2018 per July, Indonesia was able to beat Singapore in second place and only lost to Malaysia. This shows a positive trend towards publications in Indonesia.

Internalization of higher education is not a new things for Indonesia. Although this has only emerged since the era of President Joko Widodo, since 2012, through UU No. 12 of 2012 about Higher Education, international cooperation is permitted. In article 50 paragraph 1, it is clearly stated that international cooperation is a process of integrating the international dimension in the academic field including education, research and service without eliminating the elements of Indonesian values. Through this law, Indonesian universities are allowed to have international cooperation with academic goals. The existence of this regulation can be considered as the first step of internationalization of higher education in Indonesia.

In the other country like Korea, the Korean government has responded to the internationalization of universities. the Korean government created and implemented the internationalization policy of universities with the main aim of bringing Korea as an academic center in East Asia; a place where top scholars around the world on research and

teach (Gress & Ilon, 2009; McNeil, 2008; Mok et al. 2003; Palmer, 2013). Palmer (2013) explained that in 2005, to improve the ranking of Korean universities, a former member of the National Assembly and the current Head of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) made policy. These policies are (1) increase the number of professors and foreign students, (2) increase the number of English-Medium Instruction (EMI) classes, (3) giving pressure on the professors to publish in leading scholarly journals in English, (4) build physical infrastructure to attract foreigners, and (5) concern toward budgeting issues. The policy was made to meet the target of ten of the world's top 200 rank universities, ranked 9<sup>th</sup> in the world of articles published in the ISI-indexed journal, and to increase the number of faculties and foreign students by 10,000 and 150,000.

Through regulation and program support, the government can create an environment where universities are able to achieve the internationalization of higher education (Patanakul & Pinto, 2014). Of course, it is not easy to shape the environment. Especially universities should add to the standard, not only national standards but also international standard. It takes effort and support in continuity, so the internationalization of higher education is not only a mere goal but also to improve the quality of education (Jibeen & Masha, 2015). Internationalization is one way to improve the quality of education. The quality of education must have an acceptable size so that national and international qualifications must be considered. According to Jibeen and Masha (2015), there are several countries that do not have a good monitoring system for the internationalization of higher education so that there are accreditations that are unknown and illegitimate. The accreditation seems to be an international accreditation, but in reality, it is not. With accreditation, it can be seen how the quality of the university is, whether it meets the specified standards or not. Why is it important? The quality of higher education institutions is vital because it can produce social reproduction (Bigalke & Deane, 2009). This is why there is government intervention, so there are recognized and legitimate standards.

Knight (2004) explained that the internationalization of higher education is not something new. For a long time, universities have internationalized mainly in Europe and the United States. Internationalization of higher education is now become a necessity because it is able to improve the competitiveness of the nation. According to the World Economic Forum (WEF), one of the pillars of the nation's competitiveness lies in research and innovation, where it is produced in universities. Universities have a role in producing expert and skilled human resources in order to be able to improve the nation's competitiveness.

The importance of internationalization of higher education makes the government take part in providing direction or guidance that can be used by universities and related stakeholders in order to contribute in improving the nation's competitiveness. In addition, the policy of the government can overcome and prevent the shifting of the goals of internationalization of higher education in the academic field, according to Knight (2004) at this time there was a shift in goals from internationalization. In developed countries, internationalization has economic goals while in developing countries, the goal of internationalization is academic.

With the government involved, the government will also provide support, so the policy is implemented. Moreover, the internationalization of higher education policy by the government is a tool to ensure that higher education institutions improve the quality

of education to achieve national competitiveness (Bigalke & Deane, 2009).

This research discusses what efforts that are being made by the Indonesian government through the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education in the internationalization of higher education and how the support provided by the Ministry of Research and Technology to universities is.

## **RESEARCH QUESTION**

This article focuses on how the Indonesian government attempts to internationalize higher education, especially at Universitas Sebelas Maret. In addition, this article also looks at the support of the Indonesian government in implementing internationalization of higher educations in Indonesia.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This research is a qualitative descriptive study. This research illustrated how the efforts and support of the Indonesian government in the internationalization of higher education. The Grindle theory was used to analyze the efforts and support of the Indonesian government.

The data in this research were collected by in-depth interviews with the Dean and Person In Charge (PIC) of the International Office of Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta. The selection of informants was done because the Dean is the level of policy makers at the faculty level and implementer of the internationalization of higher education at the University level. Whereas, Person in Charge of the International Office of Universitas Sebelas Maret is responsible and frontliner between UNS and international in academic or non-academic relations, so the participant knows exactly how internationalization of higher education is. Interviews were conducted with the Dean of the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences; Agriculture; Medical; Social Sciences; and Engineering.

The data were analyzed using open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Neuman, 2013). Open coding is the initial stage in qualitative analysis which is summarizing the actual data and determining the category or initial analysis code from the data obtained. Axial coding is the second stage in determining the main categories or codes of concepts and connecting them to the concepts. At this stage, the focus is on the main category or code rather than the data obtained. The last stage is selective coding, which is checking the code or categories of open coding to be identified and chosen to fit the axial coding category. Selective coding begins after the concept is well developed (Neuman, 2013).

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **National Internationalization Policy for Higher Education**

Internationalization Policy for Higher Education has an important role in countries in the world. This policy becomes a strategy for how the country attracts international students to be interested in becoming students at their universities. In Taiwan, Chang (2015) explained that Taiwan has a number of programs related to the internationalization of higher education. The program includes creating an international accreditation system. Taiwan's Ministry of Education uses international indicators to facilitate the development



of universities in Taiwan. There are five international indicators used by universities, so their universities are of international standard. The aim is to attract students are more International. Taiwan's Ministry of Education is also committed to improve student mobility as stated in policy documents. In this document, the Government of Taiwan provides six competency points that students must have in universities; they are global mobility, employ ability, creativity interdisciplinary ability information competence and citizenship. This is to support students to increase their capacity.

Same as in Korea, Internationalization of higher education policies has been in place since 1993 (Green, 2015). Higher education of internationalization policies have progressed since the policy of the 31<sup>st</sup> May plan. The policy focuses on student exchanges, faculty exchanges, and encouragement for foreign institutions, faculties and students, and policies for the export of services from Korean Universities. In addition, the Korean Government also did not hesitate to provide funds to foreign researchers for 5 years. The Korean government also invited international scholars to teach, to do research, and to work in academic programs in Korea. Green (2015) explained that this step is believed by the Korean Government to increase the sense of Korean Professor Competition.

In Japan itself, the Japanese government wants to increase international students by 300,000 by 2020. To realize this, the Japanese government implements the Global 30 or the Top Global University Project. This project divides universities in Japan into two types, namely 13 "top type" where the university has the potential to be ranked 100th in the world rank and 24 "Global Traction Type" where universities lead to internationalization. The Japanese government itself extended funding support to total of 37 universities for internationalization and university reform.

Another country that has long been implementing internationalization is Australia. Fisher & Green (2018) stated that Australia together with United States and Britain are the leader countries in the internationalization of higher education. Thus, it is not surprising that since 2000, Australia has had an Internationalization Policy for Higher Education even though only limited to visa policies and international student fees. Until 2016, Australia has The National Strategy for International Education 2025. This national strategy is a commitment of the Australian government to improve international education and as a driver of change. This long-term strategy aims to make Australia a global leader in education, training and research.

From the above studies, the government has a role in the internationalization of higher education. Government policy itself acts as a roadmap and instructions for implementation commitments from internationalization (Knight, 2004).

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Quality in Higher Education**

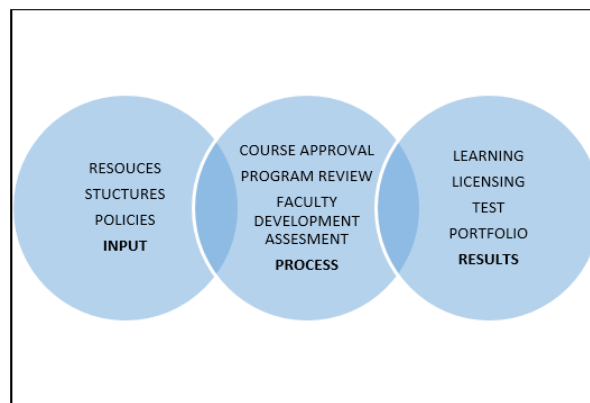
Quality assurance in universities is a national and global issue. Increasing global interdependence makes changes from higher education (Bigalke & Deane, 2009). Consequently, the state as a provider of public goods should contribute to various kinds of investments in education, especially higher education.

As the population enlarges, the need for higher education also increases. There are many universities both private and public to accommodate the need for higher edu-

cation. The increasing number of universities certainly adds graduates who will compete nationally and globally. The problem is whether every graduate from the university is able to compete? With the increase in higher education, the quality expectations of higher education are also increasing. According to Bigalke and Deane (2009), the quality of higher education is an important element. With quality universities, science, research, and students produced will also be qualified.

The quality itself, according to Bigalke and Deane (2009), is difficult to define because the word quality is very relative based on some experts. Various points of view can present these quality words. Martin (2007) defines quality with various perspectives, namely (1) providing excellence, (2) being exceptional, (3) providing value for money, (4) conforming to specifications, (5) getting things right the first time, (6) meeting customer needs, (7) having zero defects, (8) providing added value, (9) exhibiting fitness of purpose, (10) exhibiting fitness for purpose. While Wolf (2009) described that there are 3 dimensions of quality.

Figure 1. Dimensions of Quality (Wolf, 2009)



*Input* is which resources, structure, and policies are needed to be followed. *Process*, the course approval process requires syllabus that includes clear learning outcomes, assignments and assessments aligned with those outcomes and clear linkages to program and institution outcomes. Usually, review program simply focuses on the curricula and need resources. Meanwhile, assessment would be undertaken to review the level of achievement. *Results*, every institution should work based on standards, so the results of the assessment are more effective, can be discussed, and can be used at every level. The results of the assessment are used as the basis for making strategic planning, academic planning and program development. In this research, the input will be explained more deeply. How the Indonesian government provides input for the quality of higher education.

For ensuring quality, general standards and instructions are needed to be followed by universities. The government has a role in making these standards (Bigalke & Deane, 2009; Federkeil, 2009). This is useful, so there is no quality gap. In several European countries, they implement standards for the quality of higher education. Federkeil (2009) stated that education ministers in Europe apply the Barcelona Declaration for quality assurance. Instrument quality assurance varies greatly, for example accreditation and rank. The rank of universities aims to provide transparency about universities from the external and provide a comparison of views (Federkeil, 2009). Furthermore, according to Federkeil, the university rank is often used to show the quality of a university. In the rank, there are

various indicators as assessment standards applied in universities throughout the world. Rank is not a quality, but it is a tool used to measure the quality of a college.

Then, who is the most responsible for the quality of higher education? According to Tadjuddin (2009), the party who is responsible for the quality of higher education is the university itself and the government. Universities and governments must support each other to ensure that there is a system to improve the quality of higher education. In line with Bigalke & Deane (2009), if the state withdraws support for education, financial support will also be reduced, while state universities have funding sources from the government.

Hence, the government has a role in ensuring the quality of higher education by issuing standards and clear policies, precisely related to quality assurance of higher education. However, institutions can be flexible to use various ways to achieve policy goals (Ashford, 2000; Bassink, 2002).

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Indonesian government has a large influence on the internationalization of universities in Indonesia. This can be seen in the efforts made by the Indonesian government with policies that support the internationalization of Higher education. Besides the policies that encourage the higher education in internationalization, the Government of Indonesia also provides several support programs enjoyed by universities, as well as lecturers and students directly.

### Indonesian Government's Effort in Internationalizing Higher Education

The Indonesian government through the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (*Kemenrestekdikti*) strives to raise the standards and ratings of universities in Indonesia, so that they are on par with universities from other countries, both Asia and the world. In the Ministerial Regulation of Research, Technology and Higher Education Number 50 Year 2017 about the *Kemeristekdikti* Strategic Planning for 2015-2019 stated that up to 2025, the *Kemeristekdikti* target is there are seven universities entered the top 500 rank of the world according to QS World University ranking.

To achieve these targets, *Kemeristekdikti* seeks to improve the quality of universities in Indonesia. *Kemeristekdikti* made a numbers of programs, so that universities were able to achieve quality. There are several things done by the Ministry of Education and Culture to achieve the quality of internationalization of higher education:

#### a. Accreditation

To ensure the quality of higher education institutions, *Kemenristekdikti* seeks to increase the number of "A" accredited universities. Accreditation is the general standard and commitment of universities to ensure quality and appropriate implementation of the Tri Dharma of Higher Education (*Kemeristekdikti*, 2017). With an "A" (superior) accreditation is the first step of a university for internationalization. In Indonesia, unfortunately there are still very few numbers of universities with "A" accreditation. According to the data from the Ministry of Education and Culture in 2017, there are only 64 universities in Indonesia that are accredited A. Of these, there is a very large disparity between A accreditation universities in Java and outside Java. Therefore, *Kemenristekdikti* also focuses on

accreditation carried out by BAN-PT (National Accreditation Board for Higher Education). With at least a number of accredited A universities, competition between Indonesian universities and other countries is still lagging behind. According to Bigalke and Deane (2009), the quality of higher education must be guaranteed to be ready to compete with universities in the world. Before internationalization, it must be ensured that universities in Indonesia are accredited A (superior). That is way; it can be recognized internationally because the quality assurance issued by BAN-PT is internationally recognized (banpt.or.id). In addition to national accreditation, international accreditation is the target of a number of universities after obtaining A accreditation.

*Kemenristekdikti* also recognizes international accreditation institutions that encourage and help facilitate a number of study programs towards international accreditation. The goal is that universities in Indonesia are recognized and able to be highly competitive. There are several international institutions recognized by *Kemenristekdikti* including AUN-QA (Asean University Network), ABEST21, AACSB, and so on. Those are the case at Universitas Sebelas Maret (UNS), where the economics and business faculties are internationally accredited, namely AACSB (The Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business) and AAPBS (Association of Asia-Pacific Business Schools). As for the internationally accredited study program, ABEST 21 (The Alliance on Business Education and Scholarship for Tomorrow, a 21st Century Organization) is the Master of Management study program. After UNS is being nationally accredited, it did not just stop. Especially with the vision of the World Class University, of course international accreditation is one way to be recognized for quality in the international world. This is in accordance with what said by one of the officials in the International Office at UNS,

“We do and right now we use a more international standard system, because we are already like fulfilling the national accreditation body and then right now we are starting on the ASEAN University Quality Assurance-Association of Southeast Asian Countries, meaningful we try to step on to the next level toward being standardized and recognized by all national system”.

In line with what said by Dean “A” at UNS,

“That every our activity-- every our services, every our infrastructure should fill the internationalization standard. In fact, two or three months ago, our university visited by AUNQA and our rector asked every dean to provide the service for our service based on AUNQA standard”.

The UNS step is in line with the strategic plan of *Kemenristekdikti* where it encourages universities to become World Class University. For this reason, before the ongoing internationalization, *Kemenristekdikti* encourage more universities accredited A. *Kemenristekdikti* provides direct guidance to universities to be accredited A. Until 2017, there are still 3,028 colleges that have not been accredited (Performance Report of *Kemenristekdikti*, 2017).

b. Increase the number of international publication

To achieve the world's top 500 rank targets, *Kemenristekdikti* also targets to increase the number of international publications. *Kemenristekdikti* annually targets the number of publications that must be achieved by Indonesia. In the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education strategic plan, in 2018, it targets 14,000 numbers

of international publications because Indonesia is still lagging behind its publications compared to neighboring countries, Malaysia. To encourage an increase in the number of successful publications, *Kemenristekdikti* issued a number of policies including incentives for lecturers who conduct international publications, incentives for internationally indexed journals, incentives for accredited journals and incentive for article published in international journal. The incentives themselves are defined as something that can motivate someone to act (Lucas & Ogilve, 2006). Lecturer incentives themselves are obtained if the lecturer conducts publications. This is stated in the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education Regulation number 20 year 2017 concerning lecturer allowances.

*Kemenristekdikti* also provides incentives to lecturers who will publish to international indexed journals. This incentive policy is carried out to motivate lecturers to publish their research results to quality and indexed international journals. This is according to what was said by one of the UNS international office officials,

"If there are international publications, there are those who get awards too, that already exists."

The policy of increasing the number of publications is not only charged to the lecturers, but also to students. Scientific articles become graduation requirements for master and doctor students ([ristekdikti.go.id](http://ristekdikti.go.id)). Without the publication of scientific articles in reputable international journals and or accredited national journals, students' graduation will be delayed.

The Ministry of Research and Technology's commitment to improve the quality and number of international publications is very high. Not any publication is recognized by the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education to be rewarded. All this time, the reference to the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education is the international journal indexed by Scopus. Scopus is the index standard that is often used to publish the results of its research. As stated by the Dean B at UNS,

"But for Indonesia government, I can understand. Because Indonesia, our target, why does Indonesia use SCOPUS? Our quality of research is so far. It is too wide in here."

Similar to those presented by the International Office of the UNS,

"Our ministry education uses QS ranking as the main measurement for example and then using SCOPUS as the major standard....but what happen in Indonesia is that there is them-people who think like only SCOPUS matters."

Scopus encourages researchers to improve the quality of their research results, so it is not only the number, but the quality increases. Even so, according to the Director General of Science and Technology and Higher Education Power, researchers can use clear and reputable accredited international journals. Scopus is not the only one used, but like Thomson and Copernicus can be used as well. Unfortunately, in Indonesia SCOPUS seems to be the main one ([sumberdaya.ristekdikti.go.id](http://sumberdaya.ristekdikti.go.id)).

#### c. World Class Professor

Another method used by *Kemenristekdikti* to improve the rank of the world's top



500 universities is by World Class Professor. This program invites world class professors from various universities both at home and abroad as visiting professors. This step is intended to improve the performance of university academics. with the existence of the World Class Professor; *Kemenristekdikti* hopes that there will be a joint publication to support the increase in international publications. In addition, the World Class Professor also provides experiences and opportunities for students to interact and be taught by world-class professors. As stated by Dean A at UNS,

“We invite many-maybe not many-some, experts from another university and I ask them to give technical assistance for writing international- for writing article for international publication”.

### **Indonesian Government Support for Internationalization Higher Education**

*Kemenristekdikti* seeks to improve the quality of higher education by providing special funds so that universities are ranked in the world's top 500. This special fund aims to encourage an increase in academic reputation. This fund is given to universities that make complete program and activity plans in order to improve the academic reputation of universities towards World Class University.

The Directorate General of Higher Institution of Science, Technology and Higher Education and Universities agreed with the performance indicators and targets to be achieved by universities. This is because of the funding for World Class University is performance based (performance-budget oriented). The funds provided are managed autonomously by universities (*Kemenristekdikti* Annual Report, 2015). This is as stated by International Office officials at UNS,

“But this one is more freedom for us to do whatever program as long as the outcome is contributing to certain international standards that our ministry would like the university to do, to achieve”.

This support is also can be seen from the increase in BOPTN funds (Higher Education Operational Fund Assistance) used by universities to conduct research and service that supports internationalization. This was revealed by officials in the International Office at UNS,

“Right now we also have additional budget because they want us to improve our internationalization. They put about IDR 5 billion, especially to achieve the internationalization goal”.

Besides, financial support is also given to universities wanting to internationalize with the Institutional Strengthening Program of the International Affairs Office (PKKUI). This program is an assistance from the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education specifically for universities through the International Office in each university. This program is opened to all high schools, but not all will get the funds. There will be a selection from *Kemenristekdikti* for universities entitled to receive additional funds.

In addition to funding, *Kemenristekdikti* also provides support in the form of facilities used by lecturers and students. Like the *Kemenristekdikti* who subscribe to the e-journal, both lecturers and students or researchers can access the e-journal free.



## CONCLUSION

Internationalization Higher Education cannot be avoided by countries around the world. Competition among higher education institutions to show quality is not only national, but also international standards are beneficial for both universities and countries. Indonesia's competitiveness which is still lacking among other countries has made the Government of Indonesia contribute to the internationalization of universities. The research results showed that the government has a huge influence in encouraging the internationalization of higher education in Indonesia. The government makes a policy that binds universities to achieve the indicators of higher education internationalization performance. The government also provides infrastructure support, and World Class University funding support.

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## **Facebook as a Communication Media in by Use of Smart Indonesia Card**

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### **ABSTRACT**

In the current era of globalization media is a means of communication that can facilitate people interacting. Facebook can make it easier for people to find relatives or friends who have not met for along time. The purpose of this research is to know the solution of Smart Card Indonesia through facebook kemendikbud, this research is qualitative research with a descriptive approach. Data collection techniques were done through in-dept interviews, literature studies, and internet research. The subjects in this study is facebook which is a communication media Smart Indonesia Card. The data analysis techniques used were interactive Model Miles and Huberman. The results of this study show that facebook applications can indeed provide convenience in communicating for government and society. The obstacles found in this communication process are the obstacles of the Communications and Community service bureau that do not meet the answers of its netizens. But behind it, facebook application allows all users to interact with limitation of distance, place, and time.

**KEYWORDS:** Facebook, communication media, Smart Indonesia Card

### **INTRODUCTION**

Facebook is part of a new media that is known in the community. Facebook is also one of the most phenomenal social media in the community, it has dropped and now its users are starting to increase again. Facebook gives a huge role or impact on various messages. Facebook is a social network to communicate between one person and another who can connect with friends, family, relatives and old friends without having to face to face, without limitation of space and time and can be accessed anytime and anywhere. Facebook has a number of interaction features among fellow users, including the 'Wall or Wall' feature, the space where other users send open messages, 'Poke or Colek', a means to virtualize each other, 'Photos or Photos' space to install photos, and 'Status' that shows the user's current condition or idea (Encroachment, 2009, para. 21).

Social media can also provide information to companies. Various companies can make social media as a means of information to know the business development that is happening at this time. Through Social Media, Facebook owned by the Ministry of Education and Culture Information on KIP has been presented in a complete and comprehensive manner. However, from the community, they still did not know the purpose and benefits of the Smart Indonesia Card (KIP). This is known from the large number of people who ask how to obtain, obtain and get a Smart Indonesia Card.

In September 2016, the number of poor people in Indonesia reached 27.76 million people (bps.go.id, n.d, para.1). Therefore the Indonesian government issued a Smart Indonesia Card which was intended for underprivileged children to continue to attend school for free which was borne by the government through the Smart Indonesia Card. The Indonesia Smart Card (KIP) is the provision of educational cash assistance to school-aged children (aged 6-21 years) who come from poor families, are vulnerable to poverty, the owners of the Prosperous Family Card (KKS), participants of the Family Hope Program (PKH), orphans, persons with disabilities, victims of natural disasters or disasters, PIP is part of improvement of the Poor Student Assistance Program (BSM) (Indonesiapintar.kemdikbud.go.id, n.d, para. 1).

To find out the smart Indonesia Card program to the public we can see on the Facebook account of the Ministry of Education and Culture. In Facebook, it can be seen because the system is categorized as information, aspirations and complaints submitted by the community, so it can be known what issues are developing.

### **FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM**

Based on explanation Background the problems described above, the formulation of the problem in the research is “How do you socialize KIP to the public through Facebook Social Media accounts?”

### **RESEARCH PURPOSES**

1. To describe the process and implementation of Facebook activities in socializing the Smart Indonesia Card The research objective of the writer is to find out:
2. To find out about KIP socialization through Facebook Ministry of Education and Culture
3. find out the obstacles in socializing KIP through the Facebook Ministry of Education and Culture

find out the solutions made by the Public Communication and Service Bureau in overcoming the obstacles above

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

According to the results of research related to the topic is the journal of Sherly Priscilia Sulistyanti, who is a student of the Communication Science Study Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Brawijaya University, Malang, writing a journal entitled “The Use of Facebook as a Media for Organizational Communication in the Malang Travel Bureau”. The theory used by Organizational Communication. Research Results The leadership of the world of tourism intentionally utilizes communication media, namely Facebook, to connect with its employees. For the next research journal from the Communication Journal of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences entitled “The Use of Social Media as a means of communication and interaction among high school students 12 Pekanbaru City and compiled by Romyeni, Evawani Elysa Lubis and Nova Yohana. The theory used by Computer Mediated Communication and the results of its research motivation in using Facebook from each individual must be different. They have different incentives in making Facebook usage decisions.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Diffusion Innovation**

According to Rogers and Shoemaker (in Ruslan, 2013, p. 119) said that diffusion research is one of the typical types of communication research, but the research model starts from outside the field of communication, which comes from the field of sociological research.

### **Process of Diffusion Innovation**

1. According to Everett M. Rogers and Floyd. G. Shoemaker in his book *Perspective Communication Theory, variety, and application* reformulate that this theory assumes that there are at least four stages in a process of innovation diffusion, namely:
2. Knowledge: Individual awareness of innovation and a certain understanding of how the innovation functions
3. Persuasive: Individuals form or have an attitude that approves or disagrees with the innovation
4. Decision: Engage in activities that lead to an option to adopt or reject innovation

Confirmation: The individual will seek opinions that strengthen the decisions he has taken, but he can change from the decisions that have been taken before if the messages about innovation are opposed to one another (in Rohim, 2009, p. 171-172).

### **Facebook**

The emergence of this social networking site begins with an initiative to connect people from all parts of the world. The first social networking site, *sixdegrees.com*, began to appear in 1997. This site has applications for creating profiles, adding friends, and sending messages (Ardianto, 2013, p.168).

### **Facebook History**

First established on February 4, 2004 Facebook was limited to circles from Harvard University and then developed into the Stanford campus. All registered users are limited to people with email addresses with .edu domains from the supported campus (Kurniali, 2009, p.5). Facebook is an online friend network service that is provided free of charge with services that allow you to connect with friends, colleagues, and others who share the same interests or have the same general background (Williyanson, 2010, p.2).

#### **1. Facebook Features**

2. Find out what your friends are doing today
3. Look for restaurant, book, or movie recommendations
4. Find out friends' birthdays
5. Looking for old or new friends

6. Write an article to be published to friends
7. Make an event and also find out some people who will come to your event
8. Send messages to friends via wall or mail.
9. Tell your friends what you are doing right now

Upload photos that you want to show public (Williyanson, 2010, p.19-20).

1. However, Facebook also has advantages and disadvantages. The strengths found on Facebook are as follows:
2. Facebook in this era was included in a large and diverse number of users with the largest segment of young people.
3. Facebook also has several unique and diverse applications, ranging from games, stock simulations, virtual pets, and there are a few more that make users feel happy using Facebook

Facebook users can directly interact via chat on Facebook with friends who are on-line as well. Users are usually more who use the original brand name so that when other people want to find the name, this can make it easier for someone either at first or when they are on friend list (Kurniali, 2009, p.17-18).

1. In addition Facebook also has drawbacks including:
2. Facebook is a social networking site with the longest loading time
3. Disruptive things are when trying to add new friends or some other things Facebook keeps asking for account verification
4. The user cannot know when the person last accessed Facebook

Users cannot know who and how many people have visited the user's profile on Facebook. Though users may be curious about this information (Kurniali, 2009, p.21).

1. In addition there are several things on Facebook that can facilitate communication including the following:
2. Status is a facility where users can communicate with all Facebook users, where users can pour everything they want to say
3. Wall is a facebook facility to send messages to each other in the form of writing, photos or links for fellow Facebook users.
4. Message is a Facebook facility for sending messages in oral form, file attachments, or photos for fellow users privately
5. The existence group makes it easy to communicate with people who have the same relative interest or have the same background. Facebook will provide automatic notification to all group members regarding all activities that occur in the group
6. The pages of most people who use pages to communicate local places or busi-



nesses, companies, organizations, institutions, and others

7. Note this facility allows to share stories or information in a complete format in the form of writing
8. The event is a virtual invitation on Facebook. This facility is one of the more efficient because with the presence of Facebook it does not need to spend a lot of money to print invitations and do not have to deliver invitations to everyone

This Facebook chat facility is very helpful and makes it easy to communicate with relatives and allows to talk face to face through the application (Julianita, 2012, p.35-62).

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The research method used is descriptive qualitative. According to Denzin and Lincoln Strauss and Corbin (2007, p. 11) defining qualitative research is a type of research that produces discoveries that cannot be achieved by using statistical procedures or by other means of qualification.

Researchers use two types of data collection techniques, namely primary data by conducting interviews with internal resource persons, namely Information Services Subdivision, Information Service Staff who handle Facebook, while external namely school children who get Indonesian Smart Cards, Parents from Siwi Students who get Smart Indonesia Card and Expert Resource as resource persons who give or know clearly about information related to social media. Whereas for the collection of secondary data obtained from books, journals, Kemdikbud Official Website, internet. The collected data were analyzed using the Miles & Huberman model, through the data condensation stage, data presentation, and conclusion drawing.

## **RESULT DAN DISCUSSION**

### **Pour All Suggestions and Complaints Regarding the Smart Indonesia Card**

According to Anandes, as the Head of Status Information Services Subdivision, they can assist them in socializing various policy programs of the Ministry of Education and Culture. This initial goal and target is of course so that the community can obtain information that is truly valid. At the moment there is a lot of information circulating so that the information obtained by the community is very large. However, the validity or the truth is that we still cannot call it the valid information. With the Facebook Ministry of Education and Culture, especially now that it has been verified, the public can immediately get information which of course we have clarified or verified and there is already a validity value, so indeed the information is undoubtedly.

According to Ari as the expert social media expert really and ritereli is in the hands of the public and means that the public forms the content and dissemination of the message. Now the result is that the positive side is that information dissemination can be faster because it is not limited by, for example, the scope of who is a customer or has access from the media but on the other hand that access also eliminates other functions of the media, filtering out irresponsible messages or news that has no basic or cool terms is hoax and also eliminates the function of ethics where in the delivery of messages in social media or public media often the message is delivered literally as it is and without considering the impact or who of the recipient later. Now this is caused by several things

## **Submission of Messages through Videos and Images Related to the Smart Indonesia Card**

According to Anandes, as the Head of the Information Services Subdivision, it was made as attractive as possible so that people interested in reading it were also easier not to be afraid - scared too and not boring. Well, his trademark is with the right language. Especially on Facebook, young people. The caption is typical. "If every post is interesting, the information must be clear, not ambiguous or not a piece of what we have not completed. So we have to complete the new post. There is a picture too, we give the video to draw later the link or link of the page or article so that it can be opened, for the announcement too. There are important announcements that are usually interesting to be seen by the reader so the packaging is indeed a lot of types, there are videographies, infographics, etc.

According to Ari as expert resource person, one of the advantages of Facebook is that he has a place to explain much more detail than other social media. Also, Facebook also seems to me personally to have the most complete ability in the sense that he can lift videos, photos, two dimensions and links / hyperlinks from others and that is all available on one platform. If for things that are beneficial to the community much like the Indonesia Smart Card or KIP then I think one of the things that need to be made is to make a short video about the benefits, the teaser, if necessary make the video start from, for example, what teaser about KIP, then there are benefits What about KIP and how various versions of it and what can then be added to Facebook and what are the benefits of Facebook. Indonesian people are visual people easier to see in 30-second video pieces than they have to see images, to read pictures and have to think for 10 seconds "

According to Erika as Facebook Information Services staff To be more perfect again, yes the writing was also included to clarify the picture. Because the level of community needs is increasing. The problem is that I have started to print media oh yes, it's increasing.

## **Process of Spreading Messages through is Fast, Easy and Cost-effective Regarding the Smart Indonesia Card**

According to Anandes as Head of Information Services Subdivision Surely if it was longer and more expensive before. Surely we use paid media (media buying). If in the past the times or information eras we searched for information. We are looking for information everywhere from the printed magazine of the book magazine. Now all the information comes into our hands through social media platforms.

## **Fan Page's Function in Socializing the Smart Indonesia Card**

According to Erika, as Facebook Information Services staff, we are like giving directions to report to the shortcomings. Suppose in an area where there is something wrong. What is difficult to disburse is that we will give a way to convey the complaint. According to Anandes as the Head of Information Services Subdivision, the ways that we do are to improve sometimes we also make articles or make interesting videos to share on Facebook and then make infographics to be interesting so we will try some quizzes later on Facebook. To raise the members too.

## **Use of Language that Affects Facebook Users in Socializing the Smart Indonesia Card**

According to Ari as Expert Expert from Languages, for example, avoid, for example, the language is curbing because it would be boring to use standard and formal language because it would give the impression of respect to the audience, but also do not make the standard language a rigid language. Baku is a language that is good and right and polite but also does not have to be rigid. Yes, Indonesian people are included in high context culture, this high context means personalization, personalization is very important to be called but, if it's already done in a tacky way, for example with our phone, then ask it at length. But if for example we are waiting for our name, for example, again, the queue at the restaurant is given the name asking this father or mother, please. It will give an impression compared to the guest number so many, there are different nuances that occur when we convey with this, then that's what I think needs to be included there.

According to Olivia as an Expert Resource If I think the style of language used is the style of language that is already approaching millennial because our users are indeed familiar with social media as well as content or images so don't play too much in text like that. Maybe if we use Instagram, we play a lot in visuals, so we can use it as an infographic or cartoon or animated pictures, a video that is quite limited on Instagram is only one minute maximum. But if on youtube for more information I think it can be used anyway.

### **Use of Hashtag in Socializing Smart Indonesian Cards**

Related to the hashtag that is owned by every social media accounts. If Twitter uses the hashtag as a trending topic, Facebook itself uses a hashtag to make it easier for people to remember and recognize the topic to be searched. According to Anandes, as the Head of the Information Service Subdivision, this is actually for one theme to be more easily recognized and remembered, it is also easy to find. So if for example we search using Hastag, we will collect everything about kip and make it easier.

### **Socialization of the Indonesia Smart Card to the People who Need a Smart Indonesia Card**

According to Anandes as the Head of Information Services Subdivision, there were several times of our activities, in addition to posting on Facebook. The minister's visit to Indonesia was also clever, the road also became offline and online was actually the same. When friends from the directorate socialize and inform us that the social media manager we combine again on social media like that. So it really needs cooperation between social media managers and technical directorates. Well, like that, maybe the strategy is yes.

According to Erika as Facebook Information Services staff there is a liquid fast, some are not. So on Facebook we announce immediately report if something like that happens. Well, if it has been reported in ult, it must be followed up in the process "(E. Hutapea, primary data interview, 25 April 2017).

### **CONCLUSION**

Based on the findings and discussion in chapter 4 above, the following conclusions can be drawn. First, socialization of the Indonesia Smart Card Through Facebook The Ministry of Education and Culture is considered to be still ineffective because the people from the lower classes who get the Indonesia Smart Card are not all who have Facebook. Second, obstacles in socializing the Indonesia Smart Card through Facebook must be considered more by the government, there are still elements who are not responsible for the mandate

given. So that the Indonesia Smart Card is not delivered to the Sararan Household, the children who should get it. Third, the solution carried out by the BKLM to overcome the obstacles is to give or lead them to the Integrated Service Unit division that specifically serves complaints or complaints experienced by the community. By coming and visiting directly they are more aware of the information.

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**Chapter IV:**  
**Democracy, Election, Political parties, Conflict, and  
Religion**

## Is This Democracy? Assessing *Noken* – Traditional Electoral Mechanism in Papua Indonesia

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### ABSTRACT

The wave of new democracy reached Indonesia at the end of 1998. The direct election for president is in 1999 as a major plank of this new agenda. It changed the pseudo-democracy which used for thirty years by a military regime. The new system uses similar forms across the country except for Papua province that allow to articulate their local democracy based on traditional customs, called as the *Noken*. The basic question on this paper is asking whether the *Noken* reflecting the core values of democracy. The paper observed its process by hearing well educated local people lenses. Paper uses qualitative and descriptive statistics methods. Data gathered through questionnaire and an in-depth interview to gain comprehensive information. Four points out resulted; First, the *Noken* out of democratic election principles. Second, the *Noken* built on cultural setting and focused on individual-deliberative principles. Third, decision-making processes running through formal and informal discussion to sensitize individual preferences. Fourth, member's group commits to the final decision. A major basis issue came up that trust is the fundamental concept for the *Noken* system. There is a potential conflict when the process is intervened by a particular political-individual interest. The process will bias if election malpractice reaches that vulnerable community.

**KEYWORDS:** Local values, violent, vote-highjack, deliberative democracy, social conflict and rent-seeking behavior

### INTRODUCTION

The wave of new democracy reached Indonesia in 1998 when General military President step down from his thirty-two years tenures. The end of authoritarian rule opened the door to a massive democratic reform in Indonesia (Horowitz, 2010; (Nusa & Pigay, 2017; Fukuoka, 2013; Winters, 2013; Mietzner & Aspinall, 2010). Then demand for democratic reform has become robust which all people are very familiar.

Achieving the new page of Indonesia history, the Government of Indonesia (GOI) implemented a democracy spirit in its administration, financial and political policies (Purwoko, 2010). One of the milestones is general election in 1999. The 1999 election changed the pseudo-democracy made by military regime. They was abuse it for his own interest (Sulistyo, 2002). During the five stars general govern; he was control power as President through his 'non-political party'. The party Golkar was harvest victory through many ways, intimidation was one of it (Sulistyo, 2002). The electoral system has been plebiscites held to 'legalized vote' by the public.

Since 1999, democracy was used by Indonesia as a national identity (Karim, 2017). One important feature of democracy in Indonesia can see on direct election at sub-national level. People votes used to elect the governor at province and mayor for municipalities. Though the shifting is not always having a sweet rather than sweat result. Local di-



rect election followed by money politics and rampant corruption at local level. (Bubandt, 2014) Ristian, 2016; Putra, 2017; Retnowati, 2015). However, The GOI has tightly control the election mechanism through implementation of six democracy principles which called as LUBER and Jurdil. L- for langsung-direct, U for Umum-general, BE for Bebas-free, R for rahasia- Secret, Jur for Jujur-honest and Dil for adil- fair through election Law number 7/2017. The New free and fair electoral model applied similarly for all areas in Indonesia.

Despite general rule, Indonesia recognized different models democracy on four special regions. First, abolishing governor election in Yogyakarta province, it is position will go directly to Yogyakarta Sultan. As one of specific region in Indonesia which based on historical context, Yogyakarta province's administration model isrunon aristocracy system (Widodo, 2016;Annafie and Nurmandi, 2016). Second, allowing local parties which is relates with the long military conflict in Aceh Province (Cornish, 2014).Third, Abolishing people-vote mayor election on five municipals in Jakarta metropolitan. Center, west, east, north, south-east Jakarta putsas branches of province which has no autonomous right as any other municipalities. Mayors from five Jakarta municipals is appointed by governor of Jakarta. Other distinct democracy system apply in some Papua areas that based on local tribes traditions, called as a Noken (Reumi, 2017). Voting by local tribe's leader is one of distinct feature of the Noken. Otherwise, the Noken which represent candidates will put on log without any screen cover thus everyone can see each other choices.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Mostly the researchers have paid attention to the distinct feature of *Noken* electoral mechanism in Papua through the perspective of modern democracy model; however, it was rare to test on different perspective that put indigenous customs side by side. This paper purposes to improve our knowledge of the processes by which democracy that brought and heavy with western values articulated into empirical practices. That traditional ethnic has strongly bound with their ancestor setting. The basic aim is to provide a common assessment of how the modern Papuan stands in terms of their thought on utilization this unique mechanism. For the purpose of this paper, the paper focused on Noken processes from the perspective of traditional mechanism that indigenous Papua have been doing. The paper derives data from several districts, across municipalities. The basic framework of paper is guided by Miller's work (2013) on Mohawk's traditional practices in modern world. She concluded that traditional process articulates the modern values of democracy. As she said, it is a living process in which theory is put into practice.

The paper seeks to answer fundamental questions about the Noken mechanism from modern and traditional perspectives. The paper influenced by Muzaqqi (2013). Through cross confirmation among Habermas lenses, local democracy practices in Indonesia and socio-cultural aspects, He argued that deliberative democracy is the heart and perfect model for Indonesia. The paper also tries to develop Pamungkas proposal (2017) which strongly argue that the Noken is reflect deliberative democracy. Through literature review, he argued that the basic value of the Noken is democracy by discussion among traditional group members and their leader to decide community political vote. The Noken viewed as a social cohesiveness among indigenous people besides as a political practice. He is adding that The Noken used for maintaining collectivism and social integration.

The basic framework for the Noken assessment was through two different dimensions of democracy. He suggested that ideal democracy model needed to meet with cer-

tain standards of 1) effective Participation 2) Equality in voting 3) Gaining enlightened understanding 4) Final Control of the agenda 5) Inclusion and 6) Fundamental rights. The paper also explored respondent's perceptions on Pamungkas argument that the Noken can classify as deliberative democracy (2017). He stated that the Noken practices are deliberative democracy when it reflects the DC's characteristics: 1) the importance of argumentation, 2) participant inclusiveness, 3) freedom from being forced, and 4) consensus when political result made. Although his paper used as a starting point, however he did not give any detail on each indicator. Hence the paper develop survey to seek answer some fundamentals queries on the Noken. The paper aim is to provide perception of where well educated Papuans stand in terms of external buzzy debate on employing their traditional electoral mechanism. This model has an important contribution to expanding our perspective on traditional election system.

## RESEARCH METHOD

Data collected by closed questions through survey to 151 well-educated Papuan which studying under and postgraduate outside their hometown. Participants selected purposively. 73% of them is indigenous Papuans. As a member of indigenous community, they have abundant knowledge and experiences on the traditional election process. Achieving high education level, interact with other ethnics and living outside will give them wide perspective on political system in Indonesia. 27% of participant also consists of non-indigenous Papuans who settle minimum ten years in Papua Island.

They selected to present outsider lenses aimed to enrich information based on local situation that they faced. 38% of participants worked as civil servants and some of them who have middle-high rank also interviewed to get deep information on the research focus. 62% of respondents will be worked as civil servants after graduate, means they familiar with governmental and political subject. 42% of respondents came from ten Noken-municipality users; Lanny Jaya, Yakuimo, Puncak Jaya, Timika., Mimika, Dogiyai, Yalimo, Asmat, Central Mamberamo and Wamena. 65% of respondents experienced as voters on local or national election. Participants asked by closed 5-likert scale questionnaire, 1= strongly disagree (SD), 2= Disagree (D), 3=Neutral/Undecided, 4= Agree (A), 5= Strongly Agree (SA).

## LITERATURE REVIEW

There is no single consensus on the theory of democracy that agreed fully. Rather, a plethora of challenging theories, each of which based on ideological and political assumptions or a democracy concept based on its implementation. The term of Democracy is an old word which profound louder to this modern globe. Probably, democracy is the most famous term which crossing boundaries instead of the debatable meaning on it. Along with its development, the term of democracy become as an amorphous concept, it has to vary articulations and it also debatable meaning(Campbell, 2008; Munck, 2016).According to the ancient Greek concept of democracy was explained as rule by people. Modern democracy strengthens the Greek definition of democracy is that government of the people, by the people and for the people. Added by Democracy is collective decision-making process by the people through the voting process (Issacharoff, 2008). Referred to de Tocqueville American life in the 19th century, He expresses that The American translated democracy as egalitarian and equity (Tocqueville & de Tocqueville, 2002).

The main principle of democracy is that provision of basic individual choice. Democracy are deemed to channel people voice on decision making process. Thus the final decision will be more reflect people preferences (Epstein, 2011). Democracy viewed has power to solve disagreement among people different choices. Democracy put as basis standard to agree with gentle when they come to disagree in one particular case. Ideally, democracy is a panacea to produce the good outcomes: reduce disintegration and conflict horizontal among people (references). It has existed from Aristotle to Rosseau, which generally viewed that no actual political system is likely to meet fully the requirement of ideal (Dahl, 2006). Some viewed politics in negative perspective on how power can hold. Some think it is the best way to exercise the power (Heywood, 2013). Though the concepts of democracy are varied and it articulated in different ways, however, the relationship between election and democracy is quite clear; scholars determined that election play central role and conceptual form of democracy (Bünthe, Ufen, & Dawsonera, 2008; Blais, Morin-Chassé, & Singh, 2017). Electoral is the instrument of democracy (Diamond & Plattner, 2006).

Shcumpeter (1947) explained that democracy is how candidates got their political power through people votes. Dahl (1998) proposed the concept distribution of power and people participation. Democracy represented by freedom and fair universal suffrage for each citizen to elect his or her representatives (Greenberg, 1993). The function of electoral mechanism came from Huntington (1991), Dahl (1998) which figure out that accountable elected official has resulted in people fair election. Direct election posits that it is either free of the people to choose or to control their leader, is a basic principle of democracy (Dahl, 1998). The mechanism of election based on the principles of free, fair and held periodically. Free election procedures might be somehow different in different countries. Nevertheless, the best way to assure democratic election is through freedom of individual expression to elect their representatives. Accordingly, a democratic election has to give wide access for everyone to participate equally.

Reversely, democracy also guarantees equal opportunity for everyone to be elected. Democracy is freedom from discrimination. The free and fair election is an ideal figure of the modern democratic country. The ideal concept of democracy spells out clearly by Dahl (2006) which proposed the requirement of democracy, effective participation, equality in voting, gaining enlightened understanding, final control of the agenda, inclusion and fundamental rights. Yet, those are essential for understanding when and why democracy should be run on modern standard. The main concept of democracy is that provide channel for people to elect their leader freely. One important fact to know that the recent democracy concept and practices were came from some part of the globe which born in particular conditions. It invaded through colonialist power regardless native local culture. Later, modern democracy emerged as a focal point as a part of human rights (Christiano, 2015; Dryzek, 2016; Miller, 2015).

### **Democracy for Traditional Community**

Considering Munck's proposal (2014) and the types of democracy, the condition of democracy is not merely election and representative democracy is only one of democracy type. And Globe provides different figures on democracy practices. Some of community has their own mechanism. Democracy has various forms and conditions; the native identity covers various structures from social-cultural, language, administration system, and politics to their religious or spiritual beliefs. while the potential for development particular community through utilization of their traditional values is recognized (Bentzen, 2017;

Horn-Miller, 2013; Turpel, 1992; Jalata, 2012; Inguanzo, 2011; Pamungkas, 2017), hitherto there has been little interest of scientist to the notion of traditional/indigenous identity concept in modern administration in general and political sphere in particular. Probably as mentioned (Van Cott, 2010) that traditional custom was not compatible with modern politics and Indigenous people viewed as a backward community. Growing awareness their right, some of the indigenous people in Latin America struggle to put their representative in political domain (Inguanzo, 2011). Similar cases in Jordania that tribal community requested their representatives at the national legislature (Rowland, 2009). Mohawk-native group asked for their traditional democratic system to be respected (Horn-miller, 2013).

Within the political literature, democracy system in tribal-indigenous community is rarely discussed with connoted as contrast with modern values and practices. Refers to the papers on indigenous political system, the model of local democracy is inheriting from their ancestor through generation to generation. The democracy practices existed before colonial period. Democracy (on local perspectives) is already there (Turpel, 1992; Jalata, 2012; Miller, 2013). In some extent, it is reflecting the modern democracy practices (Bentzen et al, 2017). It shows on consensus democracy in Mohawk community in Canada, or similar with modern representative democracy as Bentzen do researched. How traditional Mohawk democracy facilitates a single member to participate based on individual idea on communal decision-making process. Miller (2013) argued Mohawk democracy traditional practices is participatory democracy as it found in modern values. In Jordania case, the tribal democracy practice comes as a bridge for achievement 'ideal democracy' (Rowland et al, 2009).

History notes that the concept of modern democracy has co-opted known democratic concepts and eliminated democratic practices carried out by minorities in the world. The colonization process is believed to be one way to eliminate the concept of traditional democracy that lives in references. If democracy is always associated with election, whereas Munck (2016) states clearly that democracy is not merely about elections.

Concerning indigenous right has its roots in the worldwide thought beginning in the late of 1960s. Since then, traditional native values have become a central element in human right protection agenda and fully support by international forums. There is also growing awareness that a global-protection needed to manage their administration based on their own values. Indeed, benefits colonization of thought emerged over time; one argues that it brings modernization and another argues that it was out of justice (Zhillian Z, Ronggu, 2010; Margaret, 2016). However mostly agrees that ex-colony has full authority to restore their system. During colonization period, indigenous suffered and excluded from the political process in their own land (Inguanzo, 2011). In fact, according to the UN declaration, the model of external can no longer meet the sensitivity of native values.

It has realized that colonization slowly perished the native identities (Lawson, 1999). One of the missing practices is traditional democracy practices which have been implemented for centuries. Indigenous communities have governance structures, values and norms that they believe to be truth and are carried out as a recurring and sustainable ritual (Lawson, 1996). Democracy is one of the governance mechanisms and traditional rituals that they have run. Measuring the quality of democracy carried out by a group must be based on the nature of the locality inherent in the community. Democracy that is carried out in indigenous communities must be seen from its function and not merely to the



form or process carried out. In general, their democracy serves as a unifying tool, peace, security which is precisely the basis of sustainable development for their communities and strengthening their position among modern ethnic groups (Jalata, 2012; Rowland, 2009; Horn-Miller, 2013; Inguanzo, 2011). Pamungkas (2017) argued that the Noken can classify as deliberative democracy. He contested that it is process going through intense discussion and justifying on result which will bind for all member group. The paper offers a deep explanation to compare process on different electoral system of democracy. As mention above, some indigenous political scholars argued that the process of traditional system is reflect the values of democracy.

Papua is the easternmost region of Indonesia, which is incorporated in NKRI through international agreement, New York Agreement on August 15, 1962. Until now, in its territory, there is still conflict both vertical conflicts between some people. Papua with the Indonesian government and horizontal conflicts between people in the Papuan lands that are linked to economic or socio-cultural issues. Papua is a region which is too complex. This region is rich in natural resources and culture but most of the indigenous Papuans are still very poor and even a small part of its people live as if it were in the Neolithic Stone Age (Bhakti and Pigay, 2017). In terms of topography, the territory of Papua consists of coastal areas of mountain valleys and islands of large and small islands. Papua is Indonesia's most ethnic region with about 250 ethnic groups counted from the number of languages they use. This makes Indonesia is the second largest number of languages country in the world after Papua New Guinea (PNG) which has about 700 languages or ethnic groups.

Inhibiting factors of the implementation of democracy in Papua is culture. Papuan society consists of several different ethnic groups with different languages. However, they have in common that the Papuan culture is unfamiliar with western democracy, which entitles everyone to vote and be elected. Papuan culture is a culture that classifies humans on the basis of descent. When born as ordinary people, until the end of life will only be a member of society and will never be a leader. When born from the leader's lineage, the opportunity to become a leader is enormous. There is no direct democracy in Papuan culture. There is no chance for Papuans to vote.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **How was Noken-Election System Held?**

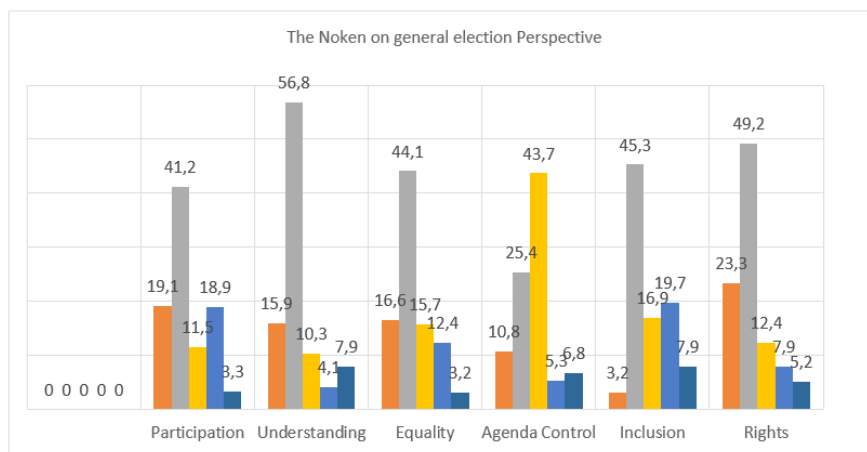
Noken referred to a traditional woven handmade bag and used by Papuan woman. It has multi-functions, from a garden products carrier to baby's. Though Noken has different name relates with different languages in different Tribes (Arizona, 2010), however, Noken has highly philosophy value across Papuan tribes. It refers as cultural identity in Papua (Pekei, 2011; Cabuy, 2013). Noken acted as the symbol of unity and togetherness among different Papuan tribal groups. Due to the value on it, Noken converted as a ballot box and used in general Election 1971, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992 and 1997. It justified as legitimate electoral mechanism through constitutional court in 2009. In that sense, Noken is used as a ballot box in Papua areas since 1971 when military regime held the first general election under their administration.

In 2014 election, seven of municipalities used Noken despite the one man one vote system which implemented in any other areas throughout Indonesia include

22 municipalities in Papua Province. The Noken was justified as legitimate electoral mechanism strengthened by constitutional court in 2009. As legitimate election mechanism, Noken was proving the traditional role of democracy development in Indonesia. The Noken electoral mechanism allows voters to give their political right to the traditional community leader on behalf of member's voice. The traditional leader has a full mandate to hold individual political right belong to his ethnic group. The process of Noken election was carried out through collective decision-making process among traditional community members (Firdaus, 2016).

The discussion will encompass which political party will be elected by them or who's candidate will receive their votes. When final decision has been made, the top tribe leader will cast on each paper vote on behalf member's group. In some particular areas, while leader put all of the paper's votes into Noken which is functioned as a ballot box, the members will prepare a big hole on the ground for stone burnt celebration as a democratic party. The simple reason for Noken practices addresses to avoid mass riot because of different individual preferences (Firdaus, 2016).

**RESULT AND DISCUSSION**



**Effective Participation**

The fundamental objective of the effective participation according to Dahl (2006) is the wide opportunity for people to determine which electoral is fit for them. The concept of effective participation also refers to the level of people knowledge on the electoral system. The basic rule of election is to create high-quality democracy process by allowing local people to translate the 'complicated' politics mechanism by their own perspective. To assess this indicator, respondents asked by question relates to local Papuans contribution on Noken system.

The findings revealed that more than half of respondents (60,3%) disagree that Noken provide sufficient mechanism for all Papuans as a voter. The result also shows that the Noken is not reflect effective mechanism for Papuans tribe member to vote by own will. Small percentage of respondents (22,2%) agree that participation of Papuans through the Noken have been fully achieved.

The finding is contrast with the number of participation in Papua which always



above national rate (Nurhasyim et al, 2015)<sup>1</sup>. Why was the voter turnout not relating with Papuans participation? Based on general election committee/KPU report, the voter turnout in Papua for President Election in 2014 was 92% and it was the highest in Indonesia. However, KPU also mentioned that it was because of the Noken system applied in Papua (LIPI and KPU, 2014)<sup>2</sup>. However, Noken cannot be used as a benchmark because Noken does not represent the number of voters who come to the ballot box. The number of voter turnout in the Noken system is the number of ballot votes and does not represent the number of voters.

This is in line with findings by Kossay, 2016 and Lefaa et al, 2013; those indicated that the Noken towards participation was negative. Mostly respondents believed that local Papuan whom belongs to tribe groups has less participation in the election and in any electoral forms caused by traditional culture.

The case of Papuan democracy is a common case faced by indigenous groups in other countries. Their democracy is a distinct democracy shaped strongly by the culture .....*indigenous populations have their own identity rooted in historical factors* .....(Turpel, 1992). Less participation of ordinary Papuans is referring to the traditional culture which legalized by constitutional court that an electoral system implements a custom system that mandates the head of the tribe as a representative of the local indigenous people. In some extent, Democracy practices in Papua can be seen in Papua New Guinea which has similar traditional culture: voted by big men/traditional leader and (in the case of PNG) woman was not allow to vote (The diplomat, August 11, 2017).

### **Gaining Enlightened Understanding**

Dahl (2006) explain this concept as giving broad chance and time to society to consider the options available and know well any consequences of the choices taken. This concept provides an explanation that Papuans have the right to determine who the candidate or political party will be elected. However, the election process should be based on a good voters' knowledge of the contestants to be selected. This concept can only be applied when built good political institution capacity. Not much can be expected from the implementation of democracy in Papua when majority Papuan is illiterate. Whereas democracy will only be able to perform well if voters have a good level of education (Glaesser et al, 2007). Scholars explained convincingly that education and democracy have a significant correlation.

The results revealed that most of the respondents disagree that the Noken can be used as political education for traditional group members. As shown in graph 1.1 almost three quarter (72.7%) of the respondents disagree that the Noken is a perfect mechanism for Papuan on democracy practices and is not useful to use as channel for their political right.

While all Indonesian in different regions celebrates independence to vote, on the other side some Papuans give their vote rights to their community leaders. The new form of the election at the same time it has meant that the new form arrangements remain subject to consideration. Some said that Noken is absolutely opposed to the direct principle

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1 [www.kpu.go.id/.../Partisipasi\\_Pemilih\\_pada\\_Pemilu\\_2014\\_Studi\\_Penjajakan.pdf](http://www.kpu.go.id/.../Partisipasi_Pemilih_pada_Pemilu_2014_Studi_Penjajakan.pdf)

2 Nurhasyimdkkdalam LIPI- KPU, PartisipasiPemilihPadaPemilu 2014: StudiPenjajakan(Voters participation on 2014 election, pre-study)

of election. However some interesting reasons came up from this phenomena *'mostly the traditional Papuans are illiterate, poor and have very limited access on electoral institutions, if they give the ballot vote to the leader it was not only because they have to obey leader command but we do believe that common (traditional) people know nothing at all on electoral.*

Referring to the Noken system that does not allow the ordinary people to vote, it is asked *'what will happen if the Papuan people are given the opportunity to vote?'* Respondents' responses varied somewhat, *'not all people who use Noken are people who do not understand politics, it's good to give the same opportunity to the Papuan people to vote like other Indonesians'*. Some respondents stated that *'currently Papuans are not yet ready to vote with a one-vote system because the majority of voters do not have sufficient knowledge'* Some say *'Papuans need to improve the quality of life to be able to vote like other Indonesians. This respondent's opinion is in line with what was said by UNESCO (2006) that education-literacy is not only necessary as a basic right that must be possessed by every human, but literacy is the basic human capacity that must be owned to achieve other rights.*

### **Equality in Voting**

Referring to the concept of equality in voting from Dahl (2006) states that everyone has the right to vote and every option has the right to be counted. This concept is closely related to the concept of general suffrage as a basic principle in the electoral system. The basic concept regarding the election in Indonesia refers to general suffrage which is pointing election for all. The election in Indonesia is eligible for citizens who already seventeen years or got married regardless age. The regulation of election stated that every citizen has political right to deliver their votes in the same particular date. The findings revealed that most of the respondents disagree (60.37%) that Noken give similar opportunity to all Papuans as a voter.

The Noken practices were contrast with common election system in Indonesia. Election used as fundamental rights which applied to everyone regardless any kind of classification. The election committee will assist if the voters have difficulties. Those are to ensure that election will give equal opportunity to all Indonesia citizens. The general principles of the election in Indonesia are assured all Indonesians to have electoral right-universal adult suffrage regardless gender, religions, ethnics, and ideology, poor or rich at least it's revoked by law.

Indonesia's political reform built on significant achievement to apply the real democracy for people to give their vote right freely. All core political institutions had well established at national and local level. The apparent a-new local election raised high expectations that local people and local politics institutions would have been taking beneficiaries of this process. This form of democratization entailed a full people participation in the election. This initial phase was grab immediately by all local political institutions. Yet it is not fully implemented in Papua with some exceptions.

### **Final Control of the Agenda**

The genuine idea behind this concept is that people have full right to know what the final decision which were made is. Even Dahl (2006) mention that final decision is changeable if the people want to do so. Again, this concept gave a highlight on people right on the electoral system. Transparency and access are other indicators which came up from this concept. And how it implemented in Noken system? Once more, traditional

Papuans belong to a particular group which is embedded by cultures has less opportunity to control the electoral system. They have been trapped by culture, they are following their ancient custom until modernization giving back their right.

This Noken system rests on the «Big Man» or tribal chief. A Big Man is not just a political leader who determines the rules to be followed by tribal people, but also economic, social, and cultural leaders. His power is not derived from heredity, but because of the influence, charisma, and color of his respected and sometimes feared leadership. There are rights and obligations of the Big Man and its citizens. The Big Man is responsible for the availability of basic needs of his citizens such as eating, and health, but instead, citizens should be loyal to whatever Big Man decisions. The Big Man political system in Papua has been going on for hundreds or even thousands of years (Kossay, 2014). Implementation of elections using Noken, shows the submission of group members' rights to big men to exercise suffrage, Democracy practice in Papua can be classified on the patron-client mechanism. Big-men acts as a patron and society act as a client.

Graph 1.1 shows the response in relation to the voting process. Some of respondents (36.2%) think the traditional community member has nothing to do with the election process. Patron-client relationships occur in Papua which has low productivity, poor and isolated. The pattern of community relationships and Big men in the election in Papua is a patron-clientelism pattern. However, a small percentage of respondents (12.1%) believe that nowadays some of traditional groups that live near urban was aware with any situations in their areas. They also care about election.

### **Inclusion**

According to Dahl (2006) states that, inclusion of ideal democracy focuses on people participation in every single step of its mechanism. Referred to this concept, this paper assessing participation traditional Papuan groups mostly of the issue, which is addressed by Dahl with focus on Papuan's participation in the election. The mechanism of the election in Indonesia started with voter's list, an invitation for D-day, and Election Day when every voter went to the ballot box for casting the paper. This mechanism was applied to all regions except some areas in Papua Island. Graph 1.1 shows the inclusion aspect on the Noken system. It is display that almost a half of respondent disagree that Noken does not give significant opportunity for all Papuans. Based on interviewed, respondent gave the reason on this phenomenon: Election socialization that did not reach the people of Papua was caused by isolated locations and difficult to reach. Respondents mention the location of the scattered place of residence and the bustle of traditional community residents in the fields as the reason why Papuans in the interior do not have the same opportunities as other communities.

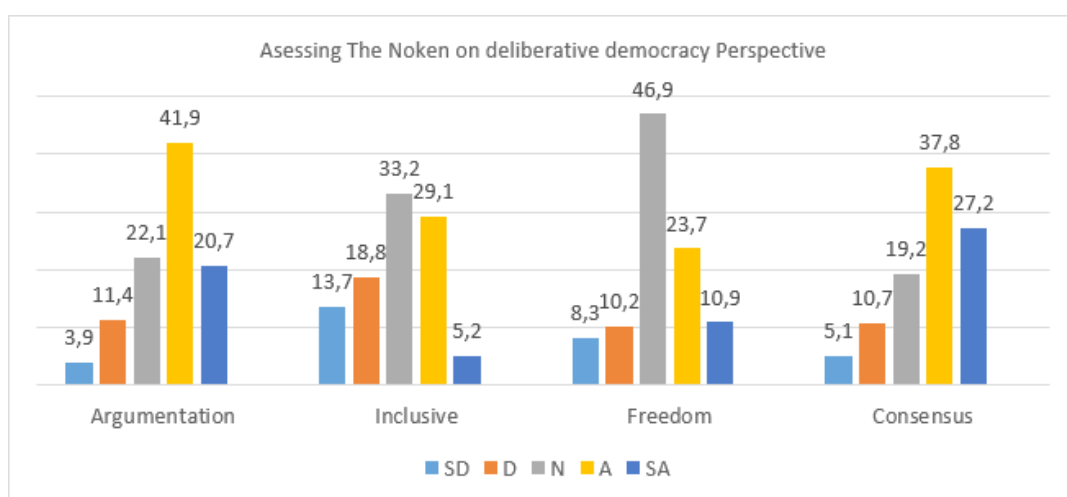
The distinct features of geographical landscape and local social-economic situations, democracy mechanism in Papua were regulated in different mechanism. First, the term of election called Noken which was only found in Papua. Second, this special election was regulated by special laws. Third, the Papua's election was based on their traditional customs. Forth, Noken practices were opposite with national mechanism which allow someone else to cast ballot paper on behalf of particular group's member. Despite political spheres, Papua put as special autonomous regions which has exclusivity in their governance system (Mutiarin&Perkasa, 2010).

### **Fundamental Rights**

In assessing Noken mechanism toward election on this principle also show that Noken is against individual-political right and presented as a contradictive way on democracy. Moreover, Noken has displayed the restraints placed on state legal democracy standard, the electoral system currently in these remote areas run in an open public area without any hidden ballot box which assures the freedom of voters to choose. And when voters lend their rights to their leader, those are opposite of democracy context. The mechanism of Noken system explained by one respondent 'all ballot vote is handled by community leader which then it voted by himself on behalf of community members'. The Noken mechanism is not provided traditional Papuan to vote by their own choices. Through Noken mechanism is zero-sum to elect political candidate secretly, voted by local leader should be received as people votes. The answer of respondents explains on this aspect, almost three quarter (72, 5%) agree that the Noken is not ideal mechanism for Papua to deliver their political right.

The primary concern of free political right for the citizen is assuring a full protection of individual choices when they want to choose their representatives. The essential components of free principles on democratic election which derived from interviews are; (1) creating conducive environment (2) freedom individual decision making to vote (3) direct access of voters to the voting paper and to go the ballot box (4) free from any kinds of intimidation (5) free from any influencing (6) free from 'vote buying'. However, since *Noken* used as election mechanism in Papua is totally no free election in this area. When the question comes to the possibilities of this community to have the similar right as other citizens, the answers obtained a similar answer. *'For the Papua who lives in remote areas, it is not a matter of freedom of choices or free to vote, but elections to them are meaningless, they do not understand on elections, do not know the political parties that participate and also they do not know who the candidate leaders who are shown on the ballot vote'*.

Assesing the Noken on deliberative democracy perspective deliberative democracy when it reflects the DC's characteristics: 1) the importance of argumentation, 2) participant inclusiveness, 3) freedom from being forced, and 4) consensus for political result



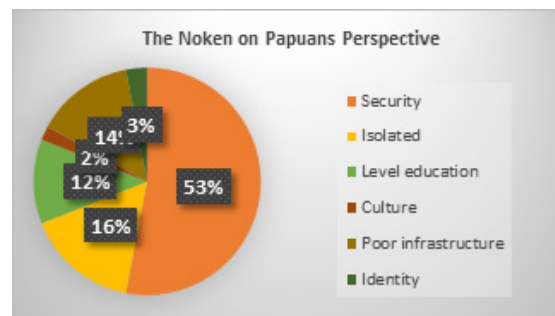
## The Importance of Argumentation

The first important aspect of deliberative democracy according Pamungkas (2017) is strong reason why deliberative should be held for the Noken. In this case the question deliver to the respondent is ‘some of Papua areas used the Noken system for the election, the government of Indonesia has reason to apply this mechanism’. The respondents answer shows in graph 1.2, more than half (62,6%) agree with the statement. Answers to open questions asking the reason for using Noken in some of Papua’s friends as in Figure 1.3 will clearly show some of the causes. Respondents answered (53%) the main driver of the use of Noken was the reason for security. As it is known, Papua was declared as the most vulnerable area when the election was held. Election conflicts in Papua always cause casualties (Pasaribu, 2016).

Two answers from respondents have been able to illustrate a strong reason why some parts of Papua use different electoral systems. The second reason is the geographical condition (16%). In general, Noken is only used in remote areas that are difficult to reach, there is no infrastructure access. Almost all respondents stated that sometimes it took days to get to the area (14%). The reason for using Noken sequentially later is the low level of education (12%), the reason that Noken is related to Papuan identity (3%), the last reason is Noken relating to culture (2%).

## DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATION

Figure 3. Why the Noken still exist in 21<sup>st</sup> Century?



## Participant Inclusiveness

The Noken system has proven to be different from the one man one vote system. In general, people consider that this system is contrary to the values of modern democracy. But on the other hand, the concept of deliberative democracy states clearly that democracy must be seen in depth by seeing the intrinsic value of how the voice of the people can be conveyed. The Noken system is ideally the concept of a democracy, which gives ordinary people the opportunity to make choices. The way that is done before choosing is by conducting a dialogue about the political candidates to be chosen. Respondents were asked about community involvement in determining the choice of candidates, the answer was 32.5% disagree that political decisions involved the community as a whole, as many as 34.3% did not argue and as much as 34.3% agreed that political decisions were made on the basis of inter-community discussion.

This answer looks a little ambiguous because the agree-disagree and abstain proportions are slightly similar. Then asked the respondent how the Noken process was carried out. And this is the answer ‘ideally the decisions of indigenous groups must be based



on joint decisions. Discussions are held formally at the Honai house (culture house). ‘The decision of Big Men or the head of the tribe was based on the agreement of the residents after they negotiated. Deliberation in the Noken system is a discursive and contestation practice to determine political decisions, such as candidates or political parties in elections. The core of the Noken system is community participation through consultation and discussion in determining collective political choices.

The Noken system is implemented in two ways, first, the Big Man system. The Big Man system allows voters to give their political right to the traditional community leader on behalf of member’s voice. The traditional leader has a full mandate to hold individual political right belong to his ethnic group. The process of Noken election was carried out through collective decision-making process among traditional community members (Firdaus, 2016). The Big Man system and the hanging system or according to customary law are accommodation in communion and consensus, which is based on traditional values and local wisdom in the culture of indigenous peoples in the mountainous region of Papua. This consensus deliberation process is interpreted as the indigenous Papuan democracy in the mountainous region of Papua. The results of the election depend on the decision of the Big Man. Big Man is a community figure who has a strong influence among group members. Big Man is not born or based on lineage, Big Man can be a group member whose life has a leadership spirit and gets full trust from community members. For isolated tribes in the mountains of Papua, the Big Man is a person who has full trust.

However, in some cases, decisions are sometimes taken by big men or the chief of tribe without involving the community. Dichotomy function of *Big Man* also drawn from this interview, some informants argued that *Big Man* is stabilizer agent who can protect negative impact of election within the traditional community. In the same time, *Big Man* is a dual-faced agent which can utilize his power to ‘sell’ community vote for his short-term interest. Though the result of election achieved by consensus between the community and *Big Man* (Kossay, 2014; Arizona, 2010). Hardly to control *Big Man* decision when He has the strong power of community members. On the other hand, this phenomenon also gives advantages for a candidate to get whole community votes through influencing this person.

The respondent’s information is in line with the explanations of Lefaan et al (2013), Pamungkas (2017), Panggabean (2016) and Pasaribu (2014) that the Noken system is vulnerable to fraud. The Noken system is very vulnerable to fraud, such as money politics and the seizure of political rights by local elite members due to several factors. Social relations that are not equal to the citizens of the big men, head of the tribal group, make decisions only taken by the elite. Poverty causes money politics to be a driver of political decisions which are not based on agreement. Low educational background causes voters’ rights to be taken by other parties.

### **Freedom from Being Forced**

According to Pamungkas (2013), Kossay (...) The selection process using Noken is carried out in several stages, the first is the socialization of candidates who follow the regional head elections and the presidential election, or candidates from political parties in the legislative elections. This socialization process then goes formally in the form of discussions at traditional houses, called Honai. All men who sleep in one Honai will discuss the matter of who will be chosen, led by the chief of tribe. The process of determining



candidates chosen is also carried out in several places, such as the church. Discussions about candidates generally discuss the background of candidates and what is important is the prediction of the benefits gained by the community for these candidates. This is an important point that is not found in the individual selection mechanism.

Noken determines the selection based on the benefits or impact of the election on the community. This is an important feature of the Noken system, even choosing on behalf of the community, by the community and for the community. The statement for respondents from this aspect was 'the member of traditional tribe has an opportunity to contribute on political decision'. And the respondent's answer on agree and strongly agree was 34.6% higher than respondent's answer on disagree and strongly disagree with 18.5%. This comparison of numbers shows that the Noken process still runs like an ideal state as it was. Even though respondents who answered doubtfully or did not think that this answer had the highest percentage of 46.9%. Answers to respondents' doubts are known from an explanation of open questions about this aspect. Respondents 'answer to freedom from being forced is' I believe there is no coercion in some places, but many things are happening now. The dynamics of democracy are running very fast, some are still running as before but some are changing as well. I believe there is no coercion but chiefs or big men using voting rights of the people above their own interests. And this does not happen with coercion because people strongly believe in the chief or big men.

### **Consensus on Political Result**

The statement which deliver to the respondents for this aspect was 'All tribal member group are stick with the final political decision maker'. The respondent answer for agree and strongly agree achieved highest percentage (65%) whether answer for disagree and strongly disagree was 14,8%. This answer shows obviously that member of traditional group has strong consensus with the decision made by their tribal head chief or their big men. But unfortunately, this aspect is also now beginning to change. Conflicts that occur in the election in Papua show that the consensus on choice becomes irrefutable. Differences of opinion in determining the parts that were previously are unable to be rejected; now they can happen. In this decade there has been a dynamic change in the political atmosphere in the Papuan people who have begun to be touched by information. The background to the social conflict in elections in the elections is one of the reasons why the number of Noken uses has declined (Pasaribu, 2016). On the other hand, social economic conditions, the accessibility of the accessibility and isolation of the region are also the reason why the Noken system is still used up to this century,

### **Practical Implication**

Increasing the political capacity of traditional Papuans is a major prerequisite for granting political rights as fundamental human right. For that reason, it is necessary to crash the political development program in Papua for all Papuans who still use Noken to know their political rights. It is needed to build a strong political institution in Papua adapted to Papua's cultural capacity by not abandoning the democratic principles used by the Indonesian nation. However, the policy of Noken in Papua should pay attention to many aspects, social, economic, culture, security, considering that the Papuan people are fragile people who need to get the full attention of the Indonesian Government.

## Theoretical Implication

Noken mechanism is multi-complex phenomenon which should be observed through multi-facet lenses, which cannot be put on political views solely. First, empirical practices provide a strong argument contra with the concept of ideal democracy proposed by Dahl (2006). Second, the practical election system in Papua through Noken even though did not reflect the democracy in modern society however it was articulate the complex situation within Indigenous group in Papua. Third, the analyses provide further support for the claims that indigenous groups have their own democracy model

## CONCLUSION

The constitutional regulation of Indonesia legalized this traditional practice in the name of preventing the high values among those communities (Sodikin, 2015), however it contradictive with the general democratic principles. The denial of democratic values adopted by indigenous democracy occurs when evaluation based through outsider lenses. Whereas the values of western and traditional democracy are both produced from the processing of norms-values-practices owned by each community. It is not strange if the results will be different, do not they also live in different environments? The problem lies in rigid hegemony between westerns that are considered to have better value than traditional democracy. Even if democracy is considered as a form of culture, there is no absolute right and wrong judgment. Majority respondents argued that Noken system reflects the local custom diversity which shows the consensus-based decision model and should be preserved as a local identity. Yet, the paper shows that democracy in Papua has increased significantly since the decreasing of number areas which used Noken system. It also came up that the increase of information, education level, improvement of basic infrastructure in isolated area believed will alter the level of political institution in Papua.

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### **Local Democracy: Improving the Quality of Simultaneous Local Elections In Indonesia**



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## **ABSTRACT**

This study describes the implementation of local democracy through the simultaneous local election in Indonesia. The concurrent election has been held simultaneously 3 times in 2015, 2017 and 2018. After the implemented in three years, it still found some problems, among others, money politics, political bureaucratic and problems in the process stages of election especially the fulfilment of the rights of voters. The problems of the region were also influenced by the area/location. This has been compiled by the organizers of the election based on the electoral insecurity index. All forms of violations and malpractice in the election will have implications on the stability of social and political areas. This study explores the evaluation of election implementation and the efforts made by election organizers to improve the quality of elections. This research also aims to contribute to the improvement of the quality of the elections, among others, for the organizers, participants and voters. We conducted literature study on relevant with previous research, statistical data and the study of documentation. The results of this research show that it needs for the strengthening of institutional electoral organizers, recruitment of qualified candidates as well as the role of civil society in monitoring the participatory elections. Election organizers should be able to ensure that each phase of the elections conducted in accordance with applicable law. In addition to improving the quality of local democracy was also needed on the role of the media in maintaining the neutrality of the election as well as the efforts in providing political education. The local democracy that exists in Indonesia must always be evaluated and efforts to reform the election organizers because it will be influential in the next elections implementation improvements. The quality of elections will affect the election of local leaders who are able to represent the will of the community and will result in the integrity of election management.

**KEYWORDS:** Local democracy, simultaneous election, quality, the electoral organizer

## **BACKGROUND**

Many countries claim that their system of government is based on a democratic system, the process of achieving the goals of democracy itself still leaves a number of issues. In the highest stage of development, democracy is not only found in political life but also has spread to social and economic life. While at the lowest stage, democracy can be realized through the election of representatives of the people whose quality still raises doubts. So if in the highest stage of development, democracy has touched the level of socio-economic-economy in a comprehensive system; in the lower stages, democracy has only been built in a political system with a nominal representation of the people (Dahl, 1982).

Democracy in Indonesia itself is still considered to be looking for the perfect form so that all elements of society are good, culturally, ethnically and religiously, are equally disturbing the presence of the state through a democratic system. An election is one of the democratic ways to obtain legitimate governance. Through elections held with overflow and fairness, indirectly the people can circulation of government change by peaceful means without destroying the order and rules of the game that have been mutually agreed upon. For civilized nations, the election is an instrument for democratic formation, because they believe that through succession elections the government can run more smoothly, compared to the methods and actions of mass violence that put forward radicalism (Didik, 2010).

Since 2015, the model or concept of regional head elections in Indonesia has been carried out simultaneously, until now there have been three simultaneous recoveries of regional heads at the district or city level and at the provincial level in 2015, 2017, and finally 2018 months last June. The concept of post-conflict local election in Indonesia is expected to increase community participation or involvement in the political process in democratic areas to produce aspirational regional heads and have a commitment to improving the welfare of the community. Expectations that there will be a positive reciprocity between increasing political participation in the community with better changes in local government performance (Hadiz, 2010).

Table 1. Local Election in Indonesia 2015-2017

No.	Area	Amount
1.	Province	33
2.	City	93
3.	Regency	416
Total		542

Source: kpu-ri.go.id

From the table above, it should be quantified that the General Election Commission in the Region has sufficient experience to be able to hold quality elections. Because the direct election of regional heads can emphasize democratic values and locality rather than service efficiency. According to John Halligan and Chris Aulich (1998) explained that "The local democracy model of local differences values and system diversity because the local authority has both the capacity and the legitimacy of local choice and local voice. This means the local authority can and will make choices that differ from those made by others". Whereas according to Danny, Dobbyn and Paul in Al-Fairi (2011), "the structural efficiency model is rooted in the theory of local government which is built according to management theory, while the democratic model of regional government is built according to political theory".

Elections at the local level in regions in Indonesia are also expected to be able to do their job optimally. Because of the many organizers the general elections in the region there are still many shortcomings both technically and procedurally. From the many reports that there are the most electoral disputes in 2018, according to the Central Election Supervisory Body report, there are 1,792-8,751 violations that occurred during the regional head general elections simultaneously. Supposedly from year to year, there must be

an improvement in a better direction.

Every year before the holding of regional head elections simultaneously in various cities in Indonesia, the Election Supervisory Board (BAWASLU) issues a report in the form of election vulnerability index in each region, there are five variables in resolving vulnerabilities in each region, namely Organizing Propesonality (30%), Money Politics (20%), Supervisor Access (15%), Community Participation (20%), and Regional Security (15%). From the reports of the last three years shows that the number of volunteers in some areas is still very high. According to some observers also stated this, there are many problems that are still being faced by the regions to hold elections that are of direct quality and honest and fair.

According to Fariz, one of the researchers in Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) there are at least 10 crucial issues that are feared, namely:

1. Buying and selling candidacy (candidate buying) between candidates and political parties.
2. The emergence of a problematic name (ex-convict or corrupt) and candidate with dynasty.
3. The emergence of a single candidate (KPU on 10 January 2018 announces there are 19 regions with a single candidate. Three of the four districts/cities that will hold elections in Banten even have a single candidate).
4. High-cost campaigns
5. Collection of illegal models (buying and selling business licenses, buying and selling positions, project bribes) and politicizing government programs (grant funds, social assistance, village funds and other vulnerable budgets) for campaigns.
6. Politicization of bureaucracy and state officials, ranging from bureaucrats, teachers to TNI/Polri institutions
7. Money politics (voter buying and selling).
8. Manipulation of campaign finance reports
9. Bribery to election organizers
10. Corruption for capital collection, buying and selling permits, buying and selling positions, to budget corruption. (<https://news.detik.com>)

According to the results of Habibullah's (2017) research on Money Politics, the simultaneous plots that exist in West Sumatra actually make money politics more freely used as an engine for producing votes, the neutrality and integrity of the General Election Commission cannot be trusted in some regions. Therefore, there must be an evaluation of the implementation and the prevention of these matters, starting from the earliest process, namely the planning of the program and the regional election budget to the implementation and resolution of the existing dispute cases. Because through regional autonomy the quality of democracy can also be seen from the quality of holding elections in each region.

Based on the above problems, this study attempts to analyze the implementation of local election 3 times, namely in 2015, 2017 and 2018. Efforts made to improve the quality of elections in the regions must be considered the electoral governance in pre, period and post-election. In addition, participatory supervision is also a key indicator of strengthening democracy at the local level. Election organizers and election oversight must be able to minimize any errors in post-conflict local elections.

## **THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Elections as Democratic Instruments**

Democracy and elections are two interrelated concepts. All democratic systems are supported through the holding of periodic elections while elections cannot succeed in political systems other than democracy (Gutiérrez, 2012). The challenge of democracy also requires a deep understanding of electoral reform, building democratic institutions and strengthening substantive democracy not only procedural (Hamalai L., Egwu S., 2017). Therefore, citizens' dissatisfaction with the democratic process will pose a threat to the stability and legitimacy of a democratic political system (Donovan & Karp, 2017).

Normatively, based on democratic measures, direct election offers a number of benefits as well as expectations for the growth, deepening and expansion of local democracy:

1. Opening the space of participation.
2. Political competition
3. Actualizing political rights
4. Gain an aspirational, competent and legitimate leader
5. Political legitimation

### **Electoral System**

Based on the experienced of elections around the world that there issued such as violations at the time of elections, voting, and violence that are widely found throughout the world, it was necessary to establish the context of International standards that must be met by the organizers of the election (Dahana, Rosalin, & Wiannastiti, 2016; Hyde, & Marinov, 2018). An evaluation index has been developed to compare the quality of elections in some provinces or electoral districts within a country (James, n.d.)

The Electoral Cycle is a tool used to understand the preparation of elections and the process of elections. The Election Cycle was developed by the European Commission (EC), The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) and The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in responded to understanding the long-term challenges of electoral implementation (ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, 2013). Election Cycle is one of the instruments that ensures that the implementation of General Election is an ongoing and continuous activity. In general, the electoral cycle is divided into 3 periods, including pre-electoral period, electoral period, post-electoral period.

Some stages of universally valid election organizers, namely:

1. Legal framework
2. Planning and implementation
3. Training, education, and election socialization
4. Voter registration
5. Electoral campaign
6. Election day and counting
7. Verification of result
8. Post-election

### **Local Election**

One part of the General Election is Regional elections (Simultaneous Election) is a very important instrument in the implementation of Regional Government based on the principles of democracy in the region because this is where the form of the people as the holders of sovereignty determines state policy. Through simultaneous election, the people can choose who is the leader and his representative in the process of channelling aspirations, which in turn determines the future direction of a country (Yusdianto, 2010). Regional head candidates can come from political parties or individuals (Adiluhung, et al, 2017).

According to Abdullah (2017), General elections for regional heads are a means of implementing popular sovereignty in regions (provinces or districts/cities), in order to choose leaders who will guide, direct and coordinate various government activities and social activities in the regions in an effort to achieve local community welfare. General elections (including post-conflict local elections) aim to make ruling changes run safely and orderly without having to experience riots which result in disruption of economic, social and political stability which in the end will only afflict the people.

Normatively, based on the measures of democracy, direct local elections offer a number of benefits and at the same time hope for growth, deepening and expansion of local democracy (Suharizal, 2011).

1. First, the system of direct democracy through direct elections will open up wider space for citizens to participate in the democratic process and determine political leadership at the local level rather than a representative democratic system that places more power in determining political recruitment in the hands of a handful of people.
2. Second, in terms of political competence. Direct Regional Election allows the wider emergence of the preferences of competent candidates in a space that is more open than closed which often occurs in the representative democracy. Direct Regional Election can provide a number of hopes for efforts to reverse “syndrome” in the representative democracy which is characterized by unfair competency models, such as; the practice of money politics.
3. Third, the direct electoral system will provide opportunities for citizens to better

actualize their political rights without having to be reduced by the interests of the political elite as they appear in the system of representative democracy. At least, through the concept of direct democracy, citizens at the local level will have the opportunity to get some kind of political education, political leadership training and at the same time have an equal position to be involved in political decision making.

4. Fourth, direct local elections can increase hopes for getting aspirational, competent and legitimate leaders. Thus, it has a benefits, related to improving the quality of local government responsibilities to its citizens, which in turn will bring regional heads closer to the community.
5. Fifth, the elected regional heads through direct election will have strong political legitimacy so that a balance of power (check and balance) will be built in the regions. This balance of forces will minimize abuse of power as it appears in a monolithic political format.

### **Electoral Governance**

Electoral governance is often equated with the actual electoral administration in the process that electoral governance is not just talking about administrative matters. There are several stages in the governance of the election is first, the determination of election organizers, second, the application of norms in the implementation of elections. Third, the settlement of disputes in the election. With this section, electoral governance is not merely about the administration of elections (Medina Torres, 2015). Electoral Governance is an effort to realize the credibility of the election. *Electoral Governance as a set of related activities that involves rule making, rule application, and rule adjudication*". Electoral governance has a function in realizing and maintaining a broad election framework in every election activity where voting and electoral competition.

### **RESEARCH METHOD**

This type of research is adapted to the title of the study so this type of research is descriptive qualitative, namely research that describes and aims to provide an overview and explanation of the variables under study, in this case the data is supported from various reading sources that are premier. Data derived from data on books, journals and news related to the theme of the discussion. This study analysis local elections in Indonesia in 2015, 2017 and 2018 in Indonesia and attempts to improve the quality of elections.

### **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

Local elections in Indonesia have become a trend that can be seen in many media covering ranging from candidate registration to election results (Arifianto, 2017). The monitoring process in the post-conflict local election requires election organizers to be able to provide work performance in accordance with the laws and regulations. This also relates to the election organizer funds taken from the Regional Expenditure Budget (APBD) (The World Bank, 2014). Therefore the election organizers must be able to apply the principles of independence, impartiality, integrity, transparency, efficiency, professionalism and service-mindedness (IDEA, 2014).

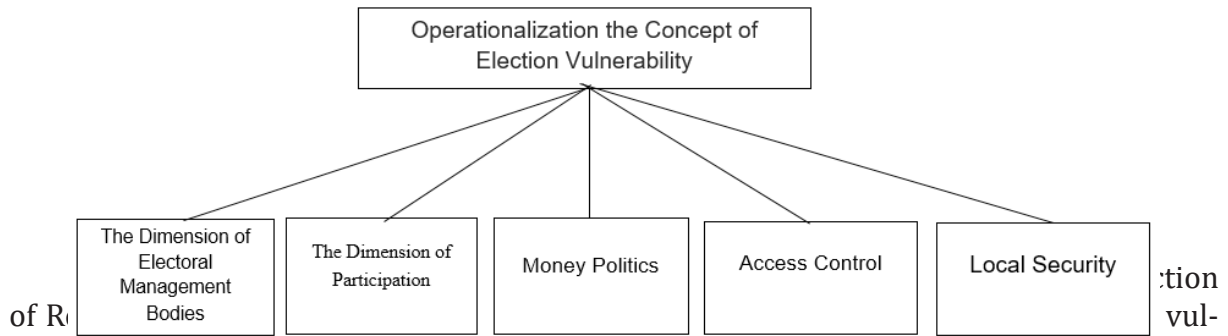
Local democracy is one of the many parts of the democratic process in Indonesia. Election to regions simultaneously starting from the governor, mayor and regent to



improve electoral policy at the local level (Satriawan and Salim, 2016). Article 22E Paragraph (1) The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia determines 6 democratic elections, namely, direct, public, free, confidential, honest and fair. Based on Law No. 1 of 2015 concerning the Establishment of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors, elections at the local level must be carried out simultaneously. This policy must, of course, be well prepared to produce election quality. The Election Organizing Commission of the Republic of Indonesia divides the stages of election in 2015, 2017 and 2018.

Before the implementation of the post-conflict local election in the regions, the Election Supervisory Body as part of the election organizers compiled an election vulnerability index which was obtained based on surveys in all regions participating in the election. The survey conducted by the Election Supervisory Body is expected to be able to provide an overview of the implementation of the elections in the provinces, districts and cities. In addition, the aim is to minimize all forms of violations and disputes in elections. Regional Election Commissions in the region can develop strategies by taking into account the vulnerability index of the post-conflict local election. The indicators in preparing the election vulnerability index, among others:

Figure 1. Operationalization of the Concept of Electoral Vulnerability



of R... tion vul-  
nerability index based on the dimensions of the election organizer, participation and the dimension of contestation.

Table 2. The Highest Level of Vulnerability of Election in 2015, 2017 and 2018

No.	Year	Province	IKP's value
1.	2015	East Nusa Tenggara	2,74
2.	2015	North Kalimantan	2,74
3.	2015	Maluku	2,74
4.	2017	East Papua	3,37
5.	2018	Papua	3,41

Source: Processed by the author through data from Bawaslu

Based on the data above, the level of election vulnerability in several regions is still high, including East Nusa Tenggara, North Kalimantan, Maluku, West Papua and Papua. A high level of vulnerability is also comparable to the problems / violations encountered during the post-conflict local election implementation process. Some of the problems include high levels of abstentions, money politics, media alignments, numerous complaints from the public and political parties, issues with ballots, codes of ethics and several other administrative issues. Therefore, the researcher will discuss the implementation of the 2015 and 2017 post-conflict local elections and the violations that occur in the implementation of the General Election. In addition to this this paper will explain the recommendations and efforts made by election organizers, political parties and the public to improve local democracy in the region.

In an effort to improve the quality of elections based on the theory of electoral governance that electoral elements must be able to be analysed in accordance with pre, period and post-election.

### **Pre-Election**

Election problems at the preparatory stage include, among others, very few election observers, PPK, KPPS PPS who are actively involved in monitoring the preparation of the election. Second, the stage of determining the voter list includes the accuracy of voter data, updating voter data. Third, the registration and determination stages of candidates include: differences in candidate pairs by the party, rejection of certain candidates by the masses, intimidation of KPUD, nominating parties not passing candidates (Pratiwi, 2017).

### **Election Period**

Political problems related to elections include political participation and money politics. According to KPU, the level of voter participation in the February 2017 elections was relatively high. KPU targets 77.5 percent of voter participation in post-conflict local elections simultaneously. The average voter participation rate reaches 70 percent. Procedurally the high level of voter participation can be a measure of the level of legitimacy of elected regional heads. But substantively it must be further investigated whether the high level of voter participation in simultaneous post-conflict local elections on its own initiative (autonomous participation) or because of the issue of participation mobilized. The hope is that participation that arises from voters is an autonomous participation in the awareness to participate in forming a good and accountable local government

The participation of voters in the Election of Governors and Deputy Governors in 17 provinces averaged 69 percent (2018). The highest participation occurred in West Kalimantan at 75 percent. The lowest participation occurred in East Kalimantan and Riau by 58 percent. The participation of disability voters in the election of Governors and Deputy Governors averaged 49 percent. The highest participation in disability voters occurred in Maluku by 96 percent and the lowest occurred in Central Java 32 percent.

Unauthorized ballots in the gubernatorial and deputy governor election are 3,098,239 or equivalent to 3 percent of all election logistics used. Most invalid ballots are in Central Java Province, with 778,805 ballots, East Kalimantan with 50,110 ballots and East Java with 782,027 ballots.

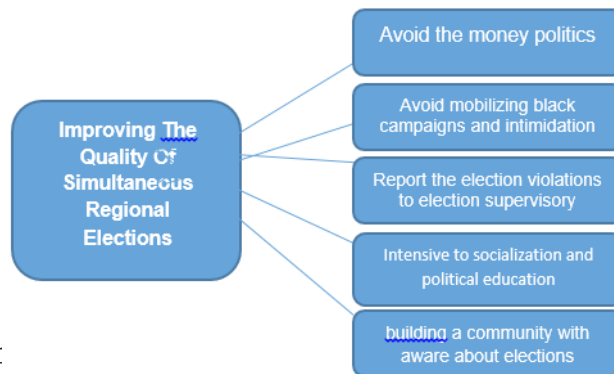
### **Post-Election**

The implementation process, especially in supervision, must involve all elements, both elements of society and stakeholders. The process is carried out in a transparent, accountable, credible, and participatory manner, so that all stages can run well in accordance with the prevailing rules. After the election that must be carried out by each organizer is to ensure that an evaluation and archiving of the entire election series has been carried out.

In the voting and counting process on June 27, 2018, there were a number of polling stations that held a re-voting (PSU). PSU occurs in 57 districts/cities in 17 provinces. Supervision resulted in 150 polling stations with potential PSU. After going through the review process, there were 134 polling stations recommended for PSU and followed up by KPU at 99 polling stations. While the PSU recommendations in 35 polling stations were not followed up by the KPU.

### Improving the Quality of Local Elections

The efforts that must be carried out by the election organizers, the community, political parties and civil society in order to improve the quality of elections, especially those that will have an impact on the 2019 Election, include:



### CONCLUSION

The election process is a critical point in the selection stage, namely the stage of determining the voter list. The process of selecting regional heads includes the stages of preparation, determination of the voter list, registration and determination of candidates, campaigns, voting, vote counting and determination of results and the inauguration of elected candidates. The quality of post-conflict local election will be maintained if in each stage of post-conflict local election can run well. Therefore, the Regional Election Commission must ensure that each process goes according to the existing rules in order to maintain the quality of post-conflict local elections because each stage in the election process is an important stage. Likewise, the election supervisory committee has to work especially starting from the stage of determining the voter list. But there are some crucial points in the election which is a critical point in the selection stage, namely the stage of determining the voter list. The KPU must ensure that all citizens who have the right to vote and access in elections. The quality of elections is also based on voters, political parties and election organizers. In this case participatory supervision is needed in the election process.

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## Dissolution of Political Parties in Keeping Ideology and Security in Indonesia and Germany

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### ABSTRACT

Discussions about political parties are always interesting to discuss. As a country that adheres to a constitutional democratic system, political parties have strategic functions in various directions of state policy. Political parties become the main container for the community to participate in managing and managing the country. The freedom of every person to establish a political party and to join a political party is guaranteed by the Constitution. But in practice, there are political parties that have conflicting ideologies that threaten state security. Indonesia and Germany have a Constitutional Court that has the authority to dissolve political parties. Noted, the German Constitutional Court has twice dissolved political parties. Whereas Indonesia, since the establishment of the Constitutional Court in 2003, has never been even though there was an application for the dissolution of the proposed political party. Even so, it is undeniable that someday there will be requests for dissolution of political parties in Indonesia. Therefore, through this research will be discussed about the mechanism of dissolution of political parties in Germany in maintaining the country's ideology and security. Through comparative studies, it is expected to be a reference for the Indonesian Constitutional Court in exercising the authority to dissolve political parties. The conclusion obtained in this study is that there are rigid and detailed parameters regarding the reasons that form the basis for dissolving political parties in Germany. Whereas in Indonesia, the history of the dissolution of political parties carried out prior to the existence of the Constitutional Court there were no clear parameters used by the Government as the basis for the dissolution of political parties, so that the Government tended to be arbitrary. Therefore, the Indonesian Constitutional Court needs to adopt a criterion that is the basis for the dissolution of political parties in Germany so that it will no longer repeat past history that arbitrarily dissolves political parties without a clear basis for criteria. With clear criteria for dissolution of political parties, the Constitutional Court can still maintain the constitutional rights of citizens to associate and assemble and at the same time the Constitutional Court can safeguard the country's ideology and security.

**KEYWORDS:** Ideology, Indonesia, Germany, state security and dissolution of political parties

### INTRODUCTION

Political parties are a mirror of freedom of association and freedom of assembly as a form of freedom of thought and freedom of expression. Therefore, the freedom of association in the form of political parties is highly protected through the constitution in a constitutional democracy. Nonetheless, freedom of association has restrictions that are needed in a democratic society for national security and state safety, to prevent crime, and to protect health and morals, and to protect other rights and freedoms (Hilaire Barnett, 2004, p. 589). These restrictions must be strictly interpreted that restrictions must be



regulated in the rule of law; must be carried out solely to achieve goals in a democratic society; and must be really needed and proportionate to social needs (Janusz Symonides, 2000, p. 91-92).

As a form of implementation of this constitutional democracy, since the inception of the Indonesian State reform era has regulated the dissolution of political parties in Article 24C paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD NRI 1945) that a political party can be dissolved through a Constitutional Court ruling (MK) which is final (legally binding). The Constitutional Court can dissolve political parties that have been registered and have status as legal entities in the Ministry of Law and Human Rights if it is proven that in the trial the Constitutional Court carried out constitutional violations. Some forms of constitutional violations as a reason to be able to dissolve political parties are regulated in Law Number 24 of 2003 concerning the Constitutional Court (Law of the Constitutional Court) in conjunction with Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties, as amended by Act Number 2 of the Year 2011 concerning Amendments to Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties (Law on Political Parties).

In Article 68 paragraph (2) of the Constitutional Court Law states that the Constitutional Court can dissolve a political party based on reasons and proven that the ideology, principles, objectives, programs, and activities of the political parties concerned contradict the Republic of Indonesia Constitution 1945. The same provisions are also regulated in Article 40 paragraph (2) and paragraph (5) juncto Article 48 paragraph (3) and paragraph (7) of the Political Party Act.

Under the Law on Political Parties that Political Parties are legal entities (rechts person) through the registration and ratification process by the Minister of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia, so that in the traffic of private law and public law acts the same as the subject of human law (natuurlijkepersoon) rights and obligations. If a human being can be sued and/or prosecuted in court or outside the court, then the legal entity is also the case (Subekti, 2002, p. 20-21). Underlying the concept of civil law, the dissolution of a political party through a Constitutional Court decision not only has a legal effect on the exclusion of the political party as a General Election participant, but furthermore is the cancellation of the status of the legal party's legal entity and must be announced in the State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia.

Several reasons that can be used as a basis for dissolving political parties by the Constitutional Court are as stipulated in Article 68 paragraph (2) of the Constitutional Court Law juncto Article 40 paragraph (2) and paragraph (5) juncto Article 48 paragraph (3) and paragraph (7) of the Act Political Parties, including a) Having ideology, principles, objectives, programs, and activities of the political parties in question contradict the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia; b) Adopt and develop and spread the teachings or understandings of communism / Marxism-Leninism; c) Conducting activities or consequences arising in contravention of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the laws and regulations; or d) Conduct activities that endanger the integrity and safety of the Republic of Indonesia.

Since the Constitutional Court was formed in 2003 until now, the Constitutional Court has never received an application regarding the dissolution of political parties (Constitutional Court, 2011, p. 11). But that does not mean that the regulation regarding

the dissolution of political parties is not considered. The dissolution of political parties is a political conflict and will have a wider and greater impact than ordinary legal cases and can even lead to the State in an emergency situation. For this reason, the regulation regarding the dissolution of political parties must be clearly regulated and does not lead to multiple interpretations.

Since the reform era, the regulation regarding the dissolution of political parties is no longer only regulated through the laws of political parties but has been regulated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. This is because several reasons underlying the dissolution of political parties are constitutional violations so that in Article 24C Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia NRI issues the dissolution of political parties as one of the authorities of the Constitutional Court.

Provisions concerning the dissolution of political parties contained the Constitutional Court Law as an organic rule of Article 24C paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the Political Party Law and Government Regulation Number 12 of 2008 concerning Local Political Parties in Aceh. However, none of the provisions of the Constitutional Court Law, Political Party Law and Government Regulations for Local Political Parties in Aceh regulate the legal consequences that will arise when a political party is dissolved through the Constitutional Court Decision. Whereas the legal consequences are very urgent to determine political decisions and other legal issues that can be carried out after the dissolution of the political party.

Arrangements regarding the dissolution of political parties in the Constitutional Court Law only stop at the implementation of the Constitutional Court Decision which has been read out in the Plenary Session which is open to the public. If an application for dissolution of a political party is granted by the Constitutional Court, the Constitutional Court declares that the political party dissolves it. The implementation of this decision through the cancellation of registration of the political party as a legal entity by the Indonesian Ministry of Law and Human Rights and the Constitutional Court's decision must be announced in the State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia. The question that arises then is what about the representatives of the people who have been elected and sit in the DPR, DPRD institutions, and even the nominated President and Vice President and Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads come from the dissolved political parties?

Under the Law on Political Parties, political parties are in the form of legal entities that are ratified by the Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia. Because of this, political parties can carry out various legal actions both in the public domain and in the private sphere. Nomination of a number of DPR, DPRD members, and even the nomination of the President and Vice President as well as the Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads because these political parties are legal entities that can carry out all legal actions like human beings.

The legal consequences of the dissolution of this political party can be seen from several countries, for example in Turkey (Article 69 Para 8 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey), Germany (Article 6 of the 3 Bundesverfassungsgerichts-Gesetz) and Taiwan (Article 30-I of the Procedure Act) is not a replacement party can be established either with the same name or another name but has the same ideology, principle, purpose, program, or activity with the reason for the dissolution of the party. This means that the party is declared a prohibited party. Whereas in Pakistan special sanctions were given to

national and provincial parliamentarians from the dissolved party (Article 16 Para 2 The Political Parties Order, 2002). Membership of representative institutions is also prohibited from participating in general elections for four years from their termination.

Legal consequences for political parties that have been dissolved not only against political activities or involvement in the political process, but also the political law of political parties. This is as applied in the German State that the legal consequences of the dissolution of political parties stipulated in Article 6 of Paragraph 3 of the Bundesverfassungsgerichts-Gesetz is that the assets of political parties can be confiscated by the state for the public interest. Whereas in Bulgaria (Article 24 of the Bulgarian 2 Political Parties Act) it is determined that the assets are regulated more clearly, even it is stated that the state is responsible for debts held by dissolved political parties.

Based on the regulation regarding the dissolution of political parties in the aforementioned countries, it can be stated that the dissolution of the political party has a legal effect on a) No political party can be established that has the same ideology, principles, and objectives as the political party that has been dissolved; b) Political parties dissolved are declared as prohibited political parties; c) Members of Parliament who are from dissolved political parties are dismissed; d) Prohibition of members of political parties disbanded participating in the election for 4 (four) years since the dissolution of their party; e) The wealth of political parties dissolved is confiscated by the State for the public interest, and f) the State is responsible for all debts and obligations borne by the dissolved political party.

Dissolution of political parties in several countries has no legal effect on the position of the President and Vice President and the Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads nominated through dissolved political parties. This is due to the fact that the election participants in the General Election of the President and Vice President as well as the Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads are not political parties who carry them, this is different from the parliamentary elections where those who are election participants are political parties.

Arrangements concerning legal consequences for the dissolution of political parties in Indonesia have only been regulated through Presidential Decree Number 13 of 1960 which stipulates that as a result of the dissolution or prohibition of a political party, party members who are members of the MPR, DPR, or DPRD are considered to stop as body members the agency. Although this Presidential Decree was criticized by the Masyumi and PSI parties because it did not have a constitutional basis as a source of law, with the Presidential Decree the Masyumi and PSI parties were dissolved. The regulation regarding the legal consequences of Presidential Decree Number 13 of 1960 is limited to membership status in the MPR, DPR, and DPRD from political parties that have been dissolved, does not regulate the legal consequences of members of political parties dissolved in various political activities or civil relations which are borne by the dissolved political party.

The Constitutional Court Law and the Political Party Law in no way regulate the legal consequences of the dissolution of this political party. The existence of legal loopholes in the regulation regarding the legal consequences of the dissolution of the political party, then the Constitutional Court made a breakthrough by regulating it in the Constitutional Court Regulation Number 12 of 2008 concerning Procedures for Procedure in Dissolution of Political Parties (PMK Dissolution of Political Parties). In Article 10 paragraph (2)

PMK Dissolution of the Political Parties stated that “Against the legal consequences of the Court’s ruling which granted the request for dissolution of political parties is related to a) Prohibition of the right of living of political parties and the use of party symbols throughout Indonesia; b) the dismissal of all members of the People’s Legislative Assembly and the Regional People’s Legislative Assembly from the dissolved political parties; c) prohibition of former political party administrators who are disbanded for political activities; and d) the takeover by the state of the wealth of the dissolved political party.

The legal consequences of the dissolution of political parties are related to political issues in decision making by the leaders of the MPR, DPR, and DPRD so that the arrangement must be through a political agreement. In addition, the legal consequences for the transfer of civil responsibility from political parties to the government. So that the regulation regarding the dissolution of political parties through PMK can be questioned by their political and juridical legitimacy. Whereas Article 86 of the Constitutional Court Law only gives the authority to regulate further the implementation of resolutions from the duties and authorities of the Constitutional Court, it does not mean that the Constitutional Court is given legislative powers through the Constitutional Court Act like the DPR.

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

Based on the above background, the formulation of the problem to be examined is how the dissolution of the political party by the Constitutional Court in maintaining the ideology and security of the country in Indonesia and Germany?

### **RESEARCH METHOD**

The method of legal research is a scientific activity, which is based on certain methods, systematics, and thoughts, which aims to learn something or some specific legal symptoms, by analyzing it. In addition, there are also factors that are profound about the legal factors, to then try to solve something of the problems that arise in the symptoms concerned (Zainuddin Ali, 2009, p. 18).

The type of research used in writing this law is normative legal research. Normative legal research is legal research that puts the law as a norm system building. This research begins with an analysis of the decision to dissolve political parties at the German Federal Court. The data of this study include secondary data, namely data obtained from the literature review with a legal material consisting of a primary legal material which includes decisions and legislation, and secondary legal materials, namely, legal materials relating to primary legal materials that are helpful in the analysis process include books and journals.

Data analysis techniques in this study used qualitative descriptive methods. As for what is meant by descriptive is to clearly describe the actual conditions, while what is meant qualitatively is the analysis which is then described so as to obtain an understanding. The data used is data that is closely related to the problem under study. So what is meant by qualitative descriptive in this study is an analysis that describes the decision to cancel political parties based on the decision to dissolve political parties in Germany.



## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Political Parties, Ideology, and State Security**

On the other hand, Carl J. Frederik said that political parties are a group of people who are organized and stable with the aim of seizing or maintaining power. Raymond Garfield said that political parties consisted of a group of citizens who were more or less organized, acting as a political entity. Sigmund Neuman said political parties are organizations of political activities that seek to dominate the power of the government and win popular support for competition with other groups who have different views (Widagdo, H. B, 1999, p. 6). According to Miriam Budiarto, a political party is an organized group in which its members have the same orientation, ideals, and values as the group's goal of gaining political power and seizing a political position in a constitutional way to implement its policies (Surbakti, Ramlan, 1999, p. 44). Whereas, according to Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties Article 1 paragraph (1) "Political Parties are organizations that are national in nature and formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily on the basis of the similarity of will and ideas to fight for and defend political interests members of political parties, communities, nations and countries, as well as maintaining the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia ".

In Indonesia political parties have functions, rights and obligations set out in the Political Party Law. One of the functions of political parties contained in article 34 paragraph (3) letter a is to carry out political education for members of political parties and society. The aim of political parties is always included in their articles of association in accordance with Article 2 of the Political Party Act. The goal is to describe what the future will be achieved together. The objective is used as a guideline in directing the activities of political parties and various sources of legitimacy of the existence of political parties and a source of motivation for the community to identify themselves with the political parties concerned. The purpose of political parties serves as a benchmark to assess the success or failure of political party leaders. The purpose of a political party is basically the desired condition that is always pursued to be realized in the future. Political parties must try to formulate their objectives in such a way as to be truly aspirational, perhaps achievable and oriented to a more hopeful frontal mass, have a strong appeal to build the party's image and build strong support (Sastroatmodjo Sudijone, 1995, p. 34 )

Countries that embrace democracy, the idea of popular participation has an ideological basis that the people have the right to help determine who will be the leader who will determine public policy. The totalitarian countries' idea of popular participation is based on the view of the political elite that the people need to be guided and fostered to achieve lasting stability. To achieve this goal, political parties are a good tool to do this (Benjamin Reilly, 2007, p. 25).

### **The right of Association and Gathering**

Indonesia as a state of law (*rechtstaat* or the rule of law) (Jimly Asshiddiqie, 2005, p. 21), one of the characteristics that must be fulfilled by the state, is the protection and guarantee of human rights for all its citizens. The assurance of human rights is also one of the objectives of law enforcement because humans have a central position in law enforcement. The concept of human rights is not a new thing for the Indonesian people. One of

Indonesia's commitments towards respecting and guaranteeing the protection of human rights is contained in the second principle of Pancasila, the foundation of the nation and the philosophy of life of the Indonesian people, namely "Just and Civilized Humanity". The 1945 Constitution that was born before the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has a fairly progressive human rights perspective, as affirmed in paragraph 1 of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. The right to freedom of association is a fundamental right. In Article 28E Paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia NRI gives a very strict guarantee regarding the right to freedom of association. The nature of the right to freedom of association is also regulated in Article 24 of Law No. 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights.

### **Dissolution of Political Parties**

The development of political parties in Indonesia experienced ups and downs in line with the changing political dynamics and state administration. The development of political parties can be seen in terms of the number of political parties and party ideology (Widayati, 2011, p. 625). With regard to the number of political parties, quantitatively, the number of political parties participating in the election in the reform era has always been volatile, unlike in the New Order which is always followed by 3 political parties, namely the United Development Party, the Functional Group and the Indonesian Democratic Party, except the election first New Order which was attended by 10 Political Parties. The change in the number of political parties participating in the election in the Reform Order was caused by several factors, namely: first, the requirements for the establishment of political parties that were continuously updated and tightened through the Law; second, the application of the electoral threshold which is one of the requirements of political parties can be the next participant; and third, voters who are more intelligent / rational in making choices.

The dynamics of the development of political parties in the election contestation can actually be interpreted as a form of increasingly shifting democratic and electoral systems that were originally undemocratic towards a more democratic one. But this does not later make our democratic system and elections truly democratic. In fact, there are still a number of other problems that make democracy and the system of organizing elections not yet to be said to run democratically. Among them are the limited reasons for the proposed dissolution of political parties regulated in the law, and the giving of a single role to the government in the proposed dissolution of political parties (Josef M. Monteiro, 2010, p. 52) which unwittingly undermines basic values. democracy.

In this regard, it should be noted that the dissolution of political parties is basically believed to be a mechanism to supervise political parties (Jimly Asshiddiqie, 2005, p. 128). Usually, the act of dissolving a political party is a follow-up for a political party that violates a prohibition stipulated in the legislation or the constitution.

An example is the country of Pakistan, in Article 15 of the Political Parties Act 2002 (Law on political parties in 2002), affirming that a political party can be dissolved if it is proven (i) is a political party that is assisted in funding its activities by foreign powers, or (ii) It is proven that the process of forming the party is detrimental to the sovereignty or territorial integrity of the country, or (iii) proven to conduct activities that are detrimental to the sovereignty or integrity of the country's territory, or (iv) the activities of political parties are proven to be related to the crime of terrorism (indulging in terrorism) (Allan



FG Wardhana and Harry Setya Nugraha, 2013, p. 12). In this case what needs to be underlined is that Pakistan uses legal instruments to supervise political parties, which if political parties violate the prohibition provisions it can be dissolved.

In addition to Pakistan, there are several other countries that regulate the dissolution of political parties. Some of these countries are Albania, Armenia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Croatia, Chechnya, Georgia, Hungary, Germany, South Korea, Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, Taiwan and Chile ( Muchamad Ali Safa'at, 2011, p. 101).

In Indonesia, restrictions on actions that should not be carried out by political parties which, if violated, the political party will get sanctions that have been clearly regulated in Article 40 of the Law on Political Parties. Regarding a violation committed by a political party, Article 48 of the Law on Political Parties regulates certain types of sanctions that can be imposed, namely administrative sanctions, freezing sanctions, and dissolution sanctions. Article 2 PMK Dissolution of a Political Party with respect to sanctions for dissolution, a political party can only be dissolved by the Constitutional Court if the ideology, principle, purpose, program of a political party contradicts the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia; and / or the activities of political parties are contrary to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia or the resulting consequences are contrary to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **The Decision on the Dissolution of Political Parties at the German Federal Constitutional Court**

There have been several requests for dissolution of political parties at the German Federal Constitutional Court. Of the several applications, there were 2 (two) applications granted. The German Constitutional Court has the authority to deal with the dissolution of the political party that authority is contained in Article 21 paragraph (2) of Basic Law which is subsequently amended on July 13, 2017, so that the regulation regarding the authority to dissolve the political party is stated in Article 21 paragraph (2) and paragraph (4) Basic Law.

The authority to deal with the dissolution of political parties is specifically regulated in Article 13 paragraph (2) of the Act on the Federal Constitutional Court (Bundesverfassungsgerichtsgesetz - BVerfGG (hereinafter referred to as the German Constitutional Court Law), which states "The Federal Constitutional Court shall decide: (2) on the unconstitutionality of political parties. "The provisions mentioned above say that political parties can be declared contrary to the constitution by the Constitutional Court based on the objectives or behavior of followers who are not suitable or try to eliminate the basic order of democracy and endanger the existence or existence of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The German Federal Constitutional Court since its establishment up to now has counted 9 applications for dissolution of political parties. And only decide 5 of the 9 requests. From the data, at least there are only 2 requests for dissolution of political parties granted by the German Constitutional Court, namely the application for the dissolution of Sozialistische Reichspartei or the Socialist Reich Party (SRP) in 1952 and the request for the dissolution of the Kommunisten he Partei Deutschlands or Communist Party of Germany (KPD) in 1956 and 2 requests for rejected political parties, namely applications for

dissolution of the Free German Workers Party or Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (FAP) and the National List (NL) in 1994 and requests for the dissolution of the National Democracy Partei Deutschlands or National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) in 2017, and 1 request for the dissolution of a political party which was dismissal or not continued, namely the application for the dissolution of the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) in 2003.

### **Dissolution of Political Parties *Sozialistische Reichspartei (SRP)***

Sozialistische Reichspartei or Socialist Reich Party (SRP) is the party that was first declared unconstitutional by the German Constitutional Court (German Constitutional Court ruling, October 23, 1952, BVerfG 2, 1). SRP was founded in 1949 and won the second most seats in parliament, but failed in the Bundestag election. SRP conducted a campaign and the publication of the party as well as recruitment of members as well as other parties. However, this activity was believed by many in Germany that SRP was oriented towards the neo-Nazi movement. That SRP activities, in reality, are trying to disrupt the democratic order, the federal government at that time submitted an application to the German Constitutional Court so that SRP was declared to be contrary to the constitution in accordance with Article 21 paragraph (2) Basic Law (before the amendment). In SRP it is stated that it is contrary to the constitution because based on the evidence that the SRP is a newly formed party from the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei Organization or the dissolved National Socialist German Workers Party (Nazis or NSDAP).

Similarities in terms of structure, program, nature of membership, as well as activities of SRP leaders are also a consideration for the Court to state that SRP is contrary to the constitution and the existence of SRP has the potential to damage the democratic order if in subsequent developments if the SRP has a majority of votes in parliament like the Nazis or NSDAP. Based on all the facts, the SRP, in fact, has similarities with the Nazis' Party as well as the aim of replacing and even eliminating democratic values as stated in Article 21 paragraph (2) Basic Law, and the Court stated that the SRP was against the constitution, took over all assets, and prohibited their formation organization returns similar to SRP.

### **Dissolution Case *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD)***

The request for dissolution of the KPD was filed by the State Government of Adenauer State in 1951, the same year as the decision of the German Constitutional Court concerning the dissolution of the SRP, but at that time the German Constitutional Court was unable to issue a decision on the KPD immediately and only decided on August 17, 1956. The decision was postponed because the Court is of the opinion that the petition is premature and the dissolution of the KPD will be better done by means of political selection in the election and disbanded by itself because support for the KPD can be said to be no longer there or not get majority support so as not to endanger the values of German democracy.

In its decision, the Court provides an interpretation of "free democratic basic order" in Article 21 paragraph (2) of Basic Law and is not the same as the interpretation used to dissolve SRP. enough to eliminate the constitutional status of political parties. According to the Court, to eliminate the constitution of political parties or dissolve political parties is not enough to have a goal that fights the basic principles of democracy but also manifests it into a political action. The purpose or plan is reflected in the program of political party activities, official statements of political party leaders and materials for political party

education.

### **Dissolution of the *Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (FAP) Party and the National List (NL)***

The Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei or the Free German Worker Party (FAP) is a party that has a Neo-Nazi ideology and is a small party with around 500 members. There is not much information related to the dissolution of this party. However, it is known that the request for dissolution of the FAP not only requested the dissolution of the FAP but also the application for dissolution of the National List (NL). The request by the Charity Court was rejected by the argument that although the FAP and NL had views that were contrary to democracy, FAP and NL did not qualify as political parties as stipulated in the legislation but only as an “association”.

### **Dissolution of *The National Democratic Party of Germany (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands- NPD)***

The German Democratic National Party was a German ultranationalist right-wing party founded on November 28, 1964, as the successor of Deutsche Reichspartei. In early September 1965 the political party organization covered almost the entire Federal Republic of Germany with a vote percentage of between 5.8% and 9.8% of the total number of legitimate polls and got 61 MPs in the federal state parliament (Landtag) of Baden- Wuerttemberg, Bavaria, Bremen, Hesse, Lower Saxony, Rhineland Palatinate and Schleswig-Holstein. But in the last 35 years, the NPD has not won seats in the federal state parliament (Landtag) or the Bundestag Election.

Federal Constitutional Court dropped Decision Number 2 BvB 1/13, on January 17, 2017, which stated that it rejected the application for dissolution of the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD), including the Young National Democrats (Junge National Democracy - JN) sub-organization, the National Women’s Ring (Ring Nationaler Frauen - RNF) and the Municipal Political Union (Kommunalpolitische Vereinigung - KPV). At least it can be seen that in deciding the application for dissolution of a political party if the political party violates the provisions of Article 21 of the Basic Law. However, in interpreting Article 21 of the Basic Law, the Court does not apply the same thing. This is because the Court does not only consider the normative requirements stated in Article 21 of the Basic Law, but also considers the political situation that occurred at that time.

### **The Reasons for Dissolution of Political Parties at the German Federal Constitutional Court**

Political parties are one of the pillars of democracy which is very important in the life of the nation and state. The same is true for political parties in the Federal Republic of Germany (Basic Law for The Federal Republic of Germany). This is stated in the German constitution as stipulated in Article 21 paragraph (1) of Basic Law which states that political parties should be a forum for public politics that can be freely formed but must remain based on democratic principles and promote transparency of budget and political party assets.

As a consequence of the formation of political parties, it is the duty of the state to regulate and provide funding for parties that have fulfilled the provisions of the prevailing laws and regulations. This is as stipulated in Article 18 paragraph (1) of the Politi-

cal Parties Act which states that political parties in Germany get funding from the state (state funding) to support the implementation of the constitutional mandate (Basic Law) to build a democratic-constitutional society. The number of state funding that will be received by each party depends on the extent of the constituent coverage they achieve. This coverage is measured by the performance of political parties in the European General Election at the parliament level.

The existence of state funding shows that political parties are an important element in the government system. The party which is the representation of the community in channeling political aspirations to encourage changes in the context of nation and state. State support for political parties also has the consequence that their existence should strengthen democratic principles and safeguard the integrity of the state. The Constitutional Court of the Federal Republic of Germany, in its official website, states that political parties are an important network between voters, parliament, and government that mutually reinforce each other. In other words, the government can also encourage political parties to run according to the constitutional corridor. Although the principle of “militant democracy” has become fundamental in overcoming the existence of political parties that have the potential to undermine the marwah of the constitution. To maintain this balance, political parties as one of the pillars of democracy cannot be dissolved by the parliament but given to the Constitutional Court of the Federal Republic of Germany to examine, decide and try cases of dissolution of political parties based on law and constitution.

Rainer Grote stated that the background of the birth of militant democracy was basically to prevent the recurrence of the past history, namely the destruction of the Weimar Republic by political parties that were nationalist or communist. Starting from that history, the concept of militant democracy was raised in the German Basic Law of 1949. Substantially, militant democracy was conceptualized as strengthening democracy so that it could refrain from all forms of destructive threats while remaining alert to all possible things that endanger democracy, especially for groups that reject the basic principles of democracy and efforts to destroy the democratic order of the government system.

### **Implications for the dissolution of political parties in the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany**

Democracy, like federalism, separation of powers and the rule of law is a German political principle. Although the German Constitution does not clearly define the term democracy which has been debatable in German literature. The Federal Constitutional Court of Germany and experts tend to interpret democracy in Germany in relation to certain institutions and principles contained in the constitution (Basic Law). This includes the establishment of representative institutions. In this context political parties basically get constitutional guarantees in democratic infrastructure, but the German Federal Constitutional Court (German Constitutional Court) still considers the aspects of legitimacy, the effectiveness of the opposition, minority rights, and justice in funding political parties. Departing from German history, which in turn encouraged the constitution to protect democracy from the threat of political liberalism by preparing constitutional instruments to ensure the sustainability and stability of democracy (Donald P. Kommers and Russell A. Miller, 2012, p. 216).

The existence of political parties that have become an inseparable part of democracy, leaving a long past history for the Federal Republic of Germany. As reported by the



official opponent of the Constitutional Court of the Federal Republic of Germany stating that the German Constitutional Court dissolved two parties in 1952 namely the Socialist Reich Party (SRP) and the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) in 1956. From the dissolution of the two parties, Germany later strengthening its constitution so that it is not easily weakened by anti-democratic elements that threaten “free democratic basic order” as stipulated in Article 21 paragraph (2) of Basic Law. Then in 2017, the German Constitutional Court decided to reject the dissolution of the political party the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD). This application was basically registered in 2001 but was later discontinued in 2003 due to procedural aspects.

The dissolution of political parties in the German Constitutional Court has legal and very broad implications both institutionally, funding and membership status for political parties sitting in parliament. Based on Basic Law Article 21 paragraph (2) states that political parties which in their movement aim to overthrow or bring down basic democratic principles and threaten the existence of the Federal Republic of Germany will be declared contrary to the constitution or dissolved. After the decision of the NPD political party in January 2017, there was an amendment to the Basic Law Article 21 paragraph (3) dated July 19, 2017 stating that political parties which in their movement aim to overthrow or bring down the basic democratic principles and threaten the existence of the Federal Republic of Germany will not get funds from the state (state funding) and other tax or financial benefits. In addition to being regulated in the Basic Law, the implications of the dissolution of political parties are also regulated in the Law of the German Federal Constitutional Court (FCC Act) Article 2a which states that the German Constitutional Court has the authority to stop funding political parties from the state.

In addition to the suspension of funding from the state, the German Constitutional Court in the case of the decision to dissolve political parties can also dissolve part of the party organization and all party assets will be confiscated for the public interest, as stipulated in Article 46 paragraph (3) of the German Constitutional Court Law. The following implication is the loss of membership status of parliamentarians whose parties are declared unconstitutional. This is regulated in Chapter 46 of the Federal Election Act concerning the loss of membership status in the German Bundestag paragraph (1) number 5 which states that the loss of parliamentary membership status in the Bundestag if the German Constitutional Court has ruled a violation of Basic Law Article 21 paragraph (2) second sentence, where the party and its branches and membership status are declared unconstitutional.

Based on the description above, it can be understood that there is a legal consequence of the dissolution of a political party, that is, firstly, the party’s institutions are declared to be in conflict with the constitution including the organization of its wing/branch. Second, the termination of funding from the state from the benefits of other taxes. Third, assets or assets of political parties are confiscated for the public interest and the fifth loss of parliamentary membership status.

### **Dissolution of Political Parties as a Means in Maintaining State Ideology and Security**

Indonesia as a democratic country guarantees the existence of political parties (Ihla-sul Amal, 1996, p. Xv) which is one of the manifestations of the right to freedom of association as reflected in Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. These

political parties are urgently needed because political parties have a position (status) and role (role) as a very strategic link between government processes and citizens. Even a good party system will determine the functioning of the constitutional system based on the principle of check and balances in a broad sense (Jimly Asshiddiqie, 2005, p. 52-53). In the political context, especially in the power relations, political parties have changed the relationship between the people and the authorities from the beginning disqualifying the people from the stage of political power, to positioning the people as important actors and axis in the relationship, even in contemporary democracy the existence of political parties has become the main instrument for people to compete and gain control over political institutions (Sigit Pamungkas, 2012, p. 3).

Because a political party is a mirror of freedom of association and freedom of assembly as a form of freedom of thought and freedom of expression, its existence is highly protected through the constitution in a constitutional democracy (Moh Shaleh, 2011, p. 7). However, freedom of association has restrictions needed in a democratic society for national security and state safety, to prevent crime, and to protect other rights and freedoms.

The dissolution of political parties is a limitation of the right of association which is intended to protect democracy, the constitution, state sovereignty, security, and ideology. Before the existence of the Constitutional Court, in Indonesia, a political party had been dissolved against Masyumi through Presidential Decree No. 200 of 1960, the dissolution of PSI through Presidential Decree No. 201 of 1960 and the dissolution of the PKI (Presidential Decree No. 1/3/1966).

The guarantee of freedom of association as a human right regulated in the constitution provides an opportunity for everyone to be free to gather based on the views, aspirations, goals and form groups such as political parties, community organizations, non-governmental organizations, and so on. Political parties themselves are a form of freedom of association which has an important role in relation to democratic efforts in a country based on popular sovereignty. Political parties are political infrastructures, namely institutions/organizations that exist in the community and can affect the administration of government (I Made Subawa, 2005, p. 154), which is a bridge between the government and its people.

## **CONCLUSION**

In the Political Party Law, there are restrictions on the existence of political parties which are indicated by the prohibitions described in Article 40 of the Political Party Law. These restrictions are accompanied by administrative sanctions and sanctions for dissolution of political parties by the Constitutional Court as contained in Article 48 paragraph (3) and (7) of the Political Party Act. The reasons for the dissolution of political parties can also be seen in Article 68 paragraph (2) of the Constitutional Court Law, that is, if a political party has ideology, principles, objectives, programs, and activities that are contrary to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Dissolution of Political Parties.

Based on the three laws and regulations which state the reason for the dissolution of political parties by the Constitutional Court, it can be seen that there are differences in the reasons for the dissolution of political parties between the Constitutional Court Law and PMK Dissolution of Political Parties and Political Party Law. The reason for the dissolution of political parties in the Political Party Law that political parties based on the teachings



of communism / Marxism-Leninism are not mentioned in the Law on the Constitutional Court and PMK Dissolution of Political Parties. Nevertheless, basically communist teaching is an ideology that is not in accordance with the ideology of Pancasila that we embrace in Indonesia as the basis of the state whose values are upheld in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. with the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

The reasons for the dissolution of political parties by the Constitutional Court are a form of limitation of the law on the implementation of the right to freedom of association so that political parties that violate the stipulated restrictions are sanctioned by the Constitutional Court. Restrictions on the implementation of freedom of association as human rights have also been regulated in Article 28J of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia concerning basic obligations in the implementation of human rights. The implementation of human rights must pay attention to the basic obligations contained in Article 28J of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia as a form of recognizing and respecting the human rights of other individuals, do not let human rights violate the rights of others. The basic obligation in implementing human rights is the obligation to respect the rights of other individuals and the obligation to comply with the restrictions in the legislation in force.

Restrictions on freedom of association through political parties in the form of restrictions set forth in the law with sanctions in the form of dissolution by the Constitutional Court from a human rights perspective are permissible. It has been stated earlier that in Article 4 of ICCPR 1966 the right to freedom of association is a right that can be deferred (derogable rights) so that restrictions are possible. Restrictions on freedom of association must be regulated in law as mandated by ICCPR 1966. Thus, the dissolution of political parties by the Constitutional Court is a sanction for violations committed by the political party concerned against the restrictions set forth in the law on freedom of association as derogable right. Restrictions on freedom of association through political parties regulated in law need to be carried out to respect the rights and freedoms of others, maintain the order in society, nation, and state, and especially to maintain the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila ideology and 1945 Constitution. the exercise of freedom of association through political parties in the name of democracy can jeopardize the unity and unity, and the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.

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## Rethinking the Case of Blasphemy in Contemporary Indonesia: A Case of Tanjung Balai's Conflict

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### ABSTRACT

This paper aims to explore the case of Tanjung Balai by applying discourse analysis on several local and national newspapers. This exploration finds that Meilana, a Chinese Buddhist Indonesian, is considered doing blasphemy when she asked to decrease the volume of the mosques speaker in the time of prayer calling. This incident brings to the issue of pluralism, religious violence, and religious freedom which not only demand society to have opened, tolerant, and peaceful attitudes, but also urges the state to take any action. However, this case demonstrate that there is a problem of relation among people from different religions. Finally, we need to rethink what the crucial problem on blasphemy issue which in turn lead us to take a serious action for religious freedom issue.

**KEYWORDS:** Blasphemy, religious freedom, religious pluralism, Tanjung Balai

### INTRODUCTION

Tension and conflict among the followers of different religions occurred several times during Indonesian history. The case of violent conflict in Ambon is one of significant examples, while other cases relates to the issue of blasphemy and deviation. Tanjung Balai case is started when Meilana, a chinese budhist indonesian, asked mosque manager to decrease the volume of the speaker. It is not need a much times, this actions spread to society outside Tanjung Balai, then tension between Meilana's familiy and communal group which then leads to violence. This case arises the question on how religious pluralism and religious freedom are regarded by Indonesian society.

Data of this research are from local and national newspaper which wrote about the case of tension, conflict, and violent in Tanjung Balai. The data are analyzed by using discourse analysis, especially by observing wordings used by media and certain public figures in the case of Tanjung Balai. By applying this method, it is found that the case of Tanjung Balai relates to the discourse of religious pluralism, violence, and freedom in Indonesian society.

### Chronology of Conflict

In July 28-29, 2016, a tension between indigenou and Chinese Indonesian which in turn led to a riot occurred in Tanjung Balai, North Sumatera. The tension began when a female Chinese Indonesian, Meliana (41 years old) reprimanded / protested / asked ([waspada.co.id/merahputih.com/sumut.pojoksatu.com](http://waspada.co.id/merahputih.com/sumut.pojoksatu.com)) the mosque manager (*takmirmesjid*) of al Maksum to turn down the volume of the mosque speaker for it disturbed her ([sumut.pojoksatu.com](http://sumut.pojoksatu.com)). The mosque manager, then, conveyed this reprimand to man-

agers of other mosques.

In July 29, 2016 at 8 PM the mosque managers and Muslims around the mosque (*jamaah*) came to Meliana's house to confirm the information. Nevertheless, the meeting became heated and made *Kepling* (village head) secured Meliana and her husband in village office and then went to Sectoral Police of South Tanjung Balai. Based on the investigation of Human Right and Legal Council of regional Muhammadiyah leader in North Sumatera, Tegus SyuhadaLubis, the situation heated up since the answer from Meliana's family unsatisfied and Meliana's son answered the question in high tone. This led to debate and heard by many people. In addition, Meliana was reluctant to apologize and said it in high tone (sumut.pojoksatu.id, July 30, 2016).

In Sectoral Police office, the meeting involving the leaders of Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), village head and public figures was conducted. At the same time, mass gathered in front of the office and did oration led by university students. They dispersed because of police's command. However, the mass gathered again at 22.30 PM. It seems because they got information from face book. The mass came to Meliana's house and intended to burn it, but it was prevented by the residents around for fear the fire will spread to another house. The mass then went to Juanda Monastery which is located 500 meters from Melianas' house and attempted to burn it, but it was unsuccessful because it was intercepted by police personnel of Tanjung Balai. The mass vented their emotion by pelting the monastery with stones. Then, the destruction and burning of the monastery continued into other monasteries. At least 8 monasteries and pagodas were destructed or burned. The mass dispersed at 4.30 and the regional police guarded the monasteries and pagoda (sumutpos, 30 Juli 2016, waspada.co.id, 30 Juli).

The regional police investigated 36 witnesses related to looting and destruction cases (sumut.pokoksatu.id, July 31, 2016). Based on police investigation, it was defined 19 suspects. According to, sub head of sub field of public information, AKBP MP Nainggolan, among these 19 suspects, 8 were the suspects on looting, 9 were the suspect on destruction, and 2 were provocateur (waspada.co.id, August 3, 2016). Meanwhile, based on urine test, 4 of the suspects were positive used drugs (Sumutpos.com, August 3, 2016). In addition, from these suspects, there was no one from the district of Tanjung Balai. This showed that the information spread rapidly. Therefore, the police believed that the information spread through short messages and social media. (republika.co.id, February 17, 2017)

Conversely, Meliana who is considered as trouble maker of the riot was not specified as a suspect since it requires information from linguist (Sumutpos.com, 3 August 2016). Then 2 months later, Meliana status was specified as the reported since "expert witness stated that Meliana could not be a suspect." (sumut.pokoksatu.id, October 24, 2016).

### **Group Discussing the Tensions and Conflict**

Tanjung Balai riot became a discourse not only at the local level, but also at the national level. Some groups provided their stand points concerning the causes of riot, solutions, anticipation of repeating such case, role of social groups, etc.

From the government side, the Governor of North Sumatera, HT Erry Nuradi, asked people in Tanjung Balai both Muslim and Buddhist to think rationally, not to have uncontrolled emotion, and not to be easily provoked in facing issues which are potential to damage harmony of different religious followers. The governor considered that FKUB (Forum



of Harmony among Religious People) had a very important position.

FKUB is the frontline in anticipating horizontal conflict. If there is a problem, religious and public figures that join FKUB can directly take a strategic step to anticipate and mitigate so that it will not become mass anger (waspada.co.id, July 31, 2016)<sup>3</sup>

In other occasion, the governor stated that tolerant, harmonious, and peaceful attitudes can avoid trauma in society and stabilize business investment in Tanjung Balai.

Let us hand in hand to build Tanjung Balai. Society of Tanjung Balai have to be able to demonstrate tolerant, harmonious, and peaceful attitudes in order not to emerge trauma in society or to lead bad impact in business investment atmosphere. (waspada.co.id, October 30, 2016)<sup>4</sup>

In line with the governor, Mayor of Tanjung Balai, M. Syahril, emphasized that people need to recreate harmony among different religious followers and the process of law have to be conducted for the actors of riot. (waspada.co.id, October 30, 2016).

The president of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, also responded the case of Tanjung Balai. He stated that he directly commanded Police Chief of Indonesia Republic to go to Tanjung Balai to solve the case, especially by meeting religious and public figures to localize the case. The president stressed that "majority protects minority, minorities tolerate each other, because our power is plurality."<sup>5</sup> For President, SARA (Ethnicity, Religion, Race, Groups) issues needs to be erased to make Indonesia more developed. Besides, the President affirmed that the Indonesian government will take a firm action to people who conduct anarchist actions. (Waspada.co.id, August 1, 2016).

Still from the government side, the Head of Indonesian State Intelligence Agency (BIN), Sutiyoso observed that the riot in Tanjung Balai was spontaneous in nature. Therefore, he convinced that the riots would not spread to other regions. In addition, Sutiyoso explained that such incident was experienced by Papua society and handled properly. According to Sutiyoso, society has to hold themselves and respect each other in light of Indonesian consist of various ethnicities and religions (Sumutpos.com, July 30, 2016). Sutiyoso found that this kind of sensitive issue occurred multiple times, there are those who were offended and angry. Nevertheless, it must be able to discuss well. In his point of view, religious solidarity is well preserved (waspada.co.id, July 30, 2016). He also stressed actions conducted by BIN:

Of course we made coordination with military/police to directly coordinate their personnel to remain maintaining security in the location so that the riot will not spread as well as to do any effort to stop provocateurs who heated the situation.<sup>6</sup>(waspada.co.id, July 30, 2016)

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3 merupakan garda terdepan dalam mengantisipasi konflik horizontal. Jika ada masalah, tokoh agama, tokoh masyarakat yang tergabung dalam FKUB dapat langsung mengambil langkah strategis untuk mengantisipasi dan meredam agar tidak pecah menjadi amuk massa.

4 Mari kita bergandeng tangan bersatu membangun kota Tanjung Balai. Masyarakat Tanjung Balai harus bisa menunjukkan sikap toleran, rukun, dan damai sehingga tidak menimbulkan trauma bagi masyarakat atau berdampak buruk bagi iklim investasi usaha. (waspada.co.id, 30 Oktober 2016)

5 yang mayoritas mengayomi minoritas, yang minoritas juga saling bertoleransi, karena kekuatan kita ini adalah keberagaman.(Waspada.co.id, August 1, 2016)

6 tentunya kita sudah melakukan kordinasi dengan pihak TNI/Polri untuk langsung mengkoordinir personennya untuk tetap melakukan pengamanan di lokasi agar tidak melebar dan berusaha megentikan para pelaku2 provokasi yang membuat suasana semakin panas. (waspada.co.id, 30 Juli 2016)



A little bit different with above discussion, the Indonesian Police Head, General Tito Karnavian, stressed the role of social media in creating a trigger the incident in Tanjung Balai. He called society to be cautious on negative issues in social media which provoked social riots. According to Tito, the riot in Tanjung Balai occurred because of a misunderstanding among neighbors. However, it became a big incident since someone posted the incident in social media with negative issues (waspada.co.id, July 31, 2016). Tito considered this case as individual problem and asked society not to involve. Therefore, he reminded society not to be provoked and ask them to think clearly in responding the case. He invited society to maintain the North Sumatera as a place of tolerance among different religious followers in Indonesia. (waspada.co.id, July 31, 2016)

The incident in Tanjung Balai, certainly, led religious groups in Indonesia to respond. Leader of Muhammadiyah District Office in East Kotawaring of Central Kalimantan, for instance, state that “the incident that occurred in Tanjung Balai do not happened again, we are very concerned and deplore the incident since as the impact, it brings a feeling that our nation is divided.”<sup>7</sup> (Waspada.co.id, August 1, 2016)

Still from Muhammadiyah organization, vice head of Human Right and Legal Council of regional Muhammadiyah in North Sumatera, Tegus Syuhada Lubis, considered Meliana as trouble maker of the riot, but the police still gave her protection. Police should handle this case by using Regulation no 7/2012 which is strengthened by President Regulation no. 2/2015 on Handling social conflict (pojoksumut.com, 3 Agustus 2016). Teguh emphasized that action must be for two parties, those who made a trigger of conflict and those who did riot.

If it is only regarded through criminal perspective, it will arise scars in the community. As the result, such incident will occur in other time. Principally, this incident is not seen from one side. We must see the root of other problems. It means both parties get the same action. Do not only arrest actor of the riot but the actor of blasphemy was not arrested.<sup>8</sup> (pojoksumut.com, August 3, 2016).

He continued. “From social side, for instance, there will be a gap if Meliana was not arrested and detained. Such treatment to minority ethnicity can create and lead to social jealousy.”<sup>9</sup> (pojoksumut.com, August 3, 2016). Teguh also observed the position of social media in contributing to worse situation.

Social media also spreads information on ethnicity, religion, and race issues. It means social media campaigns that Chinese in Tanjung Balai do not like to hear Allah’s words from mosques.”<sup>10</sup> (sumut.pojoksatu.id, 3 Agustus 2016).

In line with above views, Leader of Regional Muhammadiyah of the North Sumatera, Abdullah Hakim Siagian stressed that the government might solve the conflict until

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7 “insiden yang terjadi di Tanjung Balai itu jangan sampai terjadi lagi. Kami sangat prihatin dan menyangkan kejadian itu karena dampaknya dirasakan seolah-olah bangsa kita terpecah belah.” (Waspada.co.id, 1 Agustus 2016)

8 Kalau melalui pidana, akan timbul bekas luka di masyarakat. akibatnya akan ada kericuhan lainnya. Prinsipnya tidak hanya satu sisi melihat itu. Harus lihat akar persoalan lainnya. Artinya, harus ada perlakuan sama. Jangan hanya menangkap pelaku kerusuhan tapi pelaku penistaan agama tak ditangkap.

9 Ia melanjutkan, “dari sisi sosial misalnya, akan ada kesenjangan jika Meliana tidak juga ditangkap dan ditahan. Bagaimana nanti perlakuan etnis minoritas itu dapat memberikan dan membuat kecemburuan sosial.”

10 Media sosial pun turut menyebarkan informasi berbaur suku, agama, ras. Artinya media sosial juga mengkampanyekan jika etnis tionghoa di Tanjungbalai tak senang mendengar lafadz Allah dari mesjid

the root of problem so that it did not spread to other regions. He firmly stated that “we will watch the development of condition in Tanjung Balai together and hoped the government to solve the problem and if it was not solved, we will conduct action with other elements of society.” (waspada.co.id, August 1, 2016)

Meanwhile, the General Leader of the General Committee of Nahdatul Ulama (PBNU), MarzukiSuhud, regretted the incident. For him, Indonesian society from the beginning always leaves together. If a problem arise society, it is solved through dialogue. Burning or destruction will not solve a problem. Therefore, he hoped that people remain to be careful, do not follow the provocateurs who intend to destruct condition.(Waspada.co.id, July 30, 2016)

From political party side, at least two parties gave their responses on the incident, i.e. Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera/PKS) and the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan/PPP). Politician from PKS who was also former chairman of commission 1 Indonesian Legislative, Mahfudz Siddiq considered that the government needed to take 2 actions. Firstly, the government enforces the law against all parties who are involved and are responsible in the incident and conducts preventive step to make conflict not to spread to other regions (waspada.co.id, July 31, 2016)

General Leader of PPP, H. DjanFaridz, stated that he is concerned with the incident of riot and destruction in Tanjung Balai. Faridz reminded the need of mutual respect to avoid dispute in society. In addition, society must protect right and obligation among each other. He also explained the meaning of *adzan* and emphasized the need for tolerance culture.

For Muslims, Adzan is not only a call for prayer, but also holy teaching on Allah’s names. It is very evocative for Muslims. Therefore, demand or forbid it means disturbing inner faith of Muslims.<sup>11</sup> (waspada.co.id, July 31, 2016)

He continued that every religion has different cultures on ordinance of worship. Here is the place where people need to understand and tolerate. If people understand, the incident in Tanjung Balai will not be happened. Faridz also in particular invited Muslims not to be easily provoked, reactive, and anarchist, “Let us show friendly, polite, and loving face of Islam as the Prophet provided an example in religious and state living in Madinah because Islam is *Rahmatanlilalamin* (grace for all human beings).” (waspada.co.id, July 31, 2016)

Beside religious groups and political parties, one of social groups gave a response for the incident. Coordinator of Volunteer Coalition of Jokowi and JK, Amirullah Hidayat, emphasized the need for professional and persuasive actions for the case in Tanjung Balai. Police must be careful so that legal action will not make condition heated and used by certain parties to provoke society since the incident involved SARA issues. These issues are very sensitive for Indonesia society. Amirullah said,

We support the Head of Indonesian Police that took firmly action for the action, but we asked police to prioritize persuasive action although legal action is very important. We do not want the riot to be happened again.<sup>12</sup> (waspada.co.id, August 3, 2016)

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11 Adzan bagi umat Islam bukan sekedar panggilan sholat tapi juga syiar suci atas nama asma Allah, sangat menggugah batin umat Islam, karenanya menggugatnya atau melarangnya berarti mengusuk batin keyakinan umat Islam.

12 kita mendukung Kapolri yang mengambil tindakan tegas kepada pelaku tetapi meminta pihak

Other source which is possible to have a discourse on the conflict in Tanjung Balai is social media. Although the posting of face book which led to the riot, in social media not many people discussed the incident. However, one of face book status brought its owner to problem. The content of the status invited people to do a riot. Ahmad Taufiq (41), the owner of the face book account, wrote in his status: "Tanjung Balai is chaotic in July 30, 2016...! 6 monasteries were burned. For my Muslim brother, let us close rank... We make the tragedy 98 happened again #Allahu Akbar." When police asked his motivation, he said that he wrote the status since he is disappointed by the government, and because of economic condition related to an expensive living cost. (detiknews.com, August 2, 2016)

### **Efforts to Mitigate the Conflict and Consequence of Conflict**

Some efforts to mitigate tensions and conflict were started from the beginning of the tension. These efforts involved action for security, dialogue, and also preventive action as listing below,

1. Police dispersed the mass that made oration in front of the sectoral police office. (sumut.pojoksatu.id, July 30, 2016)
2. Military and Police protected the location and localized the conflict in order not to spread to other regions as well as made any effort to stop provocateurs that made situation heated. (waspada.co.id, July 30 2016)
3. Regional Police of the North Sumatera hunted several actors who posted SARA words or provocation in their face book (waspada.co.id, August 3 2016)
4. Police searched for the actors of cyber crime (jawapos.com, August 2, 2016)
5. Meliana met religious and public figures such as head of MUI, FPI, sub district head, village head in the sectoral police office (sumut.pojoksatu.com, July 30, 2016)
6. The Chief of Indonesian National Police met several religious and public figures in Regional Police Headquarters of the North Sumatera. Regional Chief of Police directly led military members to secure the location. He stayed in Tanjung Balai for several days (waspada.co.id, 30 July, 2016)
7. Tanjung Balai Police coordinated with security apparatus as well as religious and public figures (sumut.pojoksatu.id, July 30, 2016)
8. Governor of the North Sumatera conducted the Forum of Leader Coordination (Forum Koordinasi Pimpinan Wiayah/FKPD) with the government of Tanjung Balai. (solopos.com, July 31 2016)
9. Ten elements of community signature the statement of attitude and commitment both religious and public figures (solopos.com, July 31, 2016)
10. One month after conflict, Military-Indonesian National Police and Regional Government conducted social service i.e. free medical treatment, the provision of basic food (1.250 packets), and community service at religious worship houses such as mosque, church, monastery, and pagoda. (waspada.co.id, October 30, 2016)

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kepolisian lebih mengutamakan tindakan secara persuasive walaupun penindakan hukum sangat penting. Sebab kita tidak mau kerusuhan ini terulang kembali.

The Governor of the North Sumatera regarded that the conflict in Tanjung Balai is potential for a rift of the relationship among people with different tribes, ethnics, and religions in Indonesia. Besides, the Governor also related the consequence of conflict to investment, "Security is one of requirements in development. Such conflict can affect the investment into Indonesia. Moreover, at this time, the North Sumatera is being aggressive in developing various sectors." (Solopos. July 31, 2016). Meanwhile, politician from PKS, Mahfudz Siddiq, regarded that the riot brought a big consequence since it is potential for chaos. "There is potency of bigger and wider conflict explosion. If this is happened, it will become new political and economic disorder." (waspada co.id, July 31, 2016)

### **Religious Pluralism Society and Potency of Conflict**

The discussion above demonstrate that the tragedy arose the issue of violence, religious pluralism, minority and majority, and religious freedom. During Indonesian history, tensions and conflicts related to the issue of religious diversity occurred in several times and various types. The type of case above, i.e. blasphemy issues is not the first time happened. The reference for damending a punishment for person who was regarded doing blasphemy is Law No.1/PNPS/1965. In governmental view, this Law talks about the Government's protection of religious defamation. In addition, the Law is really needed and it provides the guarantee and protection of religious freedom in Indonesia. In addition, it provides an opportunity for civil society to practice their religious teachings. However, in some cases such violence to groups regarded as deviant as well as the case above occurred by referring to this law. Thus, if this law has been considered to be needed for Indonesian religious pluralistic society, it needs to be revised to avoid the potency for being used as legitimation of violence against certain minority groups.

From groups discussing the violent conflict, it implies that some followers of religions are not think rationally, uncontrolled emotion, easily provoked when it relates to sensitive religious issue. The calling of prayer for Muslims are regarded as a part of their religious practice, therefore it is a part of religious freedom. However, if the practice of religion becomes the cause of violence, it means that people have not taken religious freedom seriously, as Agus said

The fact of religious diversity leads us to religious pluralism, and this, in turn, to call for religious freedom. I want to argue that, if we take religious freedom seriously, and if we also take a gentler and more accommodating stance regarding our religious convictions and look at the other religions with understanding, openness, and respect, then, the practice of religion need not be, as it often has been, a reason or cause of violence. (Agus, 2006:67)

Dealing with the issue of religious freedom has been faced by religious pluralistic countries. For these countries, managing religious pluralistic societies has been a challenge. Bielefeldt (2013: 41-53) recorded several challenges for states in religious freedom issues. The first challenge is defamation of religion. Bielefeldt called this as the best known political challenge. The second challenge is the demand for respecting and protecting religious identity. According to Bielefeldt, this is one of the causes of misunderstanding since it is related to the issue of majority and minority and the language of identity can deal with a country's religious hegemony or project for promoting religious plurality. The third challenge is the association between religious freedom and religious harmony.

Bielefeldt depicted that this association brings a possible confusion between 'a peace based on recognizing people's most diverse deep convictions and concomi-

tant practices hardly fits with authoritarian ideas of a state imposed societal harmony between communities.' Last but not least, the challenge concerns the issues of equality, non-discriminatory, and neutrality. Concerning non-discriminatory, Bielefeldt suggests the state takes three actions namely create a consistent policies of non-discrimination; fight against discriminatory practices in society; and promote societal openness and tolerance. Meanwhile, Bielefeldt observed that for many people the concept of neutrality is not always attractive since it relates to something sterile, merely procedural and lacking moral commitment so that neutrality can be an excuse for states to take no commitment, no involvement, as well as to be passive with any question of religion. Bielefeldt clarified that neutrality stands for high normative aspiration in making states to consistently act fairly, inclusively and nondiscriminatory.

Freedom of religion or belief presents different practical challenge to the state, human rights organization religious communities, and society at large. As the formal guarantor of human right, the state is supposed to actively protect and promote freedom of religion or belief while, at the same time, exercising a specific self restraint in order to respect freedom and equality of all in their different convictions. (Bielefeldt, 2013:67)

Concerning the issue of religious freedom, Indonesian government always refers to the Consitution 1945 verse 29 article 2: 'the State guarantees all citizens to embrace their own religion and to practice according to their religions and beliefs.' In Tanjung Balai case, for Muslims the calling of prayer is a part of what the state has guaranteed. But, for Meilana, the speaker is too loud. If we look at the reason, it is not related to the issue of religious freedom or blasphemy, but more on practical issue, i.e. the volume of speaker. However, for some people, it is regarded as blasphemy. From this case also, the groups have arisen the key for avoiding the conflict, such as respect each other, religious solidarity, not to be provoked, think clearly, harmonious and peaceful attitudes and control emotion. All these are truly related to deal with religious plurality.

As mentioned above, the issue of religious freedom indeed relates to the issue of pluralism. Banchoff (2008:4-5) regards the term pluralism arose in the middle of twentieth century when the United States dealt with the fact of religious diversity in society. He emphasizes that definition of pluralism is various and can be seen from several perspectives. In theological perspective, pluralism means interreligious harmony, convergence, and compatibility. In sociological perspective, it means 'the diversity of different religious traditions within the same social or cultural space.' Pluralism is not only a positive response of religious plurality but also a peaceful interaction. In addition, pluralism ends when violence is involved. Based on this thought, Qurtuby (2009:186) believes that pluralism needs knowledge and understanding.

Still in line with the above thoughts, according to Noer (2001:224), 'pluralism is an attitude of acknowledging as well as respecting, maintaining, and developing or enriching the pluralistic condition.' Or as Suseno (2010:349-352) said, pluralism mean 'willing to accept and appreciate social diversity,' 'a positive attitude toward social plurality,' 'the ability to live and to function in a plural environment,' and 'a positive tolerance and to grant them the same social, cultural, and political right as one's own religion.'

Beside the requirement of religious pluralism, Eck provides several characteristics of pluralism. Firstly, pluralism is active engagement with plurality (2003:191). Secondly, pluralism is 'active seeking of understanding across line of difference' (2003:182-183).



Thirdly, pluralism is the encounter of commitment (2003: 184). Fourthly, pluralism is mutual respect (2003:184). Fifthly, pluralism is dialogue among the followers of different religions (2003: 166-199). The emphasis on differences also comes from Machacek (2003:155), 'Pluralism is more than just diversity; pluralism is meaningful diversity.' According to him, pluralism leads to create something new and to remake our world. In this process, previous existing values will be eroded (Machacek, 2003:150).

If we relate to the case of Tanjung Balai, we realize that there is something to do with the believers attitudes. It is not enough just mentioned about respect each other, religious solidarity, not to be provoked, think clearly, harmonious and peaceful attitudes and control emotion, but we need active engagement with people from the other religions. The engagement will bring to understanding each other which in turn leads to avoid negative prejudice, provocation, and violence. Thus, this case lead us to rethink the engagement of different religious followers in Indonesia.

Besides the issues of religious freedom and pluralism, the other issue that can be observed is the nature of violence in the case of Tanjung Balai. Putting it simply, Duverger states, conflict theoretically can be divided into two, conflict without violence and conflict with violence (Arifin, 2009:245). Still in the same line with the above thought, Amin Abdullah observed three roots of conflict i.e. strong loyalty, personal involvement and actor language (in Arifin, 2009:92). Suseno emphasizes that the conflicts are not religious and not ideological in nature, they are communalistic. This also demonstrated socio-psychological phenomenon i.e. the inability in viewing that they are human beings and brothers of state. They focused more on 'we' and 'they' which in turn 'we' is so tiny and 'they' are so big. In other words, they become more exclusive (Suseno, 2001:71). Communalism was caused by transformation process where people think about the threatened identity, disorientation of traditional values. Communalism was also caused by the closeness of the New Order System where conflicts were finished through threat and oppression. Then, the Reformation era showed weak government with unconfident army (Suseno, 2001:72-73). Nevertheless, as Jayant (2000:822) said, the cases of fundamentalism and communalism are not an issue of pluralism problem but the lack of genuine religious pluralism. In addition, Noer (2001:236) added that education in Indonesia is only a decoration of curriculum. It is only for the sake of satisfying religious group. Therefore, violence and chaos is a part of the failure of religious education. (Noer, 2001:239-240)

From the thoughts above, the tragedy of Tanjung Balai included as conflict with violence, while the root of conflict is more on the actor language. The violence was done against Meiliana, while the language of Meilana becomes the root of conflict. Wordings about Meilana asked for decreasing the volume of speaker, high tone or voice of her family proved that language becomes the root of conflict. In addition, based on the chronology, the conflicts and violence in Tanjung Balai are not religious and not ideological in nature, they are communalistic.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

By using analyzing discourse on the case of Tanjung Balai tension and conflict, several main themes are arisen. Firstly, Meilana has been considered conducting blasphemy since she asked to decrease the volume of prayer calling which is regarded as a part of Islamic teaching by some Muslims. For this reasons, she has to be jailed. Secondly, the case of Tanjung Balai led police, military, religious group and governmental apparatus gave



some responses. From their wordings, they observed that society is easily provoked, has uncontrolled emotion, and not think rationally. They also remind society about religious solidarity, tolerant and peaceful attitudes. Thirdly, the case of Tanjung Balai leads to discourse of religious freedom, pluralism, and religious violence in Indonesia. Not only how the discourse in society, but also how the state deals with such issues.

When this paper is writing, the court states Meilana gets 18 months in jail. Several protests come from several groups and public figures in society. They convince that the case of Meilana cannot be included as blasphemy. The punishment of Meilana still brings pro and contra in society, but it is a good step when the state finally issued the rule of speaker. Thus, people who feel the speaker is too loud can protest.

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## POLITICIZING THE HYBRID CITY: LOCATIVE MEDIA AND NEW SHAPE OF DIGITAL DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA

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### ABSTRACT

Location-based media technology has become a tool in coordinating social interactions regarding space and time, especially in urban areas. This section becomes an advanced capability of just a means of remote communication. Therefore Richard Ling (2004: 69-75), observes that smartphones are used for social interaction in the public sphere by adjusting iteratively, the most convenient and the best time to meet. This means that mobile social use of location-aware technology has also created new spatial logic on one side. On the other hand, it implies social exclusion and the consequences on patterns of political discussion in the hybrid city as a new form of digital democracy. The ever-growing urban demography and geography as part of the urbanization process have shifted the balance for the use of one's position in urban space rather than the use of clock time to coordinate social life (Sutko and Silva, 2010). The shift triggered by the use of mobile-based coordination, they say, allows people to rely more on space visualization than on time management. So that every meeting, social interaction and coordination is facilitated by the location-based media and even organizes new opportunities for everyone. With embedded location-aware technologies in mobile devices such as the Global Positioning System (GPS) that Silva (2010) called locative mobile social networks (LMSNs), this device proves to represent a new way of mobile technologies mediating a relationship between users and physical space as well digital and connect it to a social network. This is what will be discussed in this paper, with the certainty that GPS signals will continue to accurately coordinate their points and see how a mobile technology device brings various social and political impacts, especially to the urban people represented by the middle class. Besides also elaborating on the understanding of social networking that became an inherent part of democracy but changed the logic of network and spatial in the digital era.

**KEYWORDS:** Mobile technology, network, digital democracy, locative media

### INTRODUCTION

Direction and the way to get some places are not only becoming the habit of mobile technology users but also inviting a new critical reflection of mobility in the mobile and mediated world. By this side, Urry has been argued that mobility is predominantly understood in a horizontal rather than the vertical sense common within the social mobility literature. It implies a broad view of horizontal fluidities where societal processes are happen such as corporeal mobility, object mobility, imaginative travel, and virtual travel (Urry, 2000: 3-4). From this conceptualization, we can easily understand the increasing mobility of mobile technology users of various criteria including mobility in the online sense. Like Sheller and Urry said that nowadays a 'new urbanism' emphasizes 'understanding cities as spatially open and cross-cut by many different kinds of mobilities, from flows of people to commodities to information' (Sheller & Urry, 2006).

On the other hand, locative media applications through the mobile technology con-

firmed that how modern technology shape the everyday lives of people (Tully, 2003), especially in urban areas. Unlike before such sophisticated technology embedded in mobile technology such as smartphones, dense urban growth, the distribution of information in part in digital form demands Internet connectivity installed in every direction. The situation in which Stephen Graham argued that:

The new hybrid interchanges of mobility and flow, as ICTs fuse with, and reconfigure, the other mobility spaces and systems of urban life, become critical and strategic sites at which the very political organization of space and society becomes continually remade. (2004: 155 cited Sheller & Urry, 2006)

As another consequence, a variety of location-based media applications are constantly updating the technology especially how real portraits can be represented precisely and accurately in real-time. In tune with that, on one occasion, Google CEO Sundar Pichai delivered his presentation around a new technology that convinces users that the accuracy of the Google Maps app is close to perfect. He delivered that because as one of the most widely used apps, Google Maps wants to create dependence from users. Although, it requires an update application and a stable Internet connection. It means, as a location media technology, Google wants to have more influence not only in competition against other similar apps but also reminds us of how as a search engines, Google also give us constantly updated as new information emerges and how quickly can relevant material be uploaded, downloaded, distributed and modified (Flew, 2008: 34).

With increasingly urban life leading to digital culture, most people will face many challenges especially in terms of mobility, communication, and a new shape of democracy. According to Anthony G. Wilhelm in his work entitled "Democracy in the Digital Age: Challenges to Political Life in Cyberspace", there are four possible challenges to democratic possibilities in the digital age: barriers to entry in a digital public sphere, the skill differentials and their influence on the ability of persons to share universally in a virtual public sphere, the undermining of the methodical pace of democratic decision making due to the restructuring of rhythms and speeds unparalleled in human history as a consequence of what Manuel Castells (1996) called "the rise of network society," and finally, the imminent disappearance of the public sphere under the pressure of market forces that distort, compress, and radically reconfigure it to a point where it becomes the public face of an essentially private sphere (Wilhelm, 2000).

Following Castells's view, this article at once wants to test his thesis of lost public spaces by using an understanding of hybrid spaces that Silva sees further that there is no longer a disconnect between physical and digital space, but rather a novel amalgamation. Therefore, every app based on location not only can impact people's mobility decision, but creating a new public spaces by coordinating social interactions.

If Castells invites us to contemplate the true private space but the market is able to suppress and lead it into a public space, then the hybrid space offers the creation of new spatial logic through a locative media that instead of market pressure turns into pleasure for a mobile and connected society.

In this article, I discuss locative media in the context of urban societies where public space and new political processes are created through the internet network so that digital democracy in the scale of cities in Indonesia also ensures social exclusion can be reshaped with accessibility in time and space through online activities. In addition to examining the extent to which mobile technology establishes the identity of the user by

observing daily mobility, especially how the user represented by the urban middle class is politicizing the city through formal and informal discussion forums both scheduled and spontaneous. Assuming that all these things are likely to happen and will be more massive and intensive due to various media locative technologies and hybrid cities.

In the next section, it will elaborate on the growth of urban demography as well as its relation to geographical aspects. This section will also examine how new social relationships are established for anyone who is coordinated by the use of mobile technology so that visualization techniques of location and position will be decisive at every meeting and other social interactions. As the object of observation, the rise of online transportation in major cities in Indonesia, for example, proves it. Meanwhile, in a further study, this section also wants to emphasize that mobile mediality, following Sheller said as a new form of hybrid mediated spatiality where through everyday practices of moving around, seeking information and communicating with others, we are creating new ways of interacting with people, with places, with services, and with screens while moving or pausing in movement will become a new milestone of substantial democracy in which openness of public space is more easily created even with various weaknesses that still need to be addressed.

At the end of this article, a critical reflection will be lifted from the conception of connection, accuracy and updates within the scope of the hybrid city. This reflection also links political aspects through an understanding of social networks that need to be understood by changing the logic of networks and spatial logic in the digital age first as a prerequisite part of a democratic climate.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Connection, Space and Place**

In the classical terminology of sociology and other social sciences, the connection is understood as a face-to-face social interaction between people and within a social group. But that sense is no longer sufficient in the contemporary context because there are many relationships between society and social groups that are not based on face-to-face interaction but are imaginary, as represented by objects and images that can cross different types of social spaces.

With the complexity of space and the form of social interaction, mobility of each person encounters a new form that allows connection on certain occasions. So for that matter, it will provoke a question of why and how some of the journey takes place for some of the connections.

Before addressing this, the discussion in this article will refer to a more specific conception of mobility related to mobile technology, as well as an understanding of the new digital democracy.

The general conception that is understood from digital democracy cannot be separated from the word democracy itself. So that it is often associated with all the practices of democracy that are mediated in a digital form. Democracy in this case is procedural democracy such as the existence of elections, political parties, executive, legislative and judicial institutions. However, a more substantial aspect such as public participation in a free and open public space to guarantee social inclusion for all citizens should also be explored in the equivalent concept of digital democracy. Therefore, mobile technology whose popularity has continued to rise in recent years has at least contributed to access to po-

litical information and participation in politics to the electoral process in various parts of the world (Martin, 2014), not least the experience of general elections in Indonesia 2014 and the phenomenon of the Jakarta governor election a year ago. Likewise a series of studies that have been produced in the context of the US presidential election won by Trump 2016 where the role of social media specifically and mobile media in a wider scope is quite significant. These studies generally assure that almost a quarter of the US voting population uses mobile media to observe news about presidential elections both through online media and social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

Not much different from that in Indonesia which reaffirms how mobile technologies have the potential to contribute to the fundamental changes of political participation on the one hand, and on the other hand to understand politics in everyday meanings such as political behavior that is shaped and adapted in a natural way by the use of mobile technologies.

As a comparison, if a few years ago, blogs for example effective in producing political discourse (Gil de Zúñiga et al, 2010), which is able to encourage participatory activities of readers both online and offline and also form a hybrid participation pattern with a combination of virtual and real-world political action which is then understood as a form of new digital democracy (*Ibid.*). Current developments, through Whatsapp groups, status and notes on Facebook, Twitter lectures as well as shaped images via Instagram stories and videos on Youtube have represented the massive public involvement of political issues.

With such a recent development, observations should be directed not only to the extent to which the application has implications for socio-political changes. But also understand the dimensions that allow change to occur. So looking back on connections, space and place will help us in understanding the meaning of these developments as a new form of digital democracy. These three aspects will also be discussed to explain the phenomenon of social exclusion while answering whether the increasing intensity of the use of both mobile technology as a whole and the locative application media more specifically, supported by the right level of awareness in its utilization can guarantee a better political life.

A recent survey by the Indonesian Internet Service Provider Association (APJII) 2017, illustrates how the urban middle class in Java is the largest number of users with average represented by millennials. This middle class also emphasizes its contribution as a political discourse agency. Located in major cities in Java such as Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Yogyakarta and Surabaya, mid-level mobility is increasingly intense and massive triggered by networks and connections that are formed and reformed through various types of entities that continue to circulate including travel patterns. Political discourse is then increasingly produced in scheduled and unplanned spaces and places. The complex city life, thus, is often lived with locative media software within smartphones that allow users to broadcast their physical location and associate digital information with real-world places.

Locative media applications such as Google Maps, WAZE, and Foursquare using GPS features with triangulation methods no longer connect any coordinates where one user interacts with other opportunities for a social interaction. But at the same time creating a hybridization of a place (city) where the physical location and information are incorporated, which Gordon & Silva (2011) termed 'Net Locality'.



Gordon and Silva describe the city traversed by everyone with smartphone usage and location-based social network (LBSN) applications. With the app, everyone connected when checking in somewhere and found others nearby, including when there were complaints about service and prices at a roadside coffee shop. It is the image of the city that in the years to come will continue to transform, which may be to some people as if it does not seem real, but contains annotations and connections, information, and orientation of the network of everyone and devices that transcends what lies ahead (Gordon & Silva, 2011: 1).

Thus, this connected and networked city encourages political discussions to take place in every corner of the city for every occasion, especially those initiated by the millennial or middle-class urban generation. Although we can not rule out the fact that access to connections and networks is not owned by everyone, as the results of the APJII survey.

When the city as a space, and when criticism of public spaces collapsed because of market invasions and capitalist greediness in controlling every inch of land, or when mobile phone use in city life has been widely criticized for promoting social disorder, especially when used in public spaces such as restaurants and public transport. Urban communities are faced with all the problems of space and place at once. With one inevitability that software changes the character of space, on the other hand it contributes to the formation of identity, especially when "self space" is also created through the process of sharing information about location and activity, with the intention of self-brand and narcissistic tendency.

### **Mobility In Urban Life Connected**

Urban life has long been an observation among sociologists and other social scientists. As a product of capitalism, the city, became the target of urbanisation. The creation of the division of labor and organic solidarity, by Durkheim is a logical consequence. Similarly, Tonnies in introducing the idea of *gessellschaft*, was triggered by his attention to, not only urbanization, but also migration and mobility. Therefore, impersonal, mediated and connected characteristics are typical of urban society, more specifically in terms of political and cultural participation.

Political involvement of urban society can no longer be understood solely by formal politics on a national scale. With a hybrid city, almost everyone, involves himself in a political representation of themselves, as well as their self-image, community, city, and global culture. Politics in a hybrid city, unlike formal politics, but featuring involvement in politics on the street, participation in local life, to engagement with creative works and art (Georgiou, 2006). Political engagement in generations of millennials can at least be a real example in this regard.

An uploaded video on the Youtube channel at the end of August 2016 became viral and spread across various social media platforms. The video contains the action of a group of students who are members of student union at SMA Negeri 3, Solo, Central Java that inspired many students and the public about the courage to reveal the corruption of the school against student funds. Although the events actually happened 8 years earlier, but the use of Youtube as a media dissemination proved effective in awakening many parties, not only to investigate the corruption rooted in various agencies, but also how each content of text, images and video channeled through social media will potentially viral and bring real change in society.

We can trace the research that has lifted the connected community to massive mo-

bility, has been widely researched as to how social movements in urban centers in many countries surfaced after being initiated through social media (Lym, 2018; Castells, 2010). Started from the Arab Spring experience, the study of the effectiveness of social media and organizing mass via the internet before taking to the field reinforces the enormous potential for social change, in whatever form, when connectivity can be built, and the internet along with social media, and locative media mediates it. In contrast, Ulrich Beck recalls from the sociological aspect that urban society is confronted by cosmopolitan attributes in which virtually every way of life stems from cultural globalization that impacts the transformation of all aspects of locality, rather than mobility (Beck, 2002).

However, as urban demography and geography grow as part of urbanization, mobility has also increased. The intensity of media location usage becomes one of the triggers in which the use of one's position in urban space has shifted from the utilization of time to every coordination of social life (Sutko and Silva, 2011). The implications of this slump include the possibility for everyone to rely more on the visualization of space than on time management, so that people can be aware of other people's presence through markers on the map, as Urry says that connectivity updates the notion of presence and absence. Or any other impact on politicizing city that is interpreted as the creation of social relations that involve the production and distribution of power (Cresswell, 2010: 21). So that there is a power field that is governed by power relationships and symbolic struggles that can sustain and subvert the reproduction of certain social orders, including social exclusion.

This means first, social interaction in spaces initiated in a place, potentially in the production and distribution of power, when the scope of power understood refers to Foucauldian understanding, namely power that is not only circulated in the center but spread everywhere and by whom only those who have access to information and knowledge. Although digitized urban communities also mean the ability to access information and knowledge has reached a wide range of every layer of society. However, it is interesting to note that the high intensity and massive distribution of power so that almost every urban middle-class can be connected to each other, and with that the traffic from urban mobility occurs physically in terms of vehicles (cars, motorbikes, buses, commuter lines, and virtual through mobile technology (such as sharing information through various online media platforms). Second, as noted by Laura Forlano (2009), where WIFI has the ability to create places and create formal interaction sites that are not based on physical or building constraints, so that the majority of urban movements rely on internet connectivity prioritizes aspects of space and places that are created in any location beyond the old habit of scheduling a meeting agenda outside the home.

Of these two situations, criticism that is also often expressed in the context of mobility and mobile technology is its social impact on the shifting of social order and social exclusion. One relates to the cultural aspects in which connected life is understood as the connection between parties who have resources not only in the context of information, but also networking, power, and more specifically connectivity to the internet which in the context of mobile phones requires data.

While the second, following the first is the limited range of information, networking, power and connectivity that have not touched the grassroots community, in line with these conditions, the level of community participation in public affairs will be low because in addition to being the outermost part of solid mobility, they also often only become objects of power.

Thus, location-based media still needs to be viewed from two opposite sides. It does not just stop at a mobile technology that encourages mobility and connectivity of various parties, but also needs to be examined how the process is formed which involves various forces and struggles, including in this case the economic and political forces facing the struggle for civil rights political and economic, social and cultural aspects of the lower layers of society.

### **People *vis-a-vis* Digital Democracy**

The ability of the middle class society in Indonesia to affirm their identity, groups, political and religious views in virtual public spaces in particular, could be interpreted in many ways. Among those of interest is the extent to which our society is aware of its identity amid social interactions and various activities launched through mobile technology devices. Who are they at certain times and moments, who are they at other times and moments. Because, as discussed in the previous section, mobile technology contributes to the movement of each person physically and virtually, which therefore forms its social awareness.

Another thing is, whether the rampant movement of urban cyber society correlates to the quality of democracy which includes being able to accommodate all levels of society in the struggle for their basic rights as citizens. This question needs to be raised because if in the context of power politics, it would be difficult to imagine the aspirations of each layer of society to be accommodated except for those who are interested in participating in a practical political arena.

When this article was prepared, for example, the national political constellation in Indonesia devoted its attention to the determination of the vice presidential candidate. Until the 10th of August 2018, where it was determined as the deadline for the registration of the pair of presidential and vice presidential candidates by the Republic of Indonesia General Election Commission, the attention of the Indonesian middle class was almost all focused on the issue, temporarily removing the echo of Asian Games sporting events and earthquakes in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara.

This situation reaffirms one condition that the informational society imagined by Castells has worked more massively, both in its mobility in public spaces and the distribution of information in real-time on the Facebook, Twitter and Whatsapp groups.

The announcement of a vice presidential candidate who will accompany presidential candidate Joko 'Jokowi' Widodo for example, immediately shocked not only netizens but also the majority of Indonesia's politically sensitive middle class. Because until the last minute, the name of Prof. Mahfud MD emerged as a candidate so he joined in one of the cafes in Menteng, Central Jakarta, adjacent to Pelataran restaurant, the place where Jokowi and coalition party leaders gathered for the announcement.

Information updating for people outside the circle of the power elite by itself relies on reporting in online media and tweets from the accounts of politicians in the location. So, when one of the elites of the National Awakening Party tweeted that the one chosen was Ma'ruf Amin, at that time information and constellations changed.

Nevertheless, one thing that strengthens the main study in this paper is how political information is a magnet for almost everyone who is actively involved in every social media account on the one hand, and on the other hand is also an attraction to meet somewhere through a variety of technological applications mobile like a mobile location that

allows political discussion to be more focused.

Therefore, when real and online public spaces become an inseparable part of individual identities, the possibility of the liquidity of the identity is open, which can be triggered by political interests or access to power. In other words, for the case of Indonesia, people strengthen their identity tend to be oriented towards power and political interests. It will be difficult to implement what has been reviewed by Ole B. Jensen and Tim Richardson (2016) in their article entitled "Framing Mobility and Identity: Constructing Transnational Spatial Policy Discourses" where many countries begin to think about spatial policies that originate from social construction of space that can create a new system of meaning about space. With this approach they believe that social life works better and that democracy also guarantees the aspirations of many parties. Nor is it the other way around that the existence of space which is precisely the arena of production and reproduction of culture under the control of the power faces a different vision of the future of humanity. Also not as imagined by Luusua, et.al, (2017) regarding computing or smart city technology which is proven to be a narrative and city vision and influence cities around the world.

People who have limited resources, both in terms of information and connectedness with mobile technology devices are ultimately unable to sense the extent to which democracy benefits their daily lives, and with that there are still many challenges to maximizing the voice from the grassroots to get accurate space. Hybrid city and middle class aggressiveness in compacting the city not only with the flow of mobility, but also with power and political discourse should shift its political orientation on a wide scale, which can reach every layer of society.

## CONCLUSION

Good urban spaces are a product of colocated individuals engaging in any variety of social rituals and interactions, resulting in stronger communities and safer streets. With the increasing urban density, the application of media location in mobile technology will be one of the determinants of mobility, while digital democracy which is expected in its ideal form does not necessarily guarantee the livelihood of many people. Although cities become hybrids where connectivity is extended to the Internet, social exclusion is still a major challenge to empower anyone. Because of that, hybrid cities must be in harmony with new spatial policies.

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## Examining Muhammadiyah Neutrality in the Practical Politics: The Case of the 2017 Mayoral Election in Yogyakarta Municipality

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### ABSTRACT

This paper examines the neutral status of Muhammadiyah, Indonesia's largest modernist-Islamic organization, dealing with the election as the arena of practical politics. Since in the middle of 1970s until present, Muhammadiyah is consistent to declare that it will not involve actively in the practical politics particularly election so that the neutral position is always embedded to religious organization. Nevertheless, current political circumstances are enabling to Muhammadiyah to have a wide chance in taking executive power. Utilising in-depth interview and documentary analysis, the paper analyses the case of the 2017 mayoral election in Yogyakarta Municipality. The paper question is that is Muhammadiyah still in the neutral position coping with such election? The finding depicts that the configuration of Muhammadiyah neutrality in the electoral arena can be figured as what so-called "pseudo-neutrality". It can be indicated by a threefold factor: *First*, it actively supports to one of the mayoral candidates, *second*, it takes a part as the Success Team of the candidate, *third*, it has political interests during and after election. In sum, Muhammadiyah is no longer in the neutral status so that this paper proposes to Muhammadiyah to revise its position in the practical politics.

**KEYWORDS:** Neutrality, Muhammadiyah, mayoral election, Yogyakarta

### INTRODUCTION

Discussing the relationship between religion and politics is one of the fascinated discourses among scholarly debates. As the largest Muslim state of the world, Indonesia has various Muslim organizations across the country, two are influencing and leading among others namely Muhammadiyah and Nadhatul Ulama'. The former is as the largest moderate Muslim organisation and tending to focus on urban society while the latter is as the largest traditionalist Muslim organisation and concerning to influence rural society.

This paper concentrates to examine Muhammadiyah rather than others because since its establishment in 1912, it has had a commitment to do not take a part actively in the practical politics whether changing itself into a political party or as the partisan organization to a certain political party. This commitment is based on the official decision of Muhammadiyah as stated in "Khittah Ujung Pandang 1971" which states that it will not involve in the practical politics and has a neutral position in the life of practical politics.



Nevertheless, it does not mean that Muhammadiyah is anti-politics, but it denotes to the fact that Muhammadiyah has no organizational relationship with any political parties and still takes a part in certain circumstances across the country.

Such decision is strengthened by the latter decision so-called as the “Khittah Denpasar 2002” which confirms the similar decision with the “Khittah Ujung Pandang 1971”. Therefore, Nashir (2008: 35-39) suggests to Muhammadiyah followers to could deliver their aspirations to any political parties. The emergence of Amien Rais, the the former chairperson of Muhammadiyah and the founder of the National Mandate Party (PAN), who was running as the presidential candidate in the 2004 election, had debatable perspectives among Muhammadiyah elites, cadres and devotees, whether is it part of the practical politics or strategic situation which should be dealt by Muhammadiyah? Muhammadiyah then officially suggests to its followers to support Amin Rais as the presidential candidate because he is one of the best cadres of Muhammadiyah.

The relationship between Muhammadiyah and politics, as a matter of fact, is always dynamics and changeable. The direct elections of regional heads across the country affect to unpredictable positions of the followers and elites in Muhammadiyah, whether to take a part within such election or run away from it. In the Sleman Regency election 2005, Muhammadiyah issued the official decision to actively support the candidate couple with Muhammadiyah background, Ibnu Subiyanto and Sri Purnomo, and, in turn, won the competition. In 2010, Muhammadiyah obviously still supported Sri Purnomo with other partner, Yuni Satia, and defeated other candidates.

In the Maros Regency election 2010, Muhammadiyah implicitly suggested its believers to vote the candidate couple with Muhammadiyah background, Hatta Rahman and Andi Hamril Mattotorang. The couple, finally, succeeded the election. Likewise, in the Banyuwangi Regency election 2010, Muhammadiyah’s elites involved actively to influence their supporters at the village and sub-district levels to vote the candidate from Muhammadiyah (Mukhlis, 2015: 23). In Yogyakarta Municipality, Muhammadiyah has a fundamental role in each mayoral election. Since the direct mayoral election in 2006, Muhammadiyah always encourages the candidate with Muhammadiyah background. When all candidates are from Muhammadiyah, the most potential is the candidate who has a nearest cultural relationship with Muhammadiyah elites.

In the recent election of Yogyakarta Municipality in 2017, Muhammadiyah still has power and being a contested party by all mayoral candidates. Both Haryadi Suyuti (the incumbent mayor) and Imam Priyono (the incumbent vice mayor), each of them is running to be the mayoral candidate. Each of them also attempts to approach Muhammadiyah linkages in order to gain its support.

It is indeed interesting to be analyzed further, where although the Muhammadiyah regulation obviously states that it has to keep a neutral position to any practical politics, but actually it intentionally takes a part actively in the election as the arena of practical politics. This paper will prove is Muhammadiyah still has a neutral status in the practical politics or not by answering a threefold question: Is Muhammadiyah actively supporting to one of the mayoral candidates? Is Muhammadiyah part of the *Success Team* for one of the mayoral candidates? Does Muhammadiyah has no interests during and after election?

## LITERATURE REVIEW

There are various studies related to Muhammadiyah and politics. Some of them will be presented here. Studies on Islam, Muhammadiyah, and politics can be seen in representative researches already conducted by Hamka (1956) on the relationship between Muhammadiyah and Masyumi, Nakamura (1983) on the influence of Muhammadiyah to Javanese society in Yogyakarta, Alfian (2010) on the politics of modernist group in Muhammadiyah, Syamsuddin (1991) on the relationship between religion and politics in Islam, Syaifullah (1997) on the political movement of Muhammadiyah inside Masyumi, Nashir (2000) on the dynamics of politics in Muhammadiyah, Suwarno (2001) on the reality of Muhammadiyah as an opposition movement, Jaenuri (2001) on Muhammadiyah as the ideology of reformist group, and Jurdi (2010) who explains the role of Muhammadiyah in Indonesian politics particularly between 1966 and 2006. Generally speaking, these studies portray the response of Muhammadiyah to political dynamics in Indonesia.

Moreover, Al-Hamdi (2012: 194-196) classifies four political thoughts of Muhammadiyah elites in Indonesia's post-New Order regime dealing with Islam and political issues. The four thoughts are transformativ-idealistic, moderate-idealistic, realistic-critical and realistic-critical. This classification is based on the response of Muhammadiyah elites to three different issues: the people desire of to insert the Jakarta Charter in the amendment of the 1945 Constitution during the annual sessions of Indonesia's parliament 1999-2002, the emergence of various Islam-based parties with their different features and the debatable concept between jihad and terrorism.

Other researches investigate issues related to politics and elites in Muhammadiyah. Nashir (2000) analyses the political behavior of elites in Muhammadiyah in the Pekajangan Sub-District, Pekalongan Regency, Central Java, during New Order period. The finding theorizes that elites in Muhammadiyah adopt the moderate-accommodative behavior as their political behaviour in the practical politics. Furthermore, Jurdi (2005) scrutinizes the dynamics of political behavior of elites in Muhammadiyah in Bima, West Nusa Tenggara, during New Order era in responding local issues of government and political parties.

In electoral issues, Efendi (2010) examines the political fragmentation of elites in Muhammadiyah dealing with the 2009 national election. Efendi portrays the modality which used by each elite in Muhammadiyah in legitimizing their own political motives. Furthermore, Nurmandi, Prianto, & Efendi (2015) explain the fact that Muhammadiyah in recent situations takes a lot of roles particularly in local elections. Therefore, there are at least three different motives of the political behaviour of Muhammadiyah in the election. Firstly, the involvement of Muhammadiyah in the election is caused by the intention of maintaining the existing religious identity and values. Secondly, Muhammadiyah elites want to have their representations in the executive wing so that the government policies are friendly to Muhammadiyah interests. Thirdly, election is as the way for Muhammadiyah to consolidate its agendas to society through bureaucracy.

More specifically, Sholikin (2015: 158-161) is attempting to analyse the pattern of Muhammadiyah neutrality in the electoral arena and why any different policies between central and regional boards of Muhammadiyah. The finding demonstrates that although Muhammadiyah is consistent to have a neutral position in the electoral arena, its elites in the central board have different political perspectives. The factionalism inside the central board of Muhammadiyah causes the deviation of Muhammadiyah neutrality in the local election. Sleman Regency and Maros Regency are cases in this research in where Muhammadiyah in these two regencies took a part in the election and supported to one of the can-

didates. When the Muhammadiyah inside the regencies decided to support its cadres, they earned a powerful support from one of the elites in the central board of Muhammadiyah. It shows the ambiguous position of Muhammadiyah neutrality in the practical politics.

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: POLITICAL NEUTRALITY OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT**

The term of “movement” terminologically means social activities conducted by an informal group whether a big or small group in where it focuses on certain social, cultural and political issues. Such groups usually campaign, fight or reject an issue for social change (Widyanta, 2002: 12). In sociological perspective, the movement could be classified as a collective behavior so-called as social movement. According to Thoha (1995: 63), as a collective action, the age of social movements is similar with the development of human civilization. The transformation of a civilization to further civilizations not merely through a peaceful way but also should be handled through collective movements, namely social movements. In the same way, Suharko (2006: 3) said that the social movement is a collective deed for a similar objective despite from distinctive social movements.

Furthermore, Winardi (2000: 47) defines the movement as the capacity in influencing various strategies and groups in order to identify and develop organizational culture. By the group, refers to Budiardjo (2008: 382-383), the interests will be received easily by the decision maker so that such group can influence public policies. In this paper, Muhammadiyah can be represented as a religious social movement which involve in the electoral arena. The election in this context will be placed as the practical politics.

As the religious movement, political neutrality in Muhammadiyah has a problem. Some people said that Muhammadiyah still has a neutral position in the practical politics while others protest that right now Muhammadiyah is no longer neutral. This paper is attempting to define the concept of neutral or neutrality. According to Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2008), the word of “neutral” means not saying or doing anything that would encourage or help any of the groups involved in an argument or war while “neutrality” demonstrate a neutral position. According to Falakh (2001: 172), the neutrality can be defined as an attitude which is inactively support to a certain group or political party particularly in the election.

Moreover, Oppenheim (in Wiranto, 1989: 30) describes the neutrality as the attitude of impartiality made by the Third World countries towards belligerent countries. Such attitude creates rights and duties between the impartial states and the belligerents. Furthermore, Abdulgani (1979; 81) conceptualizes the neutrality as a way to stem a dis-integrative power from outside parties and strengthens an integrative power from inside. Therefore, self-confidence to own power and independence particularly in national and regional defenses should be fulfilled by a nation. Additionally, Starke (1984: 549) defines the neutrality as an attitude of the state which is not at war with belligerents and does not participate in the hostilities.

In the meantime, Kusumohamidjojo (1985: 34-36) postulates that the term of “neutrality” denotes to the concept of non-block politics introduced by Asian countries to show that themselves are not in one of the ideological blocks between Uni-Soviet communists and non-communist states. After World War II, the concept of neutrality is not only for a war situation but also for the circumstance is not war. In recent situation, Kusumohamidjojo (1985: 36) stresses the concept of neutrality as the impartial position to one of

the interests in gaining a power in a state.

More specifically, Oppenheim (in Wiranto, 1989: 31) provides some features of neutrality. First, the neutrality as an impartial attitude which not allow to help one of the two belligerent parties and harm one of them. Second, neutral parties should stop belligerent parties in order to no use their land and sources of wealth. It aims to create a peaceful circumstance. Third, the impartial attitude can be received by both conflicting parties such as humanitarian mission: sending doctors, ners, medicines and emergency hospitals for particularly victims. Fourth, although the war happens, the relationship between conflicting parties and neutral parties are still robust among of them.

In the context of Muhammadiyah, Nashir (2015) emphasizes that the non-partisan position has no political affiliation to one of the political parties or certain political power. Therefore, neutrality is disengagement which means taking the same distance to do not approach all political parties. Nevertheless, although Muhammadiyah is far from the practical politics, it doesn't mean that it is anti-politics and vice versa. Thus, the intelligence, honesty and wisdom are still needed by Muhammadiyah elites in making strategic decisions for the benefits of people. Recently, there is a term of "active neutrality" as an anti-thesis to "passive- neutrality" which labeled to Muhammadiyah's values in the political stage (Nashir, 2008: 3).

Considering previous explanations on the concept of neutrality, this paper categorizes three different patterns of neutrality in political activities conducted by Muslim organizations.

1. Active-neutrality. It can be defined as the impartial attitude, but people still can use their rights to vote in the political arena such as election. People then actively support other voters to use their rights in voting the candidate.
2. Pseudo-neutrality. It denotes to the fact that the attitude looks like the original but actually not original. In the political context, the attitude seems not stand to one of the two parties, but in actually the attitude is standing to one of them.
3. Passive-neutrality. It is inactive attitudes and no effort. In the political stage, it is an impartial attitude to any parties, disengagement in anything, silent movements, and running away from the political life. Parsons (1991) has other term namely "effective neutrality" meaning indifference and no care to something which has no effects to their interests.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This paper applies the qualitative research method (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011: 3-4; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992: 6; Silverman, 2001: 32; Devine, 2002: 197-215; Patton, 2002: 14). Among five kinds of the qualitative research, namely narrative, phenomenological, grounded theory, ethnographic and case study, this paper prefers to adopt the case study due to its relevance (Creswell, 2013: 69-107; Gerring, 2004: 352; Yin, 1994: 1-12; Flyvbjerg, 2011: 301-02; Berg & Lune, 2012: 342).

Thus, this paper selects Yogyakarta Municipality as the case study to examine the neutrality of Muhammadiyah because this city is well-known as the hometown of Muhammadiyah. Covering an area of 32.50 square kilometres, in 2016 the total popula-



tion in Yogyakarta Municipality is 417,744 inhabitants with 82.84 percent are Muslims (BPS-Statistics of Yogyakarta Municipality, 2017: 70-1, 197). In the meantime, Javanese is still dominating than other ethnics. Nonetheless, because of marriage and occupational motives, non-Javanese society has been entering, even a few foreign people are available within (Al-Hamdi, 2017: 92). As one of Indonesia's leading cities, Yogyakarta envisages itself for 2005-2025 as the city with a qualified education, a culture-based tourism and an environment-oriented service centre (Yogyakarta Municipality Government, 2008: 6).

The in-depth interview and documentary were employed as data-gathering techniques (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992: 63; Patton, 2002: 4, 293, 343-44; Manheim & Rich, 1986: 132-38; Silverman, 2001: 83-114; Yin, 1994: 96). For the in-depth interview, it was conducted approximately three months between February and April 2018. Even, one informant can be interviewed twice. Meanwhile, documentary was carried out before, during and after the field research. Supporting documents coming from Muhammadiyah and municipal government institutions and appropriate scholarly references will be utilised also in this research.

The given data will be analyzed into a fourfold step. First is reducing data. The data which appear in written field notes will be selected, simplified and, in turn, transformed into the data display. As the second step, displaying data is compressing a set of information which allows depicting concluding remarks. Third is drawing and verification. Since the commencement, the researcher should make a decision what things mean – noting regularities, patterns, explanations, possible configurations, causal flows and propositions. Final concluding remarks may not appear until data collecting is done, although the analyst argues to have been proceeding “inductively”. The concluding remark is also validated as the researcher proceeds (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 10-2; Creswell, 2013: 179-80).

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

To examine the neutral position of Muhammadiyah in the practical politics, this paper will assess it with three integrated questions: Is Muhammadiyah actively supporting to one of the candidates? Is Muhammadiyah part of the Success Team for one of the candidates? Does Muhammadiyah has no interests during and after election? From these three vital questions, this paper will find out to what extent does the political neutrality of Muhammadiyah.

### **Is Muhammadiyah actively supporting to one of the candidates?**

The neutrality, according to the chairperson of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta Municipality, Akhid Widi Rahmanto, has two dimensions. In the social perspective, the neutral is impartiality while, in the political view, the neutrality is providing a position for the people benefit. If the neutrality in the political context is understood as the impartial attitude, it is a mistake concept and will harm the Muhammadiyah position.

Rahmanto further states that one of the important things in selecting the best candidate is identifying their personal background. The candidate who is closer to Muhammadiyah culturally, he/she is potential to be supported powerfully by these organization devotees. Rahmanto's statement is also reinforced by the official letter issued by Muhammadiyah of Yogyakarta Municipality on October, 5<sup>th</sup>, 2016 on the recommendation related to the 2017 mayoral election. The letter emphasizes the support of Muhammadiyah to the

candidate who has a cultural close with Muhammadiyah. Thus, if Muhammadiyah selects the precise person, it will affect to Muhammadiyah interests. Consequently, Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta Municipality has an understanding that political neutrality is having a similar partnership with all political parties.

According to Abdul Samik Sandhi, the head of the Division of *Hikma* and Public Policy of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta Municipality, Muhammadiyah as an Islamic missionary endeavour movement cannot be separated from the political life. In the context of the 2017 mayoral election in Yogyakarta, Sandhi argues that Muhammadiyah has been keeping a similar relationship with all political parties. Thus, Imam Bayu, secretary of Muhammadiyah at the Jetis Sub-District, stated that Muhammadiyah will fight and support for the candidate who has a comparable vision with Muhammadiyah values. This perspective is underpinned by Ashad Kusumajaya, the vice chair of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta Municipality. He stresses that Islam in the Muhammadiyah perspective never taught to its followers on neutrality, but it taught on values. If we have two terrible options, we should select the best thing among of them. It means that Muhammadiyah has to decide to vote, which one the best candidate.

Although elites and cadres in Muhammadiyah have distinctive understandings to the concept of neutrality, most understandings are denoting to the similar concept: taking a mutual position. They claim that the meaning of neutrality is doing anything not keeping silent. It can be understood as a choice whether Muhammadiyah will vote for this candidate or other candidate.

In terms of the 2017 mayoral election in Yogyakarta, society always asks to Muhammadiyah to decide its preference to which candidate it will support because Muhammadiyah in this municipality has a powerful influence to society. Therefore, the politicians which will run as the mayoral candidate will fight sincerely to gain Muhammadiyah support. Kusumajaya argues that Muhammadiyah in this municipality suggests to its followers to vote for the candidate who has the Muhammadiyah personal background or at least the candidate has a close cultural relation with Muhammadiyah.

The official organizational decision so-called as “Tanfidz Keputusan Musyda” made by Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta Municipality suggests to Muhammadiyah devotees to use their vote in the mayoral election and to vote the candidate who has these features: devout, having capacities, fighting for people welfare, caring with environment as well as having a close relationship with Muhammadiyah so that the candidate will encourage Muhammadiyah activities (PDM Kota Yogyakarta, 2016: 13-14). It denotes to the fact that Muhammadiyah actually wishes to its true believers to vote the candidate who has a close cultural relationship with Muhammadiyah. According to Sugeng Nugroho Hadi, the chair of Muhammadiyah at the Gampingan Village, although Muhammadiyah not state obviously to support any candidates, in fact, Muhammadiyah followers already knew to which candidate they have to vote.

Among two alternative candidates namely the couple of Imam Priyono and Achmad Fadli and the couple of Haryadi Suyuti and Heroe Poerwadi, Muhammadiyah intends to support Haryadi-Heroe as the candidate couple who has a close cultural relationship and a similar vision with Muhammadiyah values. In addition to that, Haryadi and Heroe are also Muhammadiyah cadres where Haryadi was the former functionaries of Muhammadiyah at Yogyakarta Province. Haryadi-Heroe is nominated and proposed by these po-



litical parties: Golkar, PAN, Gerindra, Demokrat, PKS, and PPP under the coalition “Koalisi Yogyakarta Berkemajuan”. This coalition name is related to Muhammadiyah vision inside the municipality i.e. realising Yogyakarta Municipality with values of *berkemajuan* (loosely: progressive).

The support of Muhammadiyah to Haryadi-Heroe is not merely issuing an official statement but also organising intensive coordination among of them to strengthen the campaign strategies. The intensive cultural meetings were also taking place between Haryadi-Heroe and Muhammadiyah communities at the grassroots level. The agenda in such meetings are campaigning and socializing their vision and images. Various people came to these meetings due to their enthusiastic to meet with the candidate.

Considering these evidence, Muhammadiyah is actively supporting the candidate couple of Haryadi Suyuti dan Heroe Poerwadi. Various coordinations and consolidations among of them were occurring to discuss campaign strategies. Therefore, in the perspective of neutrality, Muhammadiyah can be positioned as not neutral.

### **Is Muhammadiyah part of the *Success Team* for one of the candidates?**

In addition to actively communication and coordination between Muhammadiyah and the candidate, Muhammadiyah cadres are also part of the Success Team in succeeding Haryadi-Heroe. Creating such team is in order to make Muhammadiyah is easy to coordinate with the candidate because it is not possible for Muhammadiyah to take a part institutionally in whole steps of the mayoral election in order to give an image to public that Muhammadiyah not involve actively in the practical political life. It is important to be noted also that Muhammadiyah principally not prohibit its cadres and followers to be the Success Team for one of the candidates so that the involvement of Muhammadiyah cadres in all candidates is part of supporting the successful agenda of democracy.

As the chair of the Muhammadiyah Youth in Yogyakarta Municipality, Ghifari Yuristiadi puts forward that it does not matter if any cadres and elites of Muhammadiyah involve in the mayoral election 2017, because their involvement in the political life is part of encouraging the government programs. If it is not, Muhammadiyah will not be considered as the influencing party in succeeding the mayoral election inside the city. Due to the great power of Muhammadiyah, youthful caders of Muhammadiyah take a part of themselves in this political moment. Ghifari said that there are at least six caders of the Muhammadiyah Youth who became the Success Team of Haryadi-Heroe. Nonetheless, Ghifari highlights his principal messages that Muhammadiyah devotees have to keep Islamic missionary endeavour in society although they involve in the practical politics.

“In addition to that, it is not allowed for Muhammadiyah true believers to bring attributes, symbols and emblems related to Muhammadiyah when they are campaigning or in the area of campaign,” Ghifari emphasis.

Even, Ashad Kusumajaya, one of the Muhammadiyah elites in Yogyakarta Municipality, is the chair of the Success Team for the candidate couple of Haryadi-Heroe. In main-taing the team, Kusumajaya professionally operates his responsibilities as good as he can. He also did not use Muhammadiyah symbols in the campaign process.

“My motive to support Haryadi-Heroe is because of my close to them. I really know their personal track records rather than other candidates,” Kusumajaya said.

According to Rifki Rifai, member of the Success Team of Haryadi-Heroe, the involvement of Kusumajaya is already permitted by the Muhammadiyah Board. Rifai's testimony is reinforced by Muhsin Hariyanto, the chair of Muhammadiyah at the Kraton Sub-District, who argues that there are more than two cadres from Kraton who involve themselves as part of the succeeding team of Haryadi-Heroe. Their contribution is individual to support and mobilize society to vote the Haryadi-Heroe.

Furthermore, Sandhi postulates that the existence of Muhammadiyah elites and cadres as part of the Success Team is a consequence of Muhammadiyah support to particularly Haryadi-Heroe. As a result, the cadres who become the Success Team, they should to take off their structural position as the functionaries in Muhammadiyah in order to concentrate to be a good team in winning their candidate.

These facts indicate that although Muhammadiyah as an organizational institution not officially involve itself inside the Success Team, but it delegates its cadres and elites to be the key persons who have significant roles in triumphing the candidate in the mayoral election. The cadres and elites who involve as the Success Team are not merely at the municipal level but also at the grassroots level. Therefore, this paper postulates that Muhammadiyah is not neutral anymore.

### **Does Muhammadiyah has no interests during and after election?**

Gaining power and position is part of the political life where various political parties wish to take it. It is indeed different with the feature of social movements. In the political life, people will find reciprocal transactions such as position, money and the like while, in the social activities, they merely find cultural and voluntary approaches (Qodir, Nurmandi, & Yamin, 2015: 131). In this context, Muhammadiyah supports the candidate couple of Haryadi-Heroe because they have a similar vision with Muhammadiyah values. Consequently, after Haryadi-Heroe won the competition, some cadres of Muhammadiyah are recruited by the elected mayor and vice mayor as the vital team inside the government in operating and implementing municipal programs.

"Some programs which proposed by Muhammadiyah are approved by the municipal government to be executed so that there is a mutual cooperation in developing urban areas," Rahmanto claims.

Although Muhammadiyah never ask a special request or treatment, the elected mayor promises to give "something like a reward" if Muhammadiyah still support him. Providing programmes which can be operated together in governing the municipality and facilitating Muhammadiyah in enhancing its *da'wah* particularly related to education and community empowerment are some kinds of rewards. In addition to that, there are some commitments which delivered by the elected mayor to Muhammadiyah: The municipal government will support Muhammadiyah's *dawah* and activities, Muhammadiyah will be involved in deciding policies, and Muhammadiyah's schools will be encouraged fully by the government.

As member of the Success Team of the candidate couple of Imam-Fadli, Edi Setiawan believes that the Muhammadiyah support to Haryadi-Heroe has indeed a real political transaction among of them. The existence of Ashad Kusumajaya as the expertise staff of Mayor Haryadi is one of the evidence. Moreover, various Muhammadiyah interests are usually accommodated by the municipal government. Even, Muhammadiyah is invited by

the municipal government to deliver its suggestions and programmes in the discussion of the Municipal Middle Term Development Planning or so-called as “RPJMD”.

A reciprocal relationship which be built up by both of them demonstrate to the fact that Muhammadiyah seemingly is no longer in the neutral position. Each of them will gain benefits. Haryadi-Heroe obtains Muhammadiyah support while Muhammadiyah earns various facilitations and programmes from the municipal government. These evidence indicate that Muhammadiyah obviously has a lot of interests whether during or after the election.

From the three questions above which already answered, it can be postulated that Muhammadiyah is not in the neutral position anymore because it cannot fulfill these three aspects: not actively supporting to one of the candidates, not part of the *Success Team* for one of the candidates, and having no interests during and after election. Among three kinds of neutrality, this paper eventually categorizes Muhammadiyah position in the status of “pseudo-neutrality”. It denotes to the reality that although Muhammadiyah perceptibly declared as the neutral organisation and not support to one of the candidates, but in the reality it powerfully encourages the candidate couple of Haryadi-Heroe. It can be seen with some evidence such intensive coordinations among of them in coping with election activities, the involvement of Muhammadiyah elites as the key *Success Team*, and a lot of Muhammadiyah interests are accommodated by the elected mayor and vice mayor.

Nevertheless, the partiality of Muhammadiyah in the 2017 mayoral election in Yogyakarta Municipality does not mean that Muhammadiyah is affiliated to a certain political party. It actually demonstrates its essential role in selecting a leader who has similar values with Muhammadiyah. It is undeniable that Muhammadiyah is the influential power in Yogyakarta so that it has to involve in taking a part who is the right person will govern the city and progress Muhammadiyah activities.

### **Conclusion: Pseudo-neutrality as the Political Path of Muhammadiyah**

To analyse the neutrality of Muhammadiyah in the practical politics, this paper applies a threefold indicator: not actively supporting one of the candidates, not part of the *Success Team* for one of the candidates, and having no interests during and after election. Considering these three indicators, this paper concludes that Muhammadiyah is no longer in the neutral status due to not fulfilling these three indicators. Field data and interview verify that, *first*, Muhammadiyah actively support to Haryadi-Heroe as the candidate couple who has a close culture with Muhammadiyah, *second*, Muhammadiyah delegates its elites and cadres to be critical persons of the *Success Team* for the candidate couple of Haryadi-Heroe, *third*, Muhammadiyah indeed has political interests during and after election whether for positional or programmatic goals.

Among these three kinds of neutrality namely active-neutrality, pseudo-neutrality, passive-neutrality, this paper eventually theorizes that pseudo-neutrality is the political path adopted and performed by Muhammadiyah when it copes with particularly the electoral contestation. It denotes to the fact that although Muhammadiyah officially declared that it has a neutral position, but actually it has a contradicting position with the three indicators. The term of “pseudo” indicates to the behaviour that seems to be real, but it is actually faking.

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**List of Respondents**

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Edi Setiawan, member of the Success Team for the candidate of Imam Priyono and Achmad Fadli, interview 08.93.2018.

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Muhsin Haryanto, chair of Muhammadiyah at Kraton Sub-District, interview 05.03.2018.

Rifki Rifai, member of the Success Team for the candidate of Haryadi Suyuti and Heroe Poerwadi, interview 08.03.2018.

Sugeng Nugroho Hadi, chair of Muhammadiyah at Gampingan Village, interview 06.04.2018.



## ***Kiai* and Politics: Case Study in Temanggung Political Situation 2018**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*Kiai* is one of the figures or religious leaders of Islam who bring a role in the field of social and religious, especially in society. Theologically the *kiai* are seen as the heirs of the Prophets (warat-satalanbiya). The role of religious leaders in a party often determines the election constituents in the election. This is because these figures become role model of people and respected because of their ideas and charisma. Then it cannot denied if many political parties are scrambling to offer one figure in the party stewardship. Even appointed in the party steward ship and asked to bless the party in hopes of getting votes from constituents. The existence of *kyai* involvement in politics is a part of an interesting phenomenon to be studied and researched. Pilkada (Mayor Election) as a means to elect leaders in autonomous regions, indirectly will absorb the participation of communities at every level of autonomous regions, both districts / cities and provinces. The level of participation can be influenced by the factors or ways used by the electoral contestants. Temanggung Regency as a district that has a thick Islamic style, has the character of political participation that is different from other regions. In this area the role of *kiai* becomes one of the unique political participation variables. In addition, the *kiai* is trusted by the community as a figure capable of composting society in running political participation. The problem studied in this research are: 1) How is the extent of *Kiai*'s involvement in the political atmosphere in Temanggung? 2) How is the extent of *Kiai* in influencing the people political preferences? This research is focused on the extent of *Kiai*'s involvement in the political atmosphere in Temanggung and the extent of *Kiai* in influencing the people political preferences in the general election. The data source consists of the primary data source and secondary data source. Data collection techniques include interviews, observation, and documentation. Methods of data analysis used qualitative analysis.

**KEYWORDS:** *Kyai*, political condition, Temanggung, role

### **INTRODUCTION**

Currently cannot be denied that the role of a party leader determines the constituency's election in the election, especially because the figure is a role model for many people or at least admired because of his ideas or charisma. In a society the role of religious elites and ruling elites is enough to influence life in the social, economic and political fields. The group included government officials and community leaders. One of the community leaders who has an important role in the political field is the *Kiai*. *Kiai* is one of the Islamic religious figures or figures who carry a role in the social religious and political fields, especially in rural communities (Turmudi 2003: 13). The *Kiai* has an unreachable position, especially by most lay people. *Kiai* with all their advantages, and no matter how small the area of influence is, are still recognized by the community as an ideal figure because of the

high cultural and structural position. As informal Islamic leaders, kiai are people who are believed to have very large and charismatic authority. This is because the kiai is a saint who is blessed, because this type of authority is outside the world of routine and profane everyday life (Weber, 1973: 53). So that the kiai is seen as having extraordinary advantages that make his leadership generally recognized. In addition to his personal advantages, the authority of the kiai and his close relations with members of the community has been shaped by his concern and authority for the interests of Muslims. The position of the kiai has played an intermediary role for Muslims by giving them an understanding of what is happening at the national level (Geertz, 1959). The community views the kiai as spiritual, moral, religious guides, while protecting the people from the threats of the outside world. This reality allows the kiai to contribute greatly to various problems of publicity. The role of the kiai is not only limited to the spiritual aspect, but also the broader aspects of social life. Because, the kiai who were initially limited to leading religious life activities, gradually also gained political influence.

In the process of selecting Regional Heads in Temanggung Regency, Kiai indirectly have a very strategic position. They have the ability to play a role and influence because they have advantages inherent in them, they can manage and control certain branches of life, wherein in turn those who are concerned will be able to play the role and influence to determine the pattern and direction of the wheel of life. They are superior minoritas groups whose position is at the top of the social strata, which is able to influence the decision making process. Although fewer in number, those with superiority can command or force individuals to submit to their commands. The involvement of the Kiai in the Temanggung regency in the process of indirectly selecting Regional Heads cannot be avoided, because they are local potentials that can contribute or give their own color to politics at the regional level. With its ability to create conducive political conditions where their role is crucial in creating a participatory people. Seeing the condition of the community, the strategy of political campaigns commonly used by political parties in election (Pilkada) is using the system of direct election of candidates to use vital points in rural communities, especially in Java, namely the role of the Kiai figure.

Kiai who are the base layer of the village community are the successors of socialization to the community for the victory of the party. When the Kiai entered the political system through political parties, Kiai automatically got a quota to become a successful team or candidate campaigner supported by the political parties concerned. Capital based on mass and charisma, the Kiai is able to play an important role in the succession of a candidate for the Regional Head. In addition to Kiai going directly to the political arena, there are Kiai who only become participants or just give approval to certain candidates. Kiai are not involved in direct political activities. He only became a supporter on the back line. That is, not being a successful team or specific candidate campaigner. Kiai's involvement in politics is limited to giving blessings to candidates who come and beg for blessing to the boarding school (pesantren).

Furthermore, the blessing is not only given to one candidate, but when there are candidates who come to the pesantren the Kiai willingly give permission to advance in the election. The victory of mass-based Islamic political parties in the election arena in Temanggung is a phenomenon that cannot be separated from the intervention of an Islamic religious figure. The Kiai who incidentally is a religious figure does not only function on the socio-religious community but also playing at the political level, especially in

the implementation of elections (Ummatin 2002: 45). Therefore the victory of the Islamic party is one form of the role of the kiai in politics.

Based on the description above, this research will answer one question, namely: How is the involvement of Kiai in the political condition and people political preferences in Temanggung District in 2018?

## **THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **The Involvement of *Kiai* as Local Elites**

In various regions in Indonesia the use of the term kiai is different from the term ulama. Horikoshi (1976) and Mansurnoor (1990) distinguish kiai and ulama in their role and influence in society. Ulama is a more general term and refers to a knowledgeable Muslim. The ulamas are a group that clearly has a social function and role as the guardian of the tradition that is considered as the basis of individual and community primordial identity (Gilsen, 1973). In other words, the most important function of ulama is the orthodox role and traditionally they are as enforcers of faith by teaching religious doctrines and maintaining orthodox religious practices among Muslims (Horikoshi, 1976: 232). The term ulama is widely used in the Islamic world. In Indonesia a variety of local terms are used to indicate various levels of clericality, and the most common terms use to show a higher level of clericality is the kiai.

All scholars from the highest level to the lowest level are called kiai. According to Endang Turmudi, the kiai can be differentiated into four categories: pesantren kiai, tarekat kiai, political kiai and stage kiai (*kiaipanggung*) according to their specific activities in the development of Islam. Nevertheless, in reality a kiai can be classified into one category. From the four categories the kiai can be divided into two larger categories in relation to followers, they are:

1. Kiai who have more followers and influence wider than the kiai who are in the second category. This category consists of:
  - a. Kiai Pesantren, this kiai focuses on teaching at pesantren (boarding school) to improve community resources through education. The relationship between santri and kiai caused the santri family to indirectly become followers of the kiai. When parents send their children to a kiai, they also indirectly acknowledge that the kiai is a person who is worthy of being followed and a teacher who is right to develop Islamic knowledge. Students who complete their education at a pesantren and then become kiai, they also build a network that connects them with the pesantren kiai where they attend or with their successors who continue the pesantren leadership.
  - b. Kiai Tarekat, these kiai focus their activities on building the inner (heart) of Muslims. The tarekat kiai is a formal institution, the followers of the tarekat kiai are formal members of the tarekat movement. This number of followers can be more than the pesantren kiai followers because through branches in various cities in Indonesia the tarekat members automatically become tarekat followers.
2. Kiai who disseminate and develop Islam through da'wah activities. This kiai con-

sists of stage kiai (kiaipanggung) and political kiai.

- a. Stage Kiai (KiaiPanggung), this kiai has followers who may be scattered throughout other regencies. However, this can happen because only popular stage kiai can be invited to give lectures in other districts. Most stage kiai are local in the sense that only Muslims are known in their area.
- b. Political Kiai, this kiai is more of a mixed category. He refers to the kiai who have a concern to develop politically.

The Javanese community is widely known to recognize differences between individuals in their social status, and this has become the norm governing social relations among Javanese people (Guinnes: 1986). Broad social status can be determined by age, wealth, and work. Therefore older people in a village, will get respect from younger people, rich people will get respect from the poor, highly educated people will be respected by less educated Javanese. From an early age, Javanese people have been introduced to these norms. This norm system works efficiently, especially in rural areas where most people know each other, so that the social location of each person in Javanese is easily recognized. In accordance with the concepts of differences in social status, the ulama especially the kiai in the Javanese villages received high respect in the community.

Compared to other local elites like wealthy farmers, the kiai who lead pesantren have a more respectable position. This has made the kiai a leader in society and his leadership is not only in the area of religion but extends to the political sphere. The success of the kiai in leadership roles makes the kiai more visible as influential people who can easily move social action. Therefore, the kiai has long been a strong elite. Kiai is a knowledgeable person where the people learn knowledge. His versatility and extensive knowledge of Islam caused the kiai to always have followers, like informal listeners who always attended his recitals or lectures as well as the santri who lived in huts around his house. Kiai usually come from rich families. Although few kiai were poor when he began to teach Islam, it was shown by the size of the pesantren building, but generally the kiai came from wealthy families. These two factors make the kiai seen as an elite figure in the village. To strengthen relations with their students, a kiai often allows some of those from poor families to work in their fields (Fox and Dirjosanjoto: 1989). It is generally known that a kiai candidate often has what is meant by *laduni science*, namely knowledge gained without learning.

This kind of knowledge that might overtake someone's kiai or appear after he becomes a kiai thus giving legitimacy to the leadership of a kiai. The relationship between the kiai and its people is bound by religious emotional relations which makes its legitimate power even more influential. The charisma that affects the actions of the kiai also makes the relationship full of emotion, because the kiai has become a helper for the residents in solving their problems, which are not only limited to spiritual problems but include a wider aspect of life, then the residents also considered the kiai as their leader and representative in the national system (Horikoshi: 1976). Success in demonstrating this important role "... leads almost inevitably to its placement not only as a mediator of Islamic law and doctrine but also as a holy power itself" (Geertz, 1962: 238)

### **General Election (Pilkada/Pemilihan Kepala Daerah)**

General Election of Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads (Pilkada) is a general election to elect the Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head directly in Indonesia by

local residents who meet the requirements. Regional Head and Deputy Regional Heads:

1. Governor and Deputy Governor for the province
2. Regent and Deputy Regent for districts
3. Mayor and Deputy Mayor for the city

The election of the Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head was previously elected by the Regional Representative Council (DPRD). The legal basis for the implementation of the Pilkada is law number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government. In this law, Pilkada (Election of Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads) has not been included in the general election regime (PEMILU). The first election was held in June 2005. Since the enactment of law number 22 of 2007 concerning General Election Organizers, Pilkada was included in the election regime, so that it was officially named the Regional Head General Election and Deputy Regional Head. The governor is a regional government that carries out government by the regional government and the DPRD according to the principle of autonomy and the task of assistance with the principle of autonomy to the greatest extent in the system and principles of the Republic of Indonesia as referred to in the 1945 Constitution (Law No. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government).

### **Interaction of *Kiai* and Political Figures in Temanggung Regency**

The understanding of the campaign based on Law No. 1 of 2015 concerning the General Election of Members of the People's Legislative Assembly, the Regional Representative Council, and the Regional People's Legislative Assembly in article 1 point 26 is the activity of Election Contestants to convince voters by offering Election Participants' vision, mission and programs. Rogers and Storey (1987) define campaigns as a series of planned communication actions with the aim of creating certain effects on a large number of audiences that are carried out on an ongoing basis over a period of time. Some communication experts acknowledge that the definitions given by Rogers and Storey are the most popular and acceptable among communication scientists. Basically campaigns are common things that are often found. Even in some timing times found implementation of the campaign process that is not in line with the regulations that have been mutually agreed upon.

Interaction between *kiai* and political figures is a form of structured relationships both formally and non-formally in both Islamic-based political parties and religious organizations such as NU (Moesa 2007: 14). Furthermore, Moesa (2007: 14) explained, that from the beginning the *kiai* was in an ambiguous position. They (*kiai*) are religious leaders as well as political figures, this dual role has been played by them very well from the past until now. The dual role gave them enough room to open and close the arena. Saying that NU, which was the organization of the *kiai*, often became a liaison for local *kiai* to establish relations with outsiders. According to Turmudi (2003: 175) the *kiai* can be divided into four categories: pesantren *kiai*, tarekat *kiai*, political *kiai* and stage *kiai* according to their specific activities in the development of Islam. "Kiai are traditionally influential elites in Muslims, *Kiai* are political elites who have a strong influence on the political attitudes of Muslims.

The critical role of the *kiai* lies in their position as religious leaders and instructors, the *Kiai* are part of the village elite who try to bring their people to an ideal situation as conceptualized by Islam. Each *kiai* also tries to translate various developments and chang-



es in the socio-cultural and political fields so that villagers can understand it "(Turmudi 2003: 177). Kiai are political elites who have a strong influence on political attitude of Muslims. The critical role of the kiai lies in their position as religious leader and teacher. Kiai are part of the village elite who try to bring their people to an ideal situation as conceptualized by Islam. Each kiai also tries to translate various developments and changes in the socio-cultural and political fields so that villagers can understand it. Infrastructure deals with grouping community members into various groups which are usually called social political forces in society. In the Indonesian political system, components of this infrastructure organization includes:

1. Which is formally recognized by the government and participates in election contestants, namely political parties
2. Those who formally do not participate as contestants in the election will but more or less influenced election results, such as religious organizations and independent organizations.
3. Community leaders who have an important role in mass support (Sastoatmojo 2005).

In the village the role of religious elites and ruling elites is quite prominent in social change. The argumentation of the strategic position of the religious elite can be observed in the social religious, education, community development and political fields. This tradition places the position of kiai in politics to be significant for political parties contested in order to obtain votes. The election of the Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head (Pilkada) which are carried out directly is a form of effort for the development of a democratic system in Indonesia, however it does not rule out the possibility that the direct electoral system also has an unfavorable effect on voters, especially in rural communities. The development of mass media and print media does not have a significant impact on the political mindset and the introduction of candidates who are promoted as mayor. Looking at the condition of the rural community, the political strategy commonly used by political parties in the election is using vital points in rural communities like the role of Kiai.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This type of research is descriptive with qualitative methods. The unit analysis is The Involvement of Kiai in Mayor Election Campaign 2018 in Temanggung Regency. Data collection technique using interview with kiai who support mayor candidate in Temanggung and in-depth observation of the data obtained from various sources such as related documents about the result of mayor election in Temanggung. Data analysis uses the following steps: First, collecting data from various sources both primary and secondary through in-depth interviews and observations. Second, systematize data that has been collected into simpler data. Third, analyze the systemized data into a final results of the study. Fourth, conclude the results of the research that has been done analyzed.

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Political Situation in Temanggung Regency**

The stable voice of this mass-based religious party was driven by the actions of the NU Kiai who were able to organize their citizens well. Most of Temanggung residents who are ideologically following NU (Nahdatul Ulama) who live in rural areas with low educa-



tional conditions make it easier for Kiai to organize their citizens. People with low education will usually be “obedient” to people who are considered knowledgeable, especially if someone has the advantage of religious knowledge (Kiai). This coupled with the attitude of the NU citizens to obey Kiai’s advice to be the main capital of the Kiai to mobilize their mass.

Thus, it can be concluded that the political choice or political map of the Temanggung Regency from the Old Order to the Reformation Era was still dominated by traditionalist and nationalist groups. Although their voice was not too significant when compared to the acquisition of religious mass-based party votes. In contrast to the previous era, in the era of regional autonomy which was marked by direct regional head elections, there was quite a wide spread of votes. That is, political parties based on mass religion and political parties with traditionalist and nationalist mass bases do not show these differences. Even in this era, the party’s ideological partition began to wear off. A strong mass-based religious party can make coalition with parties with traditional and nationalist mass bases.

### **Political Involvement of *Kiai* in Temanggung Regency 2018**

Every time a political performance is held, the ulamas and religious figures, including clerics, leaders of religious organizations, lecturers, leaders of religious institutions, and academics are busy becoming bridges for politicians and candidates or certain candidate pairs. Even not a few religious leaders and scholars who jumped directly into a candidate pair competing with figures from other faction. The phenomenon of candidate pairs from clerics and religious leaders has become a trend after the collapse of the New Order regime in 1998 which marked the reopening of democratic access in Indonesia after a long period of suspended. Since then, because there have been opportunities to become politicians or bureaucrats, many religious leaders and scholars have been involved in politics. Until now, many religious leaders and scholars were interested in power-politics.

There are religious leaders and scholars who choose to be abstentions and keep their distance from the strong political world. This type of scholars called as ascetic scholars, namely scholars who prefer to take care of people, empower citizens, and stay away from the frenzied world of practical politics that is corrupt. Admittedly, the scholars of this type are now declining and non-existent. It is important to note, this ascetic cleric does not mean not politics. They also have politics but use issues, methods, strategies, tactics, and goals that are different from political ulamas, namely scholars and different religious figures who are also shy about plunging into the world of practical politics. In its history, there are indeed various types of ulama politics that are pro and anti-political-strong, but some choose to be neutral.

The enthusiasm of religious leaders and clerics in the lead up to the Regional Head General Election which was driven by specific desires, ambitions and interests, both political-economic interests and religious-ideological interests, made them willing to be protective of certain candidate pairs. They are willing to fight with religious leaders and scholars who support other candidate. In order to smooth the way for the candidate pairs they supported, they also did not hesitate to use verses and religious texts as theological legitimacy. Not only with the verses of the Qur’an and hadith, the opinions of previous scholars and contemporary famous scholars, especially from the Arab and Middle East regions, were also controlled to support their opinions. Any verse and text, whether it is the Word of God, the words of the prophet, or the words of the scholars, are metaphoric,

so that it is easy to bend and interpret according to the tastes and interests of the readers. Tragically, these political scholars claim to each other that the verses, hadiths, and opinions of the scholars they choose, select, and use are the most valid, correct, and most religious.

In the context of the history of Islam and Indonesia, the ulama dialectic and power are always ups and downs, never showing linear straight lines. Since ancient times, even since the era of early Islamic formation, the ulamas have been divided in channeling their political aspirations. Some of them are pro against certain political leaders, others become supporters of other political leaders. Just like the development of today, the ulamas used to be a hobby of campaigning using verses, hadiths, aqwal (words / opinions) of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad and certain ulama / fuqaha (Islamic jurists). At one time, the ulamas were at the margins of power, while at other times they played an important role on the structural stage. At present, after all this time in the periphery and corner of power because of their political space which was limited by President Soeharto in the New Order era, the ulamas again tried to enter the center of political power. Both state clerics (ulama who are in government structures and active in government-affiliated institutions) as well as private ulama (those who are on stage outside the government and government institutions) are both in politics to gain access to power, support the candidates, or protect their group interests and ideology.

Al-Imam Abu Hamid Muhamad bin Muhammad Al-Ghazali in his work *Ihya 'Ulu-middin* said that the main role of man as a caliph in the world has four kinds. Where humans will not be able to create a civilization without these four kinds of roles. The four types of roles are (1) *Az-Zira'ah* (agriculture), (2) *Al-Hiyakah* (textile industry), (3) *Al-Bina* (development), and (4) *As-Siyasah* (politics). In addition to these four roles, what is the work of humans in the world is just a complement. The four are important because they fulfill and regulate the basic needs of human life in the world. *Az-Zira'ah* (agriculture) meets and regulates human food needs. *Al-Hiyakah* (textile industry) fulfills clothing needs. *Al-Bina* (development) regulates and serves the needs of residences (boards). While politics meets and regulates social needs for the continuation of all of the above. From all the above roles, Imam Al-Ghazali said that the political role was the most noble role. This is because with a political role, humans can have the authority to maintain, regulate and uphold the goodness of all the basic human roles above.

Furthermore, Imam Al-Ghazali divided the political role into 4 (four) levels, namely (1) the political role of the prophets who gave physical and inner service to all people, (2) the political role of the rulers (kings, sultans, caliphs, presidents) giving outward services to all people, (3) the political role of the ulamas who provide inner service (science and religion) to all circles of society, and (4) the muballighs who provide science and religion services to ordinary people. These four roles, Imam Al-Ghazali stated that the most noble after the role of the prophets was the role of the scholars. This is because it has been stated that the scholars are the heirs of the prophets. This is because it has been proven that the scholars have educated the people and cleansed their hearts of despicable morals and showed good morals.

Ulama in politics in Indonesia are not unfamiliar. Since the beginning, the role of the ulama in establishing Indonesian nation needs to be acknowledged. It is not surprising that scholars are involved in political affairs, or even the ulama themselves who deliberately plunge themselves into the political scene as the main character of a political party.

Meanwhile, the figure of the cleric is a figure who is known as the guide of Muslims because of his intelligence in terms of Islamic scholarship. Ulama are leaders of the Muslim community, heirs of the Prophet in upholding and carrying out God's commands.

It is not uncommon if ulama who basically have a lot of santri are able to influence people because of their high charisma, especially those who are fanatical about the ulama. In addition, the ulama is a figure who is respected in the eyes of the community, his charisma exceeds the sub-district head or even the regent. Because, many sub-district head and regent often do political demonstrations to the ulama under the pretext of asking for blessings. The role of ulama politics is increasingly faded due to:

1. Ulama do not understand Islam as an ideology or living system.
2. Ulama are too materialistic and fear of rulers, this is what makes ulama categorized as world scholars who make science to get worldly pleasures and as a means to gain fame and popularity.
3. Ulama are influenced by secular thinking which separates religion from politics, whereas the political meaning is the management of people's affairs. This is an example of an apolitical scholar. This type of ulama is not concerned with the political problems of the people.

Kiai's political career is not new at this time. Kiai's involvement in political games has existed since the pre-independence era. If in the pre-independence era they chanted independence through pesantren, cultural lobbying and war against colonialism, then, after independence they went into politics through political parties. This can be seen in the first elections in 1955 until the last election in 2004. The national political stage is always enlivened by the Kiai whose members are included in political parties. This certainly adds to the festive five-year democracy party in Indonesia. This is because, Kiai has loyal followers. Furthermore, Kiai's charisma can always attract constituent sympathy, because they are considered saints and their prayers are always received (received) by God

Actualization of Kiai's political strategy carried out through organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah, in Temanggung Regency there are many NU boarding schools such as Zaidatul Ma'arif which lead by KH. Fauzan Ali in Parakan, Darussalam that lead by KH. Tolhah Mansur in Ngadirejo, and Kiai Parak Bambu Runcing boarding school that lead by KH. M. Naufal Muhaimin in Parakan. There are many also Muhammadiyah boarding school in Temanggung, such as Al Mu'min Muhammadiyah boarding that lead by KH. Miftahul Amili in Tembarak, As-Salam boarding school that lead by ustadz Sugiyanto in Kranggan. Kiai's political work individually cannot be separated from authority and ability to take advantage of opportunities and minimize various obstacles. In addition, the ability of the Kiai as a political entrepreneur in his position as a cultural broker, resulted in a political strategy of the Kiai whose actualization was acceptable to the people. Acceptance by the ummah is an important factor because without it it can reduce the authority possessed by the Kiai. Kiai's political orientation is in fact an amar ma'ruf nahi munkar (encourage people to do good things, and prevent and bad things). This orientation is then packaged in the interests of power. Kiai is also more able to play a role in educating people through political communication and political language. When Kiai's mission in politics is amar ma'ruf nahi munkar, then the work of the Kiai is more focused on the strategy of resolving the munkar that can be felt for the people. Because if the language of religious symbols which is prioritized without more real political work, will create an excessive

fanaticism.

There are at least some characteristics of the Kiai in supporting or determining victory for candidates, first, the Kiai who dare to go directly. The courage of Kiai to be directly involved in the election arena will greatly support the acquisition of votes for candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent. In addition, the courage of Kiai to go directly into the political arena will have real implications in changing the pesantren and of course the coffers of Kiai's wealth will increase by itself. Moreover, the Kiai network with (government) power is getting stronger. This will further strengthen the role and position of the Kiai in the community. However, what has been done by the Kiai in supporting the candidate pair is basically oriented towards ideological factors, *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*. There will also be gifts given by the candidate pair to Kiai solely as a sign of gratitude, and not a main goal in politics. Second, Kiai are still clumsy in politics. Characteristics of Kiai such as this are less able to support the struggle for victory for candidates for Regent and Vice Regent.

Even though their pesantren receive assistance from the candidate pair during the campaign, the sustainability of the aid will stop because the supported candidate pair does not occupy an important position in the government. However, the personal and institutional networks are still intertwined. Third, kiai liberate or fully submit political choices to the community itself. The Kiai is only a bridge to the community, the obligation to convince and follow up on what the Kiai has done is left entirely to the machine of the supporting party of the candidate pair of Regent and Deputy Regent. The presence of the Kiai in the elections in Temanggung Regency also could not prevent the money politics that had become entrenched in the Indonesian community.

One method of political socialization is political education. Political education is a dialogical process between the giver and recipient of the message. Through this process, community members recognize and learn the values, symbols, norms, including through course activities, discussions, recitation, *halaqoh* and so on. The political process - the mission of the kiai to do politics is by popular politics rather than partial. When I pay, I pay. But when there were discussions, meetings, special PKB groups there was *pengajian* (religious lecture), a branch conference held every 5 years, including *Muskerwil* (*Musyawaharah Kerja Wilayah/ Regional Work Deliberation*). Besides giving religious lectures (*pengajian*), that's where the party also socializes by conveying the principles of struggle and party programs.

### **Kiai's Political Impact in Mayor Election Campaign in Temanggung 2018**

The presence of ulama figures should be an example for other political elites, as well as for humanity in Indonesia in particular. Ulama are figures who are known to have good morality. With the presence of scholars, it should be able to color the politics of power to be harmonious and full of coolness. Actually, the emphasis is on the role of the ulama in actualizing it in the presence of all its people. If a cleric contributes to the political world, it is none other than to be a good figure and role model, whether it is for other politicians or people who see it. But if the ulama does not want to be involved in the political world, then it is natural to be a real scholar. That is, scholars who really teach great religious knowledge, cool and spread peace. Ulama are religious leaders or religious leaders whose duty is to protect, foster and guide Muslims both in religious matters and daily problems that are needed both in religious and social aspects. There are also those who interpret scholars as people who are experts in Islamic science, a person who understands Islamic



law in a comprehensive manner or a person who can be an example of Muslims in understanding and practicing the teachings of Islam. Ulama is actually an ordinary person who is part of the community. The difference or speciality of the ulama compared to others is about their knowledge of religion. Their knowledge or understanding and practice of Islam is very broad.

Ulama not only use the knowledge they have only for their own sake, but also spread to the benefit of society. Ulama has a very large role in various historical events. There is hardly even a single change in the world that does not involve the role of ulamas, including in political life. They are also the first people to foster political awareness so that the public has the awareness to make political changes. Ulama is a reference and place to gain knowledge as well as a teacher whose job is to foster Muslims to always walk on the guidance of the Koran and Sunnah. Political problems are considered an important thing in human life since ancient times, so no wonder anywhere and whenever everyone always discusses politics.

The presence of religious leaders (Kiai) in politics also strengthens the role of the position of ulama in the community. Kiai is no longer only taking care of profane matters. Kiai now has the duties and responsibilities of assisting and educating the public to be politically literate. Politics now is not only a land for working on political figures, but is a common thing and belongs to anyone who wants and cares about the future of the region, including religious leaders (Kiai).

The orientation of the kiai in plunging into politics is to uphold *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*. The concept of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* is put in a broad sense, namely supervision and evaluation. In the view of the kiai, this concept has a significant role, because in reality there are many socio-political arrangements that are not in line with religious teachings. That is why the kiai feel the need to plunge into the political world to realize arbitrary control of power and deviate from moral rules, laws, and religious rules. In addition, the concept of *amar ma'ruf* should also be understood in a broad scope and understanding, namely realizing the improvement of the education system, upholding the rule of law, improving the welfare of the people, and prioritizing development for the people. Even so, the entry of kiai into politics does not always bring encouraging implications. For example pesantren that are not well-maintained, or the socio-religious functions of the kiai are degraded more or less

## CONCLUSION

Politics must be brought to good cause as a means of empowering people to be independent so as to guarantee their welfare. In essence, political ideas or ideals must be socio-religious in nature, focusing on improving the social and religious life of the community. In order for this step to be massive, the kiai must dare to educate and encourage active people to use determining leaders. Persuasion and education aim to anticipate the community so that it is not easy to be deceived by the sweet words of politicians who do not favor the interests of society.

Leadership must be built with collective awareness, so as to be able to accommodate common interests. The intelligence of the community in politics is the determinant to show their work in politics. Without intelligence, the current political conditions will be repeated. The politics of the nation must be re-built in accordance with the ideological values adopted by the State: Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The many interests

that do not side with the common good have exacerbated the political image in the eyes of society. This is because it is very pragmatic and egocentric or only accommodates the interests of the group itself.

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## **Managing Electoral Disputes, Challenges Toward Electoral Integrity in The Simultaneous Regional Election in Central Java**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Election disputes are an important part of electoral governance. Good electoral governance and electoral integrity can be achieved if there is an election dispute resolution mechanism that meets the standards of the electoral justice system. There are three aspects of the electoral justice system that must be fulfilled in order for good electoral governance, namely the availability of effective dispute prevention mechanisms, the availability of complaint handling mechanisms, and election complaints which result in effective, corrective, and punitive actions, the availability of cheap, and effective, meaningful, and alternative dispute resolution mechanism. This research explains the three aspects of electoral justice system used in completing disputes over regional elections in districts / cities throughout the province of Central Java. The research method used is qualitative method with in-depth interviews to the perpetrators, especially members of *Bawaslu* and *Panwaslu* who served as election dispute settlement body. Sampling method used is snowball method.

These research findings are 1) the legal framework governing the mechanism of election dispute resolution has not provided a fair mechanism to guarantee and meets the standards of electoral justice. 2) The affectivity and ability of district/city of *Panwaslu* to become arbitrators in dispute resolution is highly dependent on the personal qualities of each member, such as the level of education, experience, and skills in managing the dispute resolution forums as well as the leadership capacity in the dispute resolutions. 3) Technically, the level of the skills of administrative staff in decisions making is the highest challenge for *Panwaslu* because of the lack quality of administrative training to support the dispute settlement administration. An alternative method of the dispute settlement is not used widely due to inadequate legal framework for the election supervisors.

Keywords: Electoral disputes resolution, electoral justice, local election, electoral integrity, central java.

### **BACKGROUND**

General election is one of the indicators of stability and democratization Dynamics. In Indonesia, there had been held several elections periodically, but it has not been able to form mature democratic values due to an authoritarian political system. General election essentially is a tool of fulfilling democracy of a country and a realization of the principle of popular sovereignty as formulated in Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of Republic of Indonesia. According to the Article 1 point 1 of Law Number 10 of 2008 based on the General Election of Members of the House of Representatives, Regional Representative Council and Regional House of Representatives, general election is a mean of implementing popular sovereignty carried out directly, general, freely, confidentially, honestly and fairly in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on *Pancasila* and the

## 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (John, 2009)

Regional elections, such as election of the Governor and Deputy Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent, and Mayors and Deputy Mayors are carried out democratically based on people's sovereignty. The legal bases for the Regional Elections are:

1. Law Number 1/2015 concerning: Determination of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1/2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors to Become a Law
2. Law Number 8/2015 Regarding: Amendment to Law Number 1/2015 (KPU RI).

The Amendments of Law No.1/2015 concerning the Determination of *Perpu* No.1/2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, Mayors that has been approved into law by the DPR, mandating the Constitutional Court to handle disputes over Regional Elections. Article 157 paragraph (1) states, "The case of election dispute is examined and tried by a special judicial body". Paragraph (2) states, "Special judicial body, as referred to in paragraph (1), is formed before the implementation of national simultaneous elections". Paragraph (3) states, "The case of dispute in determining the vote results is examined and tried by the Constitutional Court until the establishment of a special judicial body". Paragraph (4) states, "Election participants can submit applications for cancellation of the determination of the vote results by the provincial KPU and Regency / City KPU to the Constitutional Court".

There are several regions that carry out the simultaneous local head elections, but Central Java and East Java are region that have more numbers of regional elections. There are 4 cities and 17 regencies carry out simultaneous regional elections in Central Java, including Semarang City, Surakarta City, Pekalongan City, Magelang City, Rembang Regency, Kebumen, Purbalingga, Boyolali, Blora, Kendal, Sukoharjo, Semarang, Wonosobo, Purworejo, Wonogiri, Klaten, Pemalang, Grobogan, Demak, Sragen, and Pekalongan Regency. Meanwhile, regional elections in East Java were 2 cities and 19 regencies.

The regional elections simultaneously in 2015 need a lot of preparation that organized by KPU and *Bawaslu*. The more regional elections carry out simultaneously, the more problems and obstacles are challenged. According to Liputan 6 article, one of the problems is the process of election dispute resolution. The Constitutional Court (MK) received 25 registrations of disputes in the 2015 regional elections of 88 cases of election dispute over the simultaneous local elections.

Several election disputes occurred in 2015. For example, based on *Suara Merdeka* news, the candidate of Regent and Deputy Regent of Pemalang Regency who is cancelled by General Election Commission as the candidates in this regional election submitted the result dispute election to the Election Supervisory Commission. The letter of application for resolving disputes is KPU Decree of Pemalang Regency number: 85 / Kpts / KPU-Kab.12-29336/2015 concerning the determination of pairs of candidate in the Pemalang election on August 24<sup>th</sup>, 2015. Pemalang District and Deputy Regent Elections was dated on August 24<sup>th</sup>, 2015. The Constitutional Court (MK) examined the dispute over the results of regional elections (PHP) from four regencies in East Java. Regarding to *Jawa Pos* news, disputes over the results of the regional elections that were tried were from Malang, Jember, Situbondo and Sumenep Regencies.

As stated in Law No. 1/2015 and Law No. 8/2015, *Bawaslu*, Provincial *Bawaslu*, District / City *Panwaslu*, *Panwascam*, Field Supervisors, and TPS Supervisors are election

administrators. In line with the amendment to the Act, election supervisors have been placed at polling stations. Even TPS Supervisors were given the authority to resolve of the violations occurred at the polling station in the regional election on December 9<sup>th</sup>. This is one of the efforts to reduce the problems that occur in the implementation of regional elections at TPS.

Currently Election Supervisory Committee (*Panwaslu*) of regencies/ municipalities is given a big authority to resolve findings and reports of disputes over the implementation of regional elections that do not contain elements of criminal acts, both disputes between election participants and KPU and election participants with the other election participants. *Panwaslu* must be able to resolve violations or disputes that occur and no longer have to be resolved at the provincial level. This will further shorten the dispute resolution process and not all of disputes settled by KPU and Constitutional Court. This study discusses the extent of the dispute resolution of the Simultaneous Regional Election in 2015 which was resolved by the Provincial and District / City *Bawaslu* in Central and East Java Provinces.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

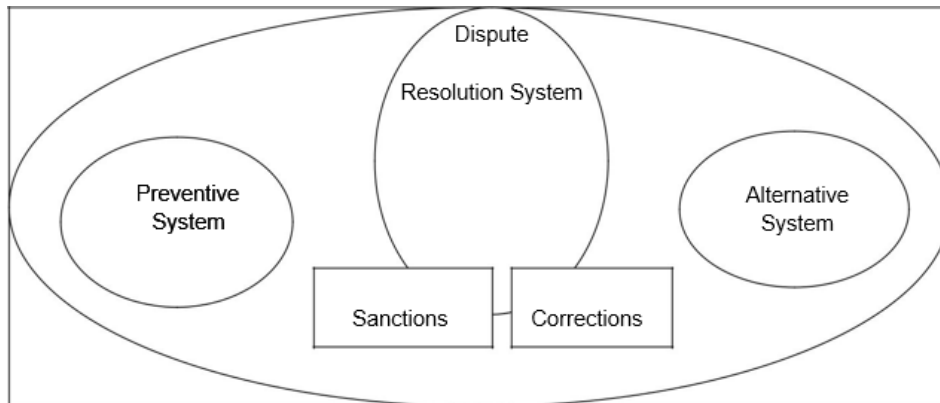
Election is a manifestation of people sovereignty and human rights, especially the right of citizens to participate in government. The International Human Rights Community has identified several aspects of human rights in the election which are an inseparable right of the right to life such as freedom and security and the right to participate in government through the representatives. Elections aim to choose the government and parliaments to realize the right to participate in the government. Disputes had in both the process and also over the results of the general election in the implementation of competitive elections. Disputes are statements of claims or conflicting rights between parties involved in a legal process. Election disputes are complaints (objection statements), protests, claims (conflicting statements), cancellations, and contestations related to the electoral process. In an electoral justice system, effective handling of disputes is an important part to maintain public confidence in the electoral process and its results. According to Kippen (2010), public trust will provide legitimacy for the winner to govern. Trust in the electoral process is absolute point to build, maintain and restore democracy.

Electoral justice is intended to ensure that all actions, procedures and decisions in the electoral process are law-abiding, and the fulfillment of electoral rights is protected and enforced, so giving people who believe their electoral rights have been violated the ability to make complaints, provided information, and accepted decisions. This definition contains three important concepts in the understanding of electoral justice, first, compliances with the law that are the actions, procedures and decisions of election organizers are required to be subject to legal principles. Second, electoral justice also means protecting the fulfillment of electoral rights. Third, fairness of elections also implies the existence of a guarantee of recovery of electoral rights violated in the process, actions and decisions related to the electoral process.

According to Henriquez (2010), the Election Justice System is a set of actions or mechanisms in a country to ensure and verify that actions, procedures and decisions related to elections comply with its legal framework, and to protect and restore fulfillment of electoral rights. The Electoral Justice System is the core instrument of legal sovereignty and the highest guarantee of adherence to democratic principles in the implementation of free, fair and honest elections. The components that make up the electoral justice system are included prevention systems, dispute resolution systems, and alternative dispute res-

olution systems.

Figure 1. Electoral Justice System



Source: Jesus Orozco-Henriquez (2010)

In an electoral justice system, it is very important to build facilities and actions to prevent electoral disputes. Facilities and actions can come from outside of the electoral justice system and from within the electoral justice system. According to Henriquez (2010, p. 23-24) actions and facilities that come from outside of the electoral justice system are:

1. Designing and implementing the constitutional and legal framework for democracy and representative government, human rights and the electoral process;
2. Participation of political parties and key actor of the society in designing or reforming the elections legal framework;
3. Development of political culture and civic education, including democratic principles and values, and respect the rule of law and human rights;
4. Development of a pluralistic party system and internal democracy in the political process;
5. Inclusiveness of gender and minorities in the government and political arenas;
6. Establishing a fair condition for elections, especially those relating to financing and media access;
7. Developing the role of civil society, including its ability to monitor all stages of the electoral process;
8. Adopting of a code of ethics by the media, civil society, election observers, and political parties;
9. Establishing professional, permanent and impartial / independent, and autonomous election organizers;
10. Adopting of appropriate selection procedures by KPU that are available to the public and carried out consistently;

The prevention of electoral disputes also requires support from the electoral justice system, including:

1. Designing and implementing the constitutional and legal framework for the Election Justice System that is accessible and effective;
2. Establishing professional, permanent and impartial / independent election organizers;
3. The code of ethics is complied by all of election administrators and other bodies in the PSP system, the media, civil society, political observers, and political parties;
4. Election organizers and PSP are committed to upholding the principles and values of democracy, especially independence and neutrality / impartiality;
5. The ability of election organizers to make decisions transparently and socialize them effectively;
6. Appropriate election training for KPU staff and *Bawaslu* staff;
7. The adoption of a code of ethics by KPU and *Bawaslu* staff;
8. Inclusiveness of gender and minorities in the KPU and *Bawaslu*;
9. The adoption of security in receiving, calculating and recapitulating the results of voting;

A comprehensive prevention system is very important as a part of electoral justice system, because the best dispute resolution mechanism is the prevention that disputes never occur. Legal vacuum or lack of adequate action can imply for election disputes.

According to Henriquez (2010, p. 37), the electoral dispute resolution system is the core of the electoral justice system and it has two main functions, corrective and punitive action. Corrective action is intended to deal with electoral complaints and try to cancel or modify/acknowledge in any electoral disputes, and also provide protection of electoral rights or restore and meet electoral rights. According to Vickery (2011, p. 122-125), the main areas of electoral complains include the preparation of voter lists, claims against candidates, the appointment of election management bodies and ad hoc committees, intimidation, campaign violations, violations of voting and counting, violation of vote tabulation and seat allocation.

Based on Henriquez (2010, p. 38), the electoral dispute resolution system also includes a punitive function, namely punishment sanctions for people who responsible for election violations and election crimes. The punitive function of the electoral dispute resolution system is a series of procedures to ensure that the obligations and responsibilities of the election are carried out, punish the perpetrators or persons who responsible for election crimes or election violations. Henriquez (2010.p 42) also stated that there are several prerequisites in imposing sanctions on violations and electoral crimes, namely the clear definition of criminal violations, sanctions and penalties that will be given, and all the requirements covered in the law clearly. Second, the legal provisions that stipulate an administrative violation or criminal violation and appropriate the sanctions or penalties must actualize the principles of legal certainty and objectivity. Third, the provisions that set the sanctions or penalties need to be interpreted and applied strictly. The principles of legality must be based on facts and evidence, not on analogy and just common sense because they will cause legal uncertainty.



Beside a formal electoral dispute settlement system, there is a mechanism and handling of other electoral disputes, namely the settlement of electoral disputes outside the court, called informal electoral disputes or alternative electoral disputes. This mechanism had run well in various communities around the world for a long time. An alternative solution to electoral disputes has been developed, especially in post-conflict societies in recent years.

Alternative dispute resolution has been used widely and effectively in various countries, such as Afghanistan, Mozambique, Malawi, and Democratic Republic of Congo by the determination of functions and authorities to terminate electoral dispute through civilian structures. Ghana and Botswana, which are often regarded as a reference for democracy in Africa, use the relations committee between political parties and other community-based structures to assist the KPU in achieving transparent and credible elections through the resolution of effective handling and conflict mediation. According to Vickery (2011, p. 261-294) and Henriquez (2010, p. 183-187), the main purpose of alternative settlement mechanisms is not to replace formal methods, but it is to support and supplement the lack of design of electoral dispute resolution mechanisms in terms of credibility, cost, crisis political and institutional.

There are 3 alternative mechanism models for electoral dispute resolution. First, unilateral means if the party submitting the dispute or complaint voluntarily withdraws the complaint / petition that is submitted. Secondly, bilateral or multilateral is through compromises and transactions or peaceful settlement of the parties to the dispute. Third, third party intervention is through conciliation, mediation and arbitration mechanisms. The use of alternative mechanisms does not always mean that there are weaknesses in the electoral dispute resolution system, but rather to accelerate and reduce the costs of dispute resolution. Formal and informal dispute resolution systems can go hand in hand and complement to each other.

According to Vickery (2011, p. 19), the experts on resolving electoral disputes agreed that a good electoral dispute resolution system must fulfill the following elements as follows:

1. There is the right to obtain an election dispute resolution;
2. There is a define of standard of instruments and election procedures clearly
3. There is a case breaker (arbitrator) who has knowledge and impartiality;
4. There is a justice system that facilitates in decision making fluently;
5. There are clear arrangements regarding the evidence and standards for submitting evidences;
6. There is an effective and meaningful resolution system;
7. There is an effective stakeholder education.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

Free and fair elections are the main principle in all electoral processes. This principle guides the implementation of elections at the lowest level, namely the involvement of



every citizen to choose and be elected, and at the highest level that is to create leaders who are able to fight for the public interest. Therefore, the electoral process is important and interesting for all elements to be involved in it, including the EMB, political parties, NGOs and public. In fact, there are often problems in the electoral process such as the emergence of electoral conflicts called electoral disputes, such as disputes between organizers, organizers with participants or participants with the other participants. However, these are having their own path in the resolution with the principle of electoral justice. The Electoral Justice System, which is used as a perspective to see and even resolve electoral disputes, has three sub-categories, namely the preventive system, the resolution disputes and alternative systems. This sub category that will be used to analyze the resolution of election disputes in several provinces on the island of Java.

### **Dispute resolution of simultaneous regional election in Central Java Province**

#### **a. Preventive**

In the electoral justice system, it is very important to build means and measures to prevent electoral disputes, so that appropriate and fast actions are needed in law and implemented by dispute resolution institutions such as *Bawaslu* and district / city of *Panwaslu*. The right and effective actions are the main key to avoid problems that will injure the electoral process. *Bawaslu* and *Panwaslu*, especially *Bawaslu* and *Panwaslu* districts / cities in Central Java have implemented technical measures to support preventive measures. There are three dominant actions had taken, namely the development of political culture, civic education, including the principles of democracy and values and respect for the rule of law and human rights, which is carried out through the provision of information and good socialization to the public to improve understanding of democratic values. These actions aim to improve and internalize public awareness in carrying out democratic values, especially by developing a political culture that is in accordance with the development of democracy itself.

Another effort is improving the role of civil society, so that community not only to involve in the electoral process to vote on ballots, but also to have broad insight about the electoral process. The organizations and groups in the society had been asked together to prevent election problems such as prevention of money politics, violence and other problems to be carried out by involving the role of the community, although there are still shortcomings.

Establishing professional, permanent and impartial / independent election organizers is the most serious effort carried out by election organizers to increase technical knowledge and understanding that supports the creation of the principle of professionalism. They carried out training on dispute resolution as a basic step to *Bawaslu* and *Panwaslu* in Central Java to be able to identify and resolve problems in the election. They improve the willingness to self improvement as an effort to have an adequate knowledge and skills capacity for achieve electoral justice. Prevention efforts are the basis for realizing free and fair elections seriously and creating electoral justice.

#### **b. Dispute resolution system**

The electoral dispute resolution system is the core of the electoral justice system that has two main functions, namely Corrective and Punitive. Corrective action is intended to deal with election objections that aim to cancel or modify or acknowledge any deviations that occur. Corrective function done by *Bawaslu* and *Panwaslu* in districts / cities in

Central Java, which is namely in the case in Pemalang district, is where there was a dispute between the organizers (KPU) with the one disqualified candidate. He was disqualified because he did not submit the annual tax statement as a prerequisite for the candidate registration, and then he filed a dispute at the *Panwaslu*. After the Supervisory Committee conducted an inspection; finally *Panwaslu* give him an opportunity to fulfill the requirements needed to complete the nomination. Dispute resolution conducted by the Election Supervisory Committee was held in the Election Supervisory Committee which involved both parties to the dispute. Finally, the dispute can be resolved properly, not until it enters the next level

The problems of election dispute in Pemalang district is caused by not good communication between election organizers and election participants. It is showed in the object of the dispute filed by the applicant that the registration requirements are incomplete. The communication between organizers and participants is important to create a good electoral process and to avoid the election dispute.

Besides the formal electoral dispute resolution system, there is also informal electoral dispute or alternative electoral disputes. The mechanism for resolving disputes outside the court is not new. District Election Supervisory Committee Jepara initiated dispute resolution through mediation in the case of campaign props. This case is able to be resolved through mediation by two opposing parties. These alternative pathways need to be developed with mature consideration, including first, providing regulations to legitimize these actions. A clear legal basis is needed in this simple dispute resolution, so it has a strong position in the both of the parties to the dispute. Second, in alternative dispute resolution must have adequate experience and knowledge, which is influenced by the maturity of understanding in the electoral process, and understanding of the flow of conflict. This can be seen from the diverse background of the District Election Committee of Jepara, namely as journalists, lecturers, and community leaders. Third, strengthening leadership integrity is an important key in the process of resolving this alternative, without integrity, the settlement is not running optimally.

The election dispute resolution by implementing the principle of electoral justice is an important step for the creation of fair elections, including the dispute resolution process. Sharpening the institutional system is carried out along with strengthening human resources. Good understanding and knowledge are reflected in the quality of the Supervisory Committee. The quality of the Election Supervisory Committee is grown through intense, substantive and hierarchical training; and not just a formality. Improving the quality of resources also needs to be done by increasing understanding about the flow of conflict, and having solutions to these conflicts. This quality needs to be owned by *Panwaslu* as an institution that close to the axis of conflict.

## **Dispute resolution in the simultaneous regional election in East Java Province**

### **1. Election dispute in Surabaya regional election**

Before the simultaneous regional election was officially held in Surabaya 2015, there was a dispute associate with the nomination of Surabaya Mayor and Deputy Mayor Candidates. There almost has a single pair of candidate in the simultaneous regional elections of Surabaya City in 2015. Initially, there were two pairs of candidates who registered to the Surabaya City Election Commission (KPU) to become simultaneous election participants in 2015. The two pairs of candidates are:

1. DR. (HC). Ir. Tri Rismaharini, MT and Whisnu Sakti Buana, ST (Risma-Wisnu), supported by PDIP
2. DR. H. Rasiyo M. Si and Drs. Dhimam Abror, M. Si (Rasiyo-Dhimam Abror), supported by PAN and democrat Party.

In the Decree of KPU the Surabaya City Number 32 / Kpts / KPU-Kota-014.329945 / 2015 concerning with Pairs of Mayors and Deputy Mayors candidates that do not fulfill the Requirements for the Nomination and Candidate Requirements in the Regional Election of Surabaya in 2015, KPU of the Surabaya City stated that the pairs of candidates Rasiyo-Dhimam Abror do not qualify as the pairs of candidates of the Regional Election. The pair of candidate Rasiyo - Dhimam Abror was declared ineligible due to the non-identical between approval letter submitted on 11 August 2015 until 19 August 2015, so it was not verified by the KPU. This evidence is seen in the numbering of letter file and also on stamp duty number that all non identical.

Based on PKPU No. 12 of 2015 Article 42 paragraph (1) letter o, the prospective candidate must submit a photocopy of the Tax Identification Number (NPWP) card on behalf of the candidate, receipt of the submission of Personal Taxpayer Income Tax Annual Notice on behalf of the Candidate, for the last five years periods or since the Candidate will become a taxpayer, and proof that she/he does not have tax arrears from the Tax Service Office (KPP) where the Candidate is registered, as proof of fulfillment of candidacy requirements. Dhimam Abror is only submitted a copy of the NPWP and a receipt for the delivery of SPTPP, and he does not have submitted a letter that he does not have tax arrears from KPP. Based on the results of KPU verification and the Wonocolo Primary Tax Office (KPP) certificate No. SP-2022 / WPJ.11 / KP.07 / 2015 dated 27 August 2015, it was stated that the candidate for vice mayor concerned had never made and submitted a document of proof of tax arrears.

The pairs of candidates Rasiyo-Dhimam Abror and their supporting party was submitted this dispute to the Surabaya City *Panwaslu*. The dispute can be resolved by consensus. Based on the results of the deliberation, it was decided that the KPU reopened the registration of the mayor and deputy mayor of Surabaya, and would-be mayor DR. H. Rasiyo M. Si can re-register his file. However, in the second registration, Rasiyo does not pair with Dhimam Abror, but with a new partner, Lucy Kurniasari.

The case of the Surabaya City election dispute can be resolved well because of several things. First, there is imbalanced competition between the both candidates. Risma-Wisnu is stronger which is supported by the big parties than Rasiyo-Lucy Kurniasari. Many observers see that Risma-Wisnu will become the winner easily. The different name of Lucy in the diplomas certificate and in the candidacy is not disputed by Risma-Wisnu, after Lucy give the proof that the name of Lucy in her certificate is the same person with Lucy's in the candidacy letter, because Risma-Wisnu have a strong confident that they will be elected in this regional election. Risma - Wisnu is more worries on issue of postponing regional elections will because it will cause of political uncertainty. If Rasiyo-Lucy is fired into a pair of candidate in the regional elections, the election will possible to be postponed because of there is only a single candidate.

Although Risma-Wisnu has reported the difference in the spelling of Lucy's name in the Surabaya City Election Supervisory Committee, he later withdrew the lawsuit so that there would not be a single candidate. Theoretically, the action of the Risma-Wisnu can be categorized as a unilateral dispute resolution in which the disputing party with-

draws from the dispute because it considers the issue is not too important to be pursued by law. One indication of the weakness of the pair of Rasiyo-Lucy is in the case of the replacement of the vice Mayor Candidate from Dhimam Abror to Lucy Kurniasari. The pair of Rusiyo-Lucy is like just as a complement in this election and supported by weak coalition. This condition shows that the pair of Risma-Vishnur is so very strong so they do not pursue the settlement of a dispute because it will postpone the regional election. The choice of a unilateral dispute resolution strategy in the form of a claim withdrawal like this is very common to the disputing party if they think that the problem is not too important, or they have more important interests. Another possibility is that the withdrawals the case because they satisfied with the resolution which offered. So they do not demand further resolution of disputes. The victory of candidate Risma-Whisnu as 86.22% showed the absolute dominance of this candidate on Rasiyo-Lucy who was only get 13.78% votes.

## 2. Mojokerto election dispute

There were three pairs of candidates who participated in the simultaneous regional elections in Mojokerto Regency in 2015. The three candidates are:

- a. Choirun Nisa and Arifudinsyah (Nisa-Arif), whose supported by PKB, PPP, PBB, and Hanura Party
- b. Mustofa Kamal Pasa and Pungkasiadi (Mustofa-Pungkasiadi), whose supported by Golkar Party, PDI-P, Democrat Party, Gerindra Party, Nasdem Party, PAN, and PKS.
- c. Misnan Gatot and Rahma Shofiana, as an independent candidate.

Election Disputes of the regional election of Mojokerto began with the issue of a recommendation letter from the PPP Central Executive Board (Djan Fariz) to support the pair of candidate Nisa-Arif. The other pair of candidate Mustofa-Pungkasiadi claimed that the support letter was false because Djan Fariz had actually been support him before. Then, Mustofa-Pungkasiadi submitted a request to the Mojokerto Election Supervisory Committee to cross out Nisa-Arif. However, the request was rejected by the *Panwaslu* and *Panwaslu* gives an argument that the right to sue was a candidate who did not pass the registration process at the KPU. Mustofa-Pungkasiadi also filed this case to the Surabaya State Administrative Court, but it was also rejected. Then, Mustofa-Pungkasiadi filed an appeal to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court granted Mustofa-Pungkasiadi's appeal, and issued a case number 539 K / TUN / REGIONAL HEAD ELECTION / 2015 that submitted by Mustofa Kamal Pasa-Pungkasiadi. The Supreme Court canceled the Decision of the KPU of Mojokerto Regency Number 31 / Kpts / KPU. Kab-014.329790 / 2015 expressly, and Letter Number 28 / BA / VIII / 2015 dated 24 August 2015 concerning the determination of pairs of candidate of regents and deputy regents of Mojokerto in 2015. The Supreme Court also ordered KPU Mojokerto to issue a new decree and letter by crossing out Choirun Nisa-Arifudinsjah (Nisa-Arif).

Based on Supreme Court decision, KPU Mojokerto crossed out Choirun Nisa-Arifudinsjah (Nisa-Arif) as the pair of candidate this regional election. Then, Choirun Nisa-Arifudinsjah (Nisa-Arif) sued the KPU Mojokerto to the Election Organizer Honorary Council (DKPP), but their case rejected by DKPP with decision of DKPP Number 90 / DKPP-PKE-IV / 2015 which stated that the decision of KPU Mojokerto to crossed out Nisa-Arif is a right decision. In the other side, DKPP give a hard cautioning to the commissioners and members of the KPU Mojokerto.

Mustafa Kamal Pasha and Choirun Nisa were originally the pair of incumbent Re-



gent and Deputy Regent of Mojokerto, and become competitors in the election with different pairs of candidates. Local election dispute in Mojokerto is a unique and interesting case because it requires a more in-depth analysis. The incumbent competition is a strong competition because both parties have the strong resources and are supported by strong political parties, and both sides know the weakness of each candidate. Mustafa Kamal Pasha-Pungkasiadi was supported by major parties such as Golkar, PDIP, Demokrat, Gerindra, Nasdem, PAN and PKS, while Choirun Nisa-Arifudiansyah was supported by PKB, PPP, PBB and Hanura. The dual management of PPP between the Romahurmuzy and Djan Faridz was a source of problems in the regional election dispute in Mojokerto.

KPU Regulation No. 9/2015 concerning Nomination of the Election of Governor and Deputy Governor, the Regent and Deputy Regent and/or Mayor and Deputy Mayor Article 34, 35 and 36 essentially instruct the Provincial and Regency / City KPU to accept the pair of candidate that supported by the political parties which is in the internal conflict as long as the disputing party supports the same candidate. In the case of electoral disputes in Mojokerto Choirun Nisa-Arifudiansyah was supported by a coalition of PKB, PPP, PBB and Hanura and all of them have 14 seats in the parliament. The minimum support requirements for carrying out candidates in the regional head elections of Mojokerto Regency are 10 seats. The PKB, PPP, PBB and Hanura coalitions actually have 14 seats because PKB donated 5 seats, PPP also 5 seats, Hanura and PBB each have 2 seats. If PPP support is declared invalid in favor of Choirun Nisa then Choirun Nisa-Arifudiansyah is only supported by 9 seats in the DPRD so that it is lacking support to be declared as a valid candidate of regents-deputy regents in Mojokerto Regency 2015 regional elections.

The opportunity to hamper the candidacy of Nisa-Arif is open because of the internal conflict of PPP; there are two camps that claim each other as legitimate administrators namely Romahurmuzy and Djan Faridz. Based on KPU regulations regarding the nomination in the 2015 simultaneous regional head elections, the regulation of KPU No. 9/2015, the nomination of Nisa-Arif who is supported by PPP will fulfill the requirements if they get the letter of recommendation of the PPP DPP from both parties. On the other hand, Mustofa-Pungkasiadi actually does not need PPP to support because they have more than enough supporting political parties. Nisa-Arif's position as the main competitor has a problem because they claim that they are supported by the both side of the administrator PPP, but Djan Faridz gives his recommendation to Mustofa-Pungkasiadi. The existence of two administrators of PPP recommendations raises the issue about which the recommendations are correct. The factual verification process carried out by the KPU to the supporting political parties to the pairs of candidates shows a doubt about the support of the Nisa-Arif. Without the recommendation of Djan Faridz, Nisa-Arif could not be a pair of candidate in this election, but it is not a problem for Mustofa-Pungkasiadi, because without PPP support, this candidate still meets the requirements. The General Election Commission takes strategic decisions which according to them are relatively safe namely ratifying the nomination of the two candidates, so that the regional head election of Mojokerto Regency is followed by 3 candidate pairs. The decision of the General Election Commission of Mojokerto District Number 31/KPTS./KPUKAB-MOJOKERTO 014.329790 / 2015 regarding the Determination of Candidates for the Pair of Regent and Deputy Regent of Mojokerto becomes Participants in the Election of Mojokerto's 2015 Regents and Deputies 2015, dated on 24 August 2015 Regarding the Determination of the Candidate Pair of Regent and Deputy Regent of Mojokerto in the Election of the Regent and Deputy Regent of Mojokerto in 2015, issued by Mustofa-Pungkasiadi.

The Mojokerto Regency Election Supervisory Committee accepted the dispute ap-

plication submitted by Mustafa-Pungkasiadi and registered with No. 01 / PS / PWS-KAB / MJK / VIII / 2015. *Panwaslu* of Mojokerto examined this dispute and examined witnesses and evidence presented by the parties, the KPU, pairs of Mustafa-Pungkasiadi and Nisa-Arif. Based on the Law No. 1 of 2015, Mokokerto District Election Supervisory Committee has 14 days to resolve the dispute.

The Mojokerto District Election Supervisory Committee's decision was read on August 31<sup>st</sup>, 2015 basically rejected the lawsuit filed by Mustafa-Pungkasiadi because the applicant was not in qualification as the party who had the 'legal standing' as the applicant for the dispute. Based on the fatwa of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia Number 115 / Tuaka.TUN/V/2015 number 4 stated "That as stipulated in Article 142 of Law No. 1 of 2015 juncto Act No. 8 of 2015, the pairs of candidate who have registered with the KPU, Provincial KPU and Regency / City KPU but they are not determined as Election Participants, have Legal Standing to submit disputes to the Provincial *Bawaslu*, and Regency / City of *Panwaslu* because of disputes between Participants Elections with Election Organizers as referred to in article 142 a quo.

Based on the Supreme Court's *Fatwa* Number 115/Tuaka. TUN/V/2015, the Supervisory Committee of Mojokerto Regency stated that the petitioners' claim could not be accepted because the applicant did not fulfill the qualifications because both of the applicant and the related parties were determined as the candidates. The petition is more as a reflection of efforts to hamper and tackle of Nissa Arif.

Another problem is that the Fatwa of the Supreme Court does not have legal force that binds and imposes compliance. Fatwa is a legal opinion that is not binding on the parties. Even though Fatwa is issued by the Supreme Court as the highest legal authority, the nature of the fatwa is only a legal opinion and not a legal decision that has the force to be obeyed. Thus, the decision of *Panwaslu* and *Bawaslu* based on the Supreme Court fatwa is potentially not obeyed and rejected by the disputes parties.

Mustafa-Pungkasiadi did not accept the decision of Mojokerto District *Panwaslu* and took the legal remedies by filing an appeal against the Mojokerto *Panwaslu*'s decision to the State Administrative High Court. The Surabaya State Administrative High Court, which examined and ruled on the appeal filed by Mustafa-Pungkasiadi candidate pair, also agreed with the Mojokerto District Election Committee's decision, stating that the applicant was not in the qualification to submit a dispute application because the applicant was not included in the candidate pair that was not determined by the KPU, in accordance with the Supreme Court fatwa.

Then, Mustafa - Pungkasiadi appealed to the Supreme Court about the Surabaya PTTUN decision. What is interesting is that the Supreme Court decided to grant the request of Mustafa-Pungkasiadi and ordered the KPU to cross out and disqualify Nisa-Arif because they did not meet the requirements. The Supreme Court decision changed the political map in the election of the district of Mokokerto because one of the strongest pairs of candidate in the regional head election was declared ineligible to continue the contest in the Mojokerto district election in 2015.

The KPU of Mojokerto Regency carries out the decision of the Supreme Court that is final and binding and there is no other legal effort to fight. The General Election Commission of Mojokerto Regency issued a decision Number 61/Kpts/KPU.Kab-014.329790/2015 dated on November 14<sup>th</sup>, 2015 concerning Amendment to the Decision of General Election Commission of Mojokerto Regency number 31/Kpts. Deputy Regent



Participants in the Election of the Mojokerto Regent and Deputy Regent in 2015 and News Letter Number 47/BA/XI/2015 concerning the plenary Meeting to follow up the Supreme Court Decision number 539 K/TUN/REGIONAL HEAD ELECTION/2015 dated 3 November 2015. KPU Decree No. 61/Kpts/KPU.Kab-014329790/2015 dated on 14 November 2015 excludes the pair of candidate Nisa-Arif in the Mojokerto Regional Election in 2015.

Nisa-Arif did not stop trying even though the Supreme Court decision was final and binding and there were no other legal remedies. This couple submitted a request for a dispute to the *Panwaslu* of Mojokerto Regency on the decision of the KPU of Mojokerto Regency. 61/Kpts/KPU.Kab-014329790/2015, but it was rejected by the Mojokerto Regency *Panwaslu* because the KPU's decision No. 61 is taken as a follow up to the Supreme Court's decision that has permanent legal force. The pairs of candidate Nisa and Arif who have been crossed out of the nomination of the district head of Mokokerto have taken a new step by reporting both the KPU and the *Panwaslu* of Mojokerto Regency to the DKPP. DKPP who examined this case decided that there was no violation of the code of ethics and recovered the good name of the reported party. Finally, the election of the head of the Mojokerto Regency was only followed by 2 pairs of candidates.

The length of the dispute resolution process, the number of legal remedies available in handling dispute, as well as the number of institutions involved, on the one hand provides an opportunity for parties to file electoral disputes to obtain legal justice. On the other hand, a long process and unclear decisions lead to the high cost of legal proceed. The long process and appeal that are more than once show the length to achieve 'justice'. Many pathways to get electoral justice reflect the length of the bureaucracy that should be simplified in the process of resolving disputes.

On the other hand, the root of the problem of candidacy disputes in Mojokerto is excessive accommodation to the conflicting political parties. The accommodation to the conflicting political parties in the KPU regulation makes a trouble to the lower level election organizers. Verification to the support of the conflicting parties is difficult, so it must be the concern of the KPU. *Bawaslu* and the Supreme Court often have a different understanding about the legal standing of the petitioners in the dispute simultaneous regional elections. Although the MA fatwa does not have binding legal force, the unclear of the boundary of legal standing often confusing even for the legal experts themselves. The different understanding of the MA's fatwa explanation also raises a controversy.

### 3. Banyuwangi election dispute

East Java *Bawaslu* received various reports related to the implementation of regional head elections simultaneously from several regions. The most cases are in Banyuwangi Regency, which are six cases. First, it is related to the pair of candidate, Sumantri Soedomo and Sigit Wahyu Widodo nominated by the Golkar Party and Hanura Party, where they submit the recommendation only in a scan document, and then verified by the Banyuwangi KPU and *Panwas*

Based on the reports from the public, there are allegations of cheating on both pairs of candidates, and this has been reviewed by *Bawaslu*. This case turns out not to be a form of election violation but a general crime. The case f the DPD Golkar Decree (SK) of the candidate Sumantri had been followed up, and a report from the public, namely the allegation to the Head of the Banyuwangi KPU who was conducting hearings, currently still under review. Likewise, the report on the recommendation of Sumantri's candidate is

still in the process.

The pair of candidate Abdullah Azwar Anas-Yusuf Widiatmoko become the winner and get 88.96 % votes, and Sumantri Soedomo-Sigit Wahyu Widodo get 11.03 percent votes. During the recapitulation process, one of the witnesses from Sumantri Soedomo-Sigit Wahyu Widodo left the plenary meeting because he felt that the vote count was not neutral. However, until the results of the vote counting were announced, there was no claim on the results of the Banyuwangi regional head election in the Constitutional Court.

### **Analysis of election dispute resolution in East Java**

There are 3 cases of Disputes in the simultaneous regional elections in East Java, namely in Banyuwangi Regency, Mojokerto Regency, and Surabaya City. Regional election disputes in Mojokerto and Surabaya City are more unique and interesting, with different types of dispute. Election disputes in Mojokerto Regency were quite complex and involved many parties, while the election dispute in Surabaya City tended to be lighter and quickly could resolved without harming any parties. The root of the problem in the regional election dispute in the two regions is different, in Mojokerto related to PPP support recommendation to the two different pairs of candidate, while in Surabaya City, the problem is related to the full name of one candidate.

Based on the analysis, the regional election dispute resolution in both regions has fulfilled the elements of a good electoral dispute resolution system. There is the explanation as follows:

#### **1. The right to get an elections dispute resolution**

The first element is related to the right to get an election dispute resolution. The Election Supervisory Committee (*Panwas*) with supervision from the Election Supervisory Body (*Bawaslu*) of East Java receives a lawsuit from parties who feel aggrieved and resolves the dispute. It means that there is a right to get a dispute resolution for each party. At the lowest level, namely at the *Panwas* level, the Mojokerto District Supervisory Committee received a lawsuit related to the dual support letter from PPP Djan Fariz. The candidate pair Mustofa Pungkasiadi sued the PPP support recommendation to the pair of candidate Nisa-Arif and asked the Election Supervisory Committee to give a recommendation to the KPU of Mojokerto Regency to cross-out Nisa-Arif from the list of Mojokerto District election candidates. The election disputes in the city of Surabaya are similar to this case where the plaintiffs and defendants have the same rights to get an elections dispute resolution.

#### **2. There are clear elections standards and procedures**

Elections dispute resolution in East Java has been based on election standards and procedures that have legal force, namely the Regional Head Election Law Number 8 of 2015. The Regional Head Election Law Article 142 confirms that there are two kinds of ways to resolve disputes namely disputes on election results and not elections result. These two types of disputes have different resolution procedures. *Panwas* in Mojokerto Regency and KPU Mojokerto have followed the existing standards and procedures because the Mojokerto electoral dispute which is not a dispute over election results has been settled in accordance with the regional head election law article 142 as a legal standing.

In accordance with the mandate of the Regional Head Election Law, the dispute was settled at the lowest level. If the resolution in the lowest level is not satisfy, the dispute

can be submitted to the higher legal institutions, namely the State Administrative Court (PTUN) and the Supreme Court. In the case of Mojokerto election dispute, the decision of the Supervisory Committee was sued to the Administrative Court. Finally, the PTUN issued a decision that confirming the decision of the *Panwas* and the KPU of Mojokerto. However, the plaintiff is not satisfied and filed a lawsuit to the Supreme Court which was then followed up with a Supreme Court regulation that urging the KPU to cross out the pair of candidate Nisa-Arif. Hence, the electoral dispute resolution system in East Java, especially in Mojokerto and Surabaya, has had and followed clear standards and procedures. In a dispute in the City of Surabaya, the consensus was reached without adjudication.

### **3. There is a case breaker (arbitrator) who has knowledge and impartial**

In Mojokerto Regency election disputes, there is an impartial and knowledgeable arbitrator or case breaker, from the lowest level, namely the Supervisory Committee of Mojokerto Regency to the higher level *Bawaslu* Province. The Mojokerto Regency Supervisory Committee became the case breaker for the plaintiff to the Mojokerto KPU and the pair of candidate Nisa-Arif. The *Panwas* in the Mojokerto election dispute were neutral and had good knowledge because they were able to follow the dispute resolution standards and procedures in accordance with the existing rules. The position of *Bawaslu* in East Java Province is as a supervisor of the *Panwas* of Mojokerto Regency, as well as in the case of Surabaya City elections dispute resolution system. *Bawaslu* of East Java gives recommendations and inputs to the arbitrator and that there are three alternatives resolution dispute without court.

### **4. The existence of a judicial system for achieve decisions**

This fourth element is related to the previous elements closely. There are two types of dispute resolution conducted by *Panwas* namely decisions based on studies and decisions through adjudication. The Mojokerto Supervisory Committee makes a decision by review, and rejected the claim from the applicant. However, the decision of the Supervisory Committee cannot be accepted by the plaintiff, and then it is submitted to the justice system to the State Administrative Court. The plaintiff was still not satisfied with the PTUN's decision, and he filed a lawsuit to the Supreme Court. It shows that there has been a justice system to achieve the best decisions in dispute resolution system in Mojokerto.

### **5. There are a clear regulation of the burden of proof and standards for submitting evidence**

The burden of proof and standards for submitting evidence is need to be strengthened, because the mechanism for calling witnesses to a dispute resolution still based on the Criminal Procedure Code. On the other hand, the Supervisory Committee does not have a specific verification standard yet. As a result, there are different decisions amongst the Supreme Court, the Administrative Court and the Supervisory Committee decisions.

### **6. The existence of an effective and meaningful resolution system**

Election dispute resolution in Mojokerto regency is an effort to resolve disputes effectively and meaningful for many parties. Dispute resolution is carried out effectively by following existing procedures, so that there are no problems or new claims as a result of procedural negligence. The result of the Supreme Court's decision which was not in line with the decision of the *Panwas* and PTUN provided evidence that the resolution mechanism had not resulted an integrated decision yet, so there is need an improvement in the judicial system for resolving electoral disputes. In the Surabaya case, consensus delibera-

tions were one of the efforts to resolve election disputes.

### 7. The existence of effective stakeholder education

Stakeholder education in the resolution of electoral disputes is very important because there are many rules from the bills to the technical guidelines, so *Panwas*, *Bawaslu* members, KPU members as well as the judiciary, must have good legal knowledge or education. Conflict resolution is also an experience that parties need to have in resolving electoral disputes. However, some members of *Panwas* in East Java were not have a legal education background so they need a technical guidance which was not easy to implement.

However, in the electoral disputes resolution in Mojokerto and Surabaya showed that the *Panwas*, KPU, and *Bawaslu* have sufficient knowledge to understand the existing legal standing, so the decisions issued do not deviate from the regulations. They have good capabilities because they are able to interpret and implement advice from the Election Supervisory Body and able to resolve disputes without the court.

## CONCLUSION

The conclusion of the analysis above as follows:

- a. There were some weaknesses in the elections dispute resolution system in the simultaneous regional elections, including the length of the structure of dispute resolution mechanisms and the large number of ways in dispute resolution, it is necessary to simplify the procedures to save the costs.
- b. There were unclear tools and standard of dispute resolution procedures causing debate in resolving the electoral dispute. It is necessary to regulate the tools and standard of dispute resolution clearly and effectively.
- c. The standardization of evidence needs to be corrected, especially in term with the counterfeit information or criminal elements. The liability of criminal cases needs to be agreed upon and becomes the general norm that applies in the dispute resolution body.
- d. The members of the dispute resolution body need to be improved in their capacity of understanding of important issues and training materials
- e. Improving stakeholder education is needed, especially the main stakeholders, namely political parties and candidates to reduce the potential election disputes in the future. An alternative dispute resolution system needs to be considered in line with the increasing number of election disputes handled by *Bawaslu* members. Legal regulation is needed to protect *Panwaslu* members and *Bawaslu* to use alternative mechanisms, especially from threats reported to DKPP.

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# **Chapter V:**

## **Gender Equality**



## Gender Responsive-Health Services: A Study on the Fulfillment of Gender Practical and Strategic Needs at the Prisons

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### ABSTRACT

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as the agenda of world's development among others aims to ensure healthy life, encourage the welfare of all, and ensure gender equality. One of the Indonesian government's efforts to ensure gender equality in the field of Law and Human Rights is to provide health services in prisons. This was regulated in Subsection 14 of Act Number 12 Year 1995 concerning Correctional Institution which explained the rights of the assisted citizens in obtaining health services. Act Number 36 Year 2009 on Health stated that health services are divided into promotive, preventive, curative, and rehabilitative health services. This article examines the fulfillment of gender practical and strategic needs in health services at the Prison in Demak Regency and the factors affecting the fulfillment of the needs. This is the qualitative descriptive research. The data collection technique uses the observation and interviews with the respondents comprising of the head of the detention house, the head of sub service section, prison nurses, kitchen attendants, and male and female prisoners. The data validity uses the triangulation of data sources. In addition, the data analysis techniques uses Gender Analysis Model of Moser and Interactive analysis. The result shows that only curative health services have fulfilled the gender practical and strategic needs of the prisoners. Meanwhile, the promotive, preventive, and rehabilitative health services have not fulfilled both practical and strategic needs. There are four factors influencing the gender practical and strategic needs, namely human resources, prison culture, prison policy, and the availability of land. It is recommended that the gender perspective should be included into all aspects of health services at the Prison in Demak Regency.

**KEYWORDS:** Gender, needs, health services, prisoners, detention center

### INTRODUCTION

Health development is one of the priorities that must be implemented in all countries. Health is a basic human right and a foundation for equitable and sustainable development. In addition, the quality of health can be a determinant for the welfare and progress of a country. This is in line with the goals of the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) as the world development agenda which was published on October 21<sup>st</sup>, 2015. The SDGs aims to ensure healthy living, to promote prosperity for all people, and to ensure gender equality. Therefore, the fair and equal health services are important to be realized in society. The purpose of being fair and equal is to be fair in treating women and men based on their gender needs, as well as to be able to provide health services that still pay attention to the fulfillment of gender needs.

The government has established a policy of accelerating gender mainstreaming since 2012 through gender responsive planning and budgeting. With this policy, all institutions in the central government, a province, and a district or a city must carry out gender mainstreaming in their planning and budgeting (including institutions under the Ministry of Law and Human Rights), especially detention centers. Therefore, it can meet the different needs between women and men and achieve gender equality and justice through policies and programs that pay attention to the experiences, aspirations, needs, and problems of women and men.

There is a population of women who experiences in criminal acts. They have differences in fulfilling needs while they are in prison to prison, so a policy is needed in meeting the needs of gender responsive prisoners (Joiner, 2011; Zaplin, 2008). Patronage Citizens are entitled to receive appropriate health services based on their rights. The right for getting health is an important international standard of human rights. The health care standards in remand centers are at least equal to the service standards in the community. The implementation of the right of prisoners in the penal system is an implementation of law enforcement that honors and respects to human rights (Wiku, 2007).

The needs of female prisoners are certainly different from the needs of male prisoners, so it is required a different treatment between both of them (Andansari, 2014; Azalia, 2015; Mohamad, Porotu'o, & Homenta, 2016; Rokhmah, 2013; Wati, Setia, & Alfanan, 2017). The gender necessities are required in all aspects including the fulfillment of the rights of inmates in health services and it is also needed to pay attention to the problems of men and women.

There are complex and various problems that occur in prisons center. Regarding over capacity, based on May 2018 data from the correctional database system, there were 182 residents that exceed the available capacity in class II B Demak prisoners. There is no separation between female and male prisoners while they have different needs. The prisoners with certain crime rates are forced to be mixed. This can be seen from the data obtained from the correctional data base system as follows:

Table 1. Amount Prisoners dan Prison Capacity in Class II B Demak, Central Java

Category	Adults		Children		Total
	Men	Female	Men	Female	
Inmate	98	2	0	0	100
Prisoner	79	3	1	0	82
Total	177	5	1	0	182
Capacity					100
Over Capacity					82

Source: Direktorat Jenderal Pemasyarakatan, 2018.

With over capacity and the fulfillment of needs that might be done by gender perspective, the government and detention house are required to cooperate in meeting gender needs. This article focuses on meeting the gender practical and strategical needs in gender responsive health services for inmates.

The previous research said that there are differences of both physically and psy-

chologically between female and male inmates. Female inmates have less access to health services compared to male inmates (Andansari, 2014; Handayani, 2012). Over capacity will result in inmates and prisoners infected with infectious diseases very fast (Sanusi, 2014). More female than male inmates have a greater need and willingness to receive the treatment; the implication shows if the gender responsive programs are very important to imprisoned women (Solveig Spjeldnes, Hyunzee Jung, & Hide Yamatani, 2014).

The contribution of this research is by conducting a study of gender practical and strategical needs in health services at Class II B Demak Hospital as one of fulfilling the needs of all male and female inmates using the Moser gender analysis tool, so that the needs of the inmates men and women can be fulfilled fairly based on their needs, their gender, and their role. Therefore, this article examines the gender-responsive health care services to meet the practical and strategical needs of gender for inmates in Demak Class II B.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

In *Bahasa Indonesia*, the concept of “gender” is different from the concept of “*jenis kelamin*”. The concept of “gender” is the result of social construction built in the community, while the concept of “*jenis kelamin*” is something that is conditional, and it absolutely must be accepted by everyone. Gender does not focus on women’s interests, but it focuses on the balance between women and men. It means that development is aimed to women and men (Dewi, Kurniawati, & Hastuti, 2007; Handayani & Sugiharti. 2008; Hubeis, Aida, & Vitayala, 2010; Puspitawati, 2012).

The gender practical and strategical needs are one of the concepts of Moser’s framework, which is based on Maxine Molyneux’s concept of women’s gender interests. The basis of Moser’s concept is the idea that women as a group have special needs and it differs from men as a group. It is not only because of the three roles of women, but also effect from their position that is under men in most societies. Moser divided gender needs into two terms (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 2010). The first one is “Practical gender needs: Moser defines gender needs as those which, if they were met, would assist women in their current activities. Interventions focusing on meeting practical gender needs respond to an immediate perceived necessity in a specific context, often related to inadequacies in living conditions. Meeting practical gender needs does not challenge the existing gender division of labour or women’s subordinate position in society, although these are the causes of women’s practical gender needs.

Development of interventions which are intended to meet women’s practical gender needs may include: water provision, health-care provision” (p. 57-58). The other one is “Strategic gender needs: Moser defines these as the needs which, if they were met, would enable women to transform existing imbalances of power between women and men. Women’s strategic gender needs are those which exist because of women’s subordinate social status. Strategic gender needs vary in particular contexts. They relate to gender divisions of labour, power and control, and may include such issues as legal right, domestic violence, equal wages, and women’s control over their own bodies. Through meeting strategic gender needs helps women to achieve greater equality and challenges of their subordinate position, including their role in society. Interventions addressing to women’s strategic gender needs may include: challenges to the gender division of labour, provision of reproductive health services...”

(Handayani, 2012; Haekal, Ali, & Din, 2014; Nurhaeni, 2011, p. 46-47) explained if the success or not of a gender perspective in a policy is determined by several components, namely (1) Resource Capacity (2) Capacity Building and Advocacy (3) Organizational Culture (4) networking and partnership between parties who are competent towards gender equality and justice (5) physical and psychological differences. This article restricts the factors influencing the implementation of fulfillment needs in three aspects that are human resources, prison house culture, and prison policy. The reason of choosing three factors based on the documents elaborated before which three things were always used as the factors in the implementation of meeting gender needs. Nurhaeni (2009, p. 119) explained that human resources which have motivation and character can direct their attitudes and actions in supporting gender equality and justice. Human resources that play a role in terms of gender responsive health services for prisoners assisted are medical staff such as doctors and nurses who work in the polyclinic of detention and prison centers, whether it is in quantity or quality.

The quantity is the number of medical personnel in accordance with the required amount, while the quality is medical personnel who awares and understands their duties and functions as well as to be able to carry out their duties correctly. Then, it was said if one of the principles regarding programs that are considered by gender responsive is to guarantee the officers who have complex understanding of women's issues and needs and understand how to implement the gender responsive services (Department of Law and Human Rights General Corrections, 2008). It means that the understanding held by all prisoners on gender awareness is an important factor in gender responsive health services. Culture can also be said to be ways of life, habits, and words from group of people (Northouse: 2013). Nawawi (2013: p. 8) and Wibowo (2013: p. 9) described organizational culture as a pattern and model consisting of beliefs and values that give meaning to members of an organization and rules for members to behave in organizations.

Organizational culture reflects the general perception carried out by all members of the organization. Culture in this case is the culture of the prison. Detention houses as an organization have a set of values that are internalized in the mind and actualized in attitudes, behaviors, and actions by each member of the organization. In the context of organizational culture, values that are internalized in the members of the organization will become the basis or guideline in behavior which is referred to as organizational culture. The house arrest policy is the government policy in providing health services to people who are in the correctional facility and state detention center, as stipulated in Subsection 14 paragraph (1) UU No 12, year 1995 concerning to Corrections, mentioning the prisoners are entitled to health services and decent food.

According to UU RI No 12, year 1995, concerning the Correctional Systems, Subsection 14 (paragraph 1) concerning guarantees in the rights of assisted citizens, female and male inmates have equal access to health services. However, it does not mean that it can be equated which women need different treatment for the uniqueness of their health conditions.

Regarding UU RI No 36, year 2009, concerning the health system, the health services are divided into preventive, curative, and rehabilitative health services in the field of health for prisoners and parenting students at prisons and detention centers.

In assessing the fulfillment of gender needs using the Moser model analysis tool by

offering the concept of practical and strategical needs, this research aims to increase access and control of material resources (tangible) through community organizations. The practical needs are immediate and rapid needs in a specific and short-term context, while the strategical needs originate from women's subordinate positions that are not profitable in society and improve the position of women especially in the public sector (Nurhaeni, 2011). This study restricts the factors which influence the implementation of fulfillment of needs in three aspects, namely human resources, prison house culture, and prison policy (Handayani, 2012; Haekal, Ali, & Din, 2014; Nurhaeni 2011).

The Correctional Patronage Citizens are prisoners, correctional students, and correctional clients whose other rights as human beings. They are still given by the state and regulated in accordance with the applicable Laws and Regulations, one of the rights regulated in the UU RI 12 1995 about Corrections, chapter I Subsection 3. It explains about getting proper health services, food, and drink.

The State Detention Houses are based on the Minister of Law and Human Rights, the Regulation No 6, year 2013 concerning the Rules of Procedure for State Penitentiary and Detention Centers, Subsection 1 point 2 is the technical implementation unit where the suspect or defendant underwent his detention during the process of investigation, prosecution, or examination in a court hearing.

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

Based on the explanation above, two research questions are obtained. First, how the fulfillment of gender practical and strategic needs of health services for assisted citizens by Class II B Demak Detention Center is. Second, what factors influencing the implementation of gender and practical strategic needs of health services for assisted citizens by Class II B Demak Detention Center.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

The researchers conducted the analysis of gender responsive services by examining the fulfillment of gender practical and strategic needs at The Prison Class IIB in Demak Regency and factors influencing the implementation of practical needs and gender strategic needs. The analytical knife used is a gender perspective. This research was conducted at The Prison Class II B in Demak Regency, Indonesia. The location was chosen since it experienced over capacity with male and female inmates in a prison building. The method used in this research was the descriptive qualitative with data collection techniques using in-depth interviews, observation and documentation. The respondents of this article were selected by purposive sampling, namely the Head of Prison Class II B in Demak Regency, the Vice Head of Service Section, Kitchen Staff, and prisoners. The data analysis used Moser's gender analysis model to see the fulfillment of practical needs and gender strategic needs (Nurhaeni, without years).

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

This study identifies practical and strategic needs in health services, including promotive, preventive, curative, and rehabilitative as well as influencing factors.

1. Practical needs in gender responsive health services are seen from four aspects, namely promotive, preventive, curative and rehabilitative health services.



Table 2. Identification of Practical Gender Needs Promotive Health Services

No	Aspects	Services	Available	Not available
			Sc: 1	Sc: 0
1.	Counseling or Lecture	- Reproductive health for male and female inmates	0	1
		- Providing information on prevention of drug abuse	0	1
		- Counseling of HIV & AIDS infectious diseases	1	0
		- Health manuals	1	0
		- Health counseling room	0	1
		-		
2.	Personal hygiene	- Clothing, Feeding, Bathing, Washing and Sleeping Services according to your needs	1	0
		- Clean water according to quantity for inmates, both men and women	0	1
3.	Sports for health	- Regular exercise for male and female inmates	1	0
4.	Nutrition fulfillment	- Services that suit the needs of men and women.	1	0
		- Food management staff in accordance with the requirements and conditions specified.	0	1
Total			5	5

The promotive health services at the Prison Class II B in Demak Regency have been fulfilled only half of gender needs. It is seen from the ten aspects of the services studied, but only five were considered gender responsive, namely HIV counseling, the availability of health books for all prisoners without exception, the provision of services in the form of clothing, eating utensils, bathing, washing and sleeping, sports routine for health, and feeding services. The other five are still not considered gender responsive, involving reproductive counseling that has not been provided to prisoners both male and female, drug abuse counseling, and separate rooms, clean water in prisons blocks, and labor to repay work that is still not gender responsive. The results were obtained by doing observation and interviews, so the researchers were able to fill in scores based on the Guttman's measurements with no-scale and score of 0-1 obtained results.

Table 3. Identification of Practical Needs of Gender Preventive Health Services

No	Aspects	Services	Available	Not available
			Sc: 1	Sc: 0
1.	Initial screening	- Physical Examination, Laboratory, X-ray	1	0



2.	Periodic and continuous physical examination	- Health care for elderly men and women in accordance with health service standards; placement, health (Posyandu for elderly, periodic check of vital signs and chronic, recreational diseases) and food	0	1
3.	Drug and HIV examinations	- Drug and HIV examination of male and female inmates	1	0
4.	Isolation/ exile	- Space and isolation for infectious disease sufferers	0	1
5.	Environmental Hygiene	- Closed dumps especially in women's toilets	0	1
		- Mutual assistance activities by male and female inmates	0	1
		- A separate and adequate health room for female and male assisted citizens	0	1
		- Consultation room for female and male inmates	1	0
6.	Spraying/ eradication	- Spraying / eradication and control of animals / insects that can transmit diseases both in the space of men and women inmates	0	1
Total			3	6

Based on the table above, the health services especially in preventive forms at the Prison Class II B in Demak Regency was considered not gender responsive in the six services provided from the nine aspects of services studied and only three were assessed as gender responsive including physical examinations, laboratories, rontgen, drug and HIV examinations, and consultation rooms that could be used by all assisted residents.

Table 4. Identification of Practical Gender Needs Curative Health Services

No	Aspects	Services	Available	Not available
			Sc: 1	Sc: 0
1.	Drug procurement	- Special medicines for diseases of women and men	1	0
2.	Specialist medicine	- Specialistic treatment or referral to a more complete health care facility, outpatient / hospitalization	1	0
3.	Medical personnel	- Physicians who are able to handle special diseases suffered by women and men	1	0
		- Nurses understand the type of special care for women and men	1	0
Total			4	0

The curative health services at the Prison Class II B in Demak Regency are the gender responsive. This can be seen from the fulfillment of the four services of practical needs of both male and female prisoners and equal access to services seen from all aspects de-

scribed.

Table 5. Identification of Practical Gender Needs for Rehabilitative Health Services

No	Aspects	Services	Available	Not available
			Sc: 1	Sc: 0
1.	Mentality	- Psychologists who understand the problems of both male and female inmates	0	1
2.	Physical	- Services for initiating anti-retroviral therapy (ARV) for male and female inmates	0	1
		- Methadone's advanced treatment / services are in accordance with existing procedures for male and female inmates	0	1
		- Baby care services for female inmates who give birth or even have babies under two years of age	0	1
Total			0	4

The health services especially in rehabilitative forms at the Prison Class II B in Demak Regency for the prisoners both men and women have not been given, so knowing the fulfillment of gender needs also cannot be fulfilled.

1. Strategic needs in gender responsive health services are viewed from four aspects, namely promotive, preventive, curative and rehabilitative health services.

Table 6. Identification of Gender Strategic Needs Promotif Health Services

No	Aspects	Services	Available	Not available
			Sc: 1	Sc: 0
1.	The same responsibility to realize the fulfillment of gender needs	- The head of the detention center, officers and inmates are responsible for realizing the fulfillment of gender needs in gender responsive promotive health services in detention centers according to their respective roles	1	0
2.	Rights awareness of gender needs	- Human resources owned by detention centers are able to support the fulfillment of gender needs in the implementation of promotive services	1	0
3.	Commitment of members of the detention center to realize the fulfillment of gender needs	- Budget allocation to realize the availability of facilities and infrastructure that are responsive to the needs of assisted people in the provision of promotive health services	1	0
		- Provision of Budget for Fulfilling Gender Specific Needs for promotive health services	0	1
		- Creating a gender-sensitive culture in the provision of promotive health services	1	0
Total			4	1

The fulfillment of the strategic needs of promotive health services has been largely fulfilled; it can be seen from the four services of the five indicators used in fulfilling gender strategic needs that have been provided by the Prison Class II B in Demak Regency, it is just that in fulfilling gender specifics, it cannot be said to be fulfilled because at the Prison Class II B in Demak Regency, there is no budget provision for fulfilling specific needs such as reproductive counseling for prisoners both men and women, and providing sanitary napkins for women prisoners as the indicators that are determined as a measure of the fulfillment of the needs of assisted people in promotive health services.

Table 7. Identification of Strategic Needs of Gender Preventive Health Services

No	Aspects	Services	Available	Not available
			Sc: 1	Sc: 0
1.	The same responsibility to realize the fulfillment of gender needs	- Responsibilities of the head of the detention center, head of the subsi, health service officers and assisted prisoners in order to realize gender responsive preventive health services in detention centers	0	1
2.	Rights awareness of gender needs	- Human resources owned by detention centers have been able to support the realization of the fulfillment of gender needs in the implementation of preventive services  - Gender needs analysis is conducted in preventive services	0	1
3.	Commitment of members of the detention center to realize the fulfillment of gender needs	- Budget allocation to realize the availability of facilities and infrastructure that are responsive to the needs of assisted citizens in the provision of preventive health services  - Provision of a Budget for Meeting Gender Specific Needs preventive health services  - Creating a gender-sensitive culture in the provision of preventive health services	1  1	0  0
Total			3	3

The fulfillment of strategic needs of preventive health services is still considered not responsive to gender; it can be seen from three of the six indicators used in meeting gender strategic needs by the Prison Class IIB in Demak Regency namely in the commitment of members of the detention center to realize the fulfillment of gender needs seen from budget allocations, budget provision, and gender-sensitive cultures. However, it is said here that there is no responsibility shown by the detainees in realizing gender responsive preventive health services, and then also from the Human Rights Rutan does not understand the gender needs resulting in the absence of gender analysis, so that the fulfillment of strategic needs is seen from the responsibility and awareness of rights regarding preventive health services have not been fulfilled.

Table 8. Identification of Gender Strategic Needs Curative Health Services

No	Aspects	Services	Available	Not available
			Sc: 1	Sc: 0
1.	The same responsibility to realize the fulfillment of gender needs	- Responsibility of the head of the detention center, head of subsi, health service officers and assisted prisoners to realize curative gender responsive health services in detention centers	1	0
2.	Rights awareness of gender needs	- Human resources owned by detention centers have been able to support the realization of gender needs in the implementation of curative services	1	0
		- Gender needs analysis is carried out in curative services	1	0
3.	Commitment of members of the detention center to realize the fulfillment of gender needs	- Budget allocation to realize the availability of medicines that are responsive to the needs of assisted people in the provision of curative health services	1	0
		- Provision of Budget for Fulfilling Specific Gender Needs for curative health services	1	0
		- Creating a gender-sensitive culture in the provision of curative health services	1	0
Total			6	0

Meeting the strategic needs of curative health services is considered to have been fulfilled and gender responsive; it can be seen from the overall indicators used in meeting gender strategic needs have been provided by the Prison Class II B in Demak Regency that is in the responsibilities shown by the prisoners in realizing gender responsive preventive health services, prison human resources and gender analysis, and the commitment of prisoner to realize the fulfillment of gender needs in terms of budget allocation, budget provision, gender-sensitive culture.

Table 9. Identification of Gender Strategic Needs for Rehabilitative Health Services

No	Aspects	Services	Available	Not available
			Sc: 1	Sc: 0
1.	The same responsibility to realize the fulfillment of gender needs	- Responsibilities of the head of the detention center, head of subsi, health service officers and assisted prisoners in order to realize gender responsive mental and physical rehabilitative health services in detention centers	0	1

2.	Rights awareness of gender needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The resources of prisoners' houses are ready to support the realization of gender practical and strategic needs in the implementation of rehabilitative services</li> <li>- Gender needs analysis is conducted in rehabilitative services</li> </ul>	0	1
			0	1
3.	Komitmen anggota rumah tahanan untuk mewujudkan pemenuhan kebutuhan gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Budget allocation to realize facilities and infrastructure that are responsive to the needs of assisted people in the provision of rehabilitative health services</li> <li>- Provision of Budget for Meeting Gender Specific Needs for rehabilitative health services</li> <li>- Gender sensitive culture in providing rehabilitative health services</li> </ul>	0	1
			0	1
			0	1
Total			0	6

Meeting the strategic needs of rehabilitative health services is considered not fulfilled and not yet gender responsive; it can be seen from the overall indicators used in meeting gender strategic needs have not yet provided by the Prison Class IIB in Demak Regency because of the results of the study. It was found that indeed rehabilitative health services have not been provided, so that finding out the fulfillment of strategic needs, the same results were found.

2. For influencing factors, at the beginning of this study, the researchers determined three factors that influence the fulfillment of gender practical and strategic needs, namely human resources, prison house culture, and prison policy. However, as the research progressed, the researchers found an additional factor that emerged related to the fulfillment of gender practical and strategic needs, namely facilities and infrastructure.

Human resources at the Prison Class B in Demak Regency such as employees and prisoners both men and women have not received training on gender, so they do not understand gender. Gender understood by officers and prisoners of remand centers is only limited to understand that men and women are different. It's just that in providing health care remand centers are still trying to be fair in fulfilling the right to get health services for both male and female prisoners as long as they do not violate the Law.

The culture of detention houses developing in the remand's health services has not led to gender responsiveness. The researchers found that male prisoners are more active in some aspects of health services compared to female prisoners. Furthermore, the culture of remand showed that there are still different discrimination and access felt by women prisoners at the Prison Class II B in Demak Regency; there are still other aspects of health services which showed that the culture developing in health care in prison houses reflects disciplinary behavior, mutual respect and mutual respect regardless of gender.

The detention policy is admittedly not written at all about gender in it because at the Prison Class II B in Demak Regency, there is no pressure from superiors or from the government and the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, so that gender is included in the detention policy. Although there is no written policy on the implementation of gender, in daily life it has led to the implementation of gender. Starting from the development to behavior has led to gender responsiveness.

The facilities and infrastructure are one of the problems in health services in Demak Prison. Detention centers are required to fulfill the needs of male and female inmates fairly without any discrimination in the health services provided, but the facilities and infrastructure with over capacity of the inmates experienced by Demak detention are increasingly becoming obstacles; this is evident in the limited access of assistants, especially women due to the health infrastructure supporting facilities that cannot be developed physically due to limited land.

## CONCLUSION

This article shows that only curative health services are fulfilled by their practical and gender needs. Meanwhile, health services promotive, preventive and rehabilitative at the Prison Class II B in Demak Regency have not yet fulfilled and they cannot be said to be gender responsive. There are four factors that influence the fulfillment of gender practical and strategic needs carried out by detention homes, namely human resources, school culture, school policies, and infrastructure. The recommendation is that a gender perspective must be included in all aspects of health services at the Prison Class II B in Demak Regency.

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## **PROBLEM OF WOMEN IN INDONESIAN BUREAUCRACY: AN ALTERNATIVE OF WEBERIAN BUREAUCRACY FOR SUBSTANTIVE WOMEN REPRESENTATION**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This paper aims to analyze the problems of women in Indonesia bureaucracy amid the bureaucracy merit system in the era of bureaucracy reformation. Using qualitative method by conducting the documentary study and doing the discussion with the person in charge from Ministry of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform, known that the problems for women in Indonesia bureaucracy root in the gender-neutral circumstance that makes glass ceiling obstacle for women in bureaucracy. Women face an invisible obstacle and tend to have difficulty in achieving the highest achievement in their career due to the absence of affirmative action in bureaucracy which actually can accommodate women's double role as a working mom. Therefore, this study recommends correction for bureaucratic conditions that prioritize merit systems and very gender neutral. This improvement does not necessarily mean eliminating the merit of the system as stated by Weberian Tradition but in the effort to create a gender-friendly workspace that still allows female bureaucrats to develop self-capacity amid their reproductive role.

**KEYWORDS:** Bureaucracy representative, glass ceiling obstacle, weberian bureaucracy, women bureaucrats

### **INTRODUCTION**

The issue of equality between men and women has become a massive concern for the state and society after the 1998 Reformation. In a new era of Indonesia that is identical with political access openness, the issue of gender equality moves towards a better society and vice versa, a topic of debate and studies almost every time on every domain of public affairs. Especially since the issuance of Presidential Instruction No. IX of 2000 concerning Gender Mainstreaming, the country's commitment to enhancing the role and status of women in community life, becomes an integral part of national development, starting from the center to the regions.

The style of the struggle for gender equality directed at equality of access for men and women in the public sphere. However, among various discussions about the role of women in public sphere, the role of women in the political field, especially those relating to the representation of women in politics is the case that will always be studied. Discussions about the role of women in politics, related to how to increase the representation of women in political positions both in the branches of legislative and executive power, as well as the response of political actors to various policies.

Unfortunately, various studies of women in politics have so far focused mainly on the study of women in the electoral mechanism, both women in the legislative and women's institutions in the executive institutions including in the regional head elections. It is true that the two spheres of political office are branches of power that make policy for-

mulation; the laws discussed in the legislative and regional regulations formulated by the Regional Head. Some previous literature even states that if women are present in these two branches of power, then policies that are gender sensitive and friendly to women and children can be produced. Therefore, various policy designs are formulated to be able to encourage the presence of women in both domains of political office.

We often hear and witness how the government always updates various political policy packages related to efforts to increase women's representation. Especially in the legislative body, as a term called affirmative policy for the representation of women in politics. The policy began with an appeal to political parties to pay attention to women's representation in the list of political party management at the central level and the list of legislative candidates. Furthermore, at a more advanced level of affirmation policy, the political affirmation policy requires parties to include a minimum requirement of 30% of women in the management of political parties at the central level and in the list of candidates. Unfortunately, from various studies of women in politics above, it is rarely heard how the conditions of women's representation in the bureaucracy, which is in a feminist perspective, is known as an effort to promote bureaucratic representation (Subono, 2012).

This effort to realize representation (of women) in the bureaucracy is no less important than realizing the representation of women in parliament. One of the main reasons is because the bureaucracy is a state administrative machine that works to perform public services. According to the Weberian tradition, bureaucracy is the leading actor that functions to carry out various policies and regulations that have been designed and established in the outside bureaucracy itself. In short, the bureaucracy is the executor of every government policy whose formulation process is beyond the reach of the bureaucrats themselves. However, in reality, Subono stated that especially in developing countries like Indonesia, the bureaucracy not only has the primary function to play a role in government administration but also dominates and determines social and political life in society. In other words, bureaucracy is a power actor who can determine the dynamics of people's lives, even though he or she does not directly formulate or determine policies related to the community.

Another essential meaning of the role carried out by the bureaucracy can also be explained by seeing how the political system works. Borrowing the logic of thinking about the political system proposed by David Easton, the role played by the bureaucracy is part of the output in the political system, namely the implementation of policies. Guy B Peters (2001) stressed that when conducting a study of bureaucracy, public attention moves from political input to political output. Even a law, for example, can become deadly when bureaucrats do not appropriately implement it. For this reason, the bureaucracy is required to be representative because in making priorities or even when promoting a law, bureaucrats influenced profoundly by their social background. Especially in a pluralistic society, group sentiment sometimes becomes sensitive. Therefore, the composition in the bureaucracy itself must be able to reflect the diversity that exists in society, including paying attention to marginal groups in politics, such as women.

### **WOMEN IN BUREAUCRACY: THE EXISTING PROBLEM**

Like the representation of women in parliament that still requires a variety of affirmative policy engineering to improve the presence of women in this institution, the representation of women in the bureaucracy also requires equal attention in order to cre-

ate equal access for women and men in the bureaucratic world. In sum, women’s representation in the bureaucratic career cannot be classified as a form of representative bureaucracy because women in strategic bureaucratic positions are still quite limited. The women representative is partly due to bureaucratic conditions that are not entirely free from values, including patriarchal values. The role of women in the public sphere is indirectly limited by a patriarchal culture that has taken root in a society which results in various stereotypes that seek to place women only in the domestic sector. Moreover, the assumption that judges that politics is not the world for women (Partini, 2014), makes it difficult for women to make career leaps in politics, including in several strategic posts in the bureaucracy.

Even though the bureaucracy does not appear to directly carry out a variety of formal political activities such as those carried out in the branch of legislative power, stereotypes about women in the political arena as described by Partini that often found in some bureaucratic institutional structures. It shows from the existence of several positions which are assumed to be more suitable for the female world. Some of the positions in question, for example; administrative affairs, education, and certain other functional positions. Such positions make women seem only as civil servants who are responsible for administrative affairs only, not to sit in strategic positions that have access, participation, benefits, and control over the sources of power related to the decision-making process.

The low representation of women in the bureaucracy shown from the trend of the number of Civil Servants (PNS) throughout Indonesia both at the central and regional levels in the past five years. Based on the data that the authors compiled from the State Civil Service Agency (BKN) and the Indonesian Statistical Center, it was known that for the last five years from 2013 to 2017, the number of female civil servants at the district/city level was slightly more than that of male civil servants at the same level. . However, overall, the average proportion of male and female civil servants at the central to district/city level is still dominated by men, even though in an almost balanced amount, namely by the proportion of 51% for male civil servants and 49% for female civil servants.

Figure 1. Presentage of Civil Servant by Gender 2013-2017

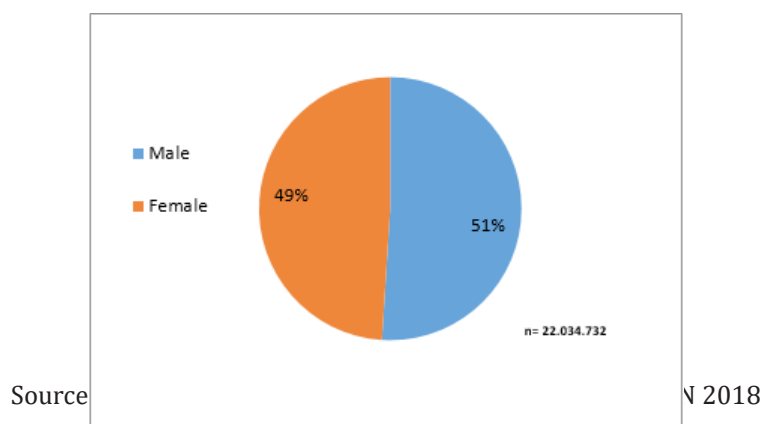
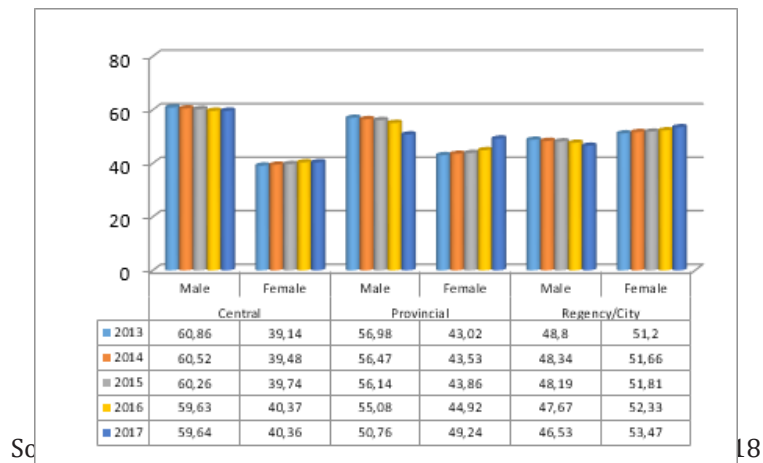


Figure 2. Presentage of Civil Servant by Type of Employment and Gender



Unfortunately, if we pay more attention to the proportion of civil servants based on the type of position and gender, the inequality of representation between women and men is increasingly apparent. The closer to the center of power and access to decision making, the face of the bureaucracy is increasingly dominated by men. Aforementioned from the proportion of structural and gender positions in the bureaucracy in 2013-2017 which presented in the figure below.

Figure 3. Presentage of Civil Servant by Type of Position and Gender

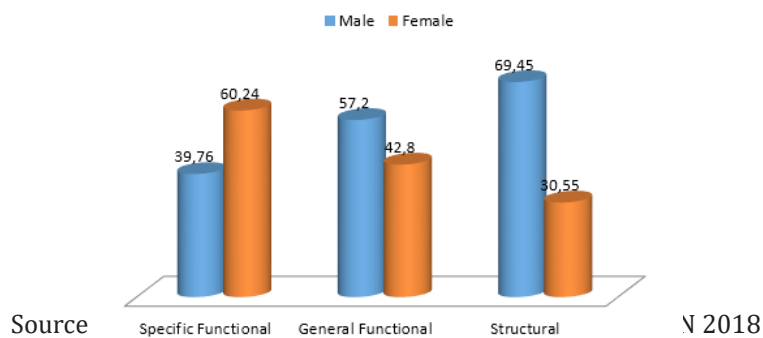
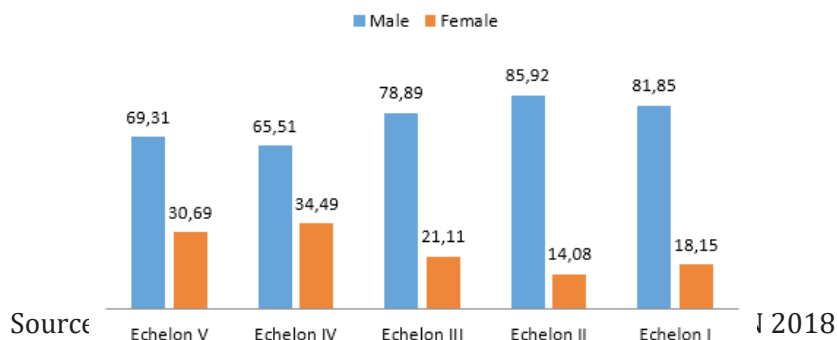


Figure 3. Presentage of Civil Servant by Type of Stuctural Position and Gender



Based on the data above, shows the conditions of women’s representation in bu-reaucratic institutions are not much different from the conditions of women’s representa-



tion in the legislative institutions; still under-represented. Even though in the number of personnel, the comparison between male and female bureaucrats tends to be moderate, when looking at the comparison of positions between female civil servants and men, it candescent that women in the bureaucratic environment are still far from access to decision making. Figure 2 shows that women sit more in general and particular operative positions rather than sitting in structural positions.

Based on the State Civil Service Law (ASN Law), a Functional Position is a group of positions that contain functions and tasks related to functional services based on specific expertise and skills. That is, someone who sits in this position cannot be directly part of the decision maker because the task burden is more specialized to carry out certain technical activities based on particular expertise. This group of positions, for example, researchers, teachers, doctors, accountants, librarians, and so on. Meanwhile, structural positions are positions where people who sit in this position can influence and make decisions. This position also leveled from the lowest level, namely echelon V to echelon I.

The facts that show that there are still few women who able to attend bureaucratic structural positions indicate that the role of women in bureaucratic institutions is still low. The highest achievement of women is to be able to sit as decision makers in bureaucratic institutions. It was is proven by the proportion of women in echelon IV positions. Moreover, the higher the echelon position in the bureaucratic institution, the lower women can reach that position. In other words, the closer the position of bureaucrats to access decision making, the more women are not represented in this position.

Based on figure 3, there are only 18.15% of women who can sit as echelon I officials. This condition is quite paradoxical because if we look at the proportion of the total number of bureaucrats, the comparison between male and female bureaucrats is quite balanced. That table means the initial conditions of bureaucrat / civil apparatus recruitment. There are no specific obstacles for women to be able to join this branch of power. However, if the facts show that in a high position, women bureaucrats are increasingly underrepresented, this indicates an absolute obstacle for women to reach the top of their careers in the bureaucracy.

By looking from the situation of women in bureaucracy state, it is interesting to see what women's career barriers are for women in the bureaucracy in Indonesia. While at the same time, the public considers that the bureaucracy is a political area that is not too political. Some of them may judge the bureaucracy to be free of political value because the dynamics within the bureaucracy are considered not as complex as the dynamics of politics in other fields such as those related to electoral, parliamentary, or other formal political fields that have larger political narratives. Moreover, we often hear public assumptions about the bureaucracy that are associated as an inefficient institution or in other terms called the re-type bureaucracy. Due to these various stigmas, it is rare for us to see the political aspects of the body of the bureaucracy, especially concerning access for women to sources of power in the bureaucracy.

The results of research conducted by the Partnership in 2003 concluded that women could achieve political careers through democratic competition such as direct regional elections. However, it is not possible, or in a slightly better condition, very rarely, to be able to reach the peak of the career as a leader of government administration and policy (bureaucrats) at the local level. In other words, many women can achieve positions as

regents/ governors/mayors through direct elections, but few can be regional secretaries. It shows, women in the scope of bureaucratic work in many regions have not been considered equal partners, but as rivals of male-sex-based state servants (Partini, 2004). A strong equality culture that is not limited to discourse has not been carried out by bureaucratic governance even though people do not see any real obstacles for women to be leaders in the bureaucracy.

Therefore, to uncover the fact behind the still low representation of women in the bureaucracy, the authors submit a research question “How are the challenges of women in the bureaucracy in Indonesia seen from the portraits of women in the bureaucracy in the past five years and how to be able to achieve substantive women’s representation in bureaucracy?” All of the above will be discussed in the corridor of civil servant recruitment and civil service promotion using qualitative methods with explanative types with data collected through literature study and discussions with related parties such as KempanRB. As one of the indicators relating to women’s political careers in the bureaucracy, the author will also see the link between the educational background of women in the bureaucracy and the rank of positions in the bureaucracy. This needs to be analyzed because education is one way for a person to do social lifting in his / her life. Moreover, education will be useful when used by marginal groups such as certain ethnic groups and women.

### **THEORY PERSPECTIVE: AFFIRMATION POLICIES IN THE DOMAIN REPRESENTATION OF BUREAUCRACY**

As a tool to analyze women’s barriers to the bureaucracy, the author uses two main theoretical approaches, namely the theory of affirmative policy and representative bureaucratic theory. According to Carol Lee Bachi (1996), the affirmative policy was first introduced in the United States to declare a series of policies or programs for target groups (marginalized groups) to compensate for the conditions of inequality and injustice they experienced. Affirmative action interpreted as “A policy or a program for correcting the effects of past discrimination through active measures to ensure equal opportunity in the employment or education of the member of certain groups, as women, black, et al.” (Jr, 1995).

Concerning the affirmation of women in politics, the affirmation program aims to strengthen women in non-traditional jobs, namely jobs traditionally done by men, and to increase their access to positions that earn higher wages and status (Bacchi, 1996). Pippa Norris and Lovenduski (1995, p. 242) explained there were at least three barriers for women in the political world to achieve the same position as men, namely: structural barriers such as education, employment, and social status; institutional barriers such as the political system, the level of democracy, the electoral system; and cultural barriers namely patriarchal political culture, and people’s views on gender issues in politics. Therefore, to help women get out of these obstacles, affirmative policies for women in politics need to be formulated.

According to Bachi, there are two types of affirmative policies that are often read by the public, namely soft affirmative programs, and hard or strong affirmative programs. In the first type of affirmation policy, a soft affirmation policy or it can also be called an incremental affirmation policy in some other literature is defined as programs that can increase the likelihood for groups that are not represented to be elected or promoted. This program includes various policies oriented towards the recruitment or regeneration pro-

cess. By using this type of affirmative policy, efforts to build a gender-friendly community culture need to be done first so that acceptance of gender can be in line with the objectives of this affirmative policy to increase the representation of marginalized groups including women. Without efforts to change the paradigm in society about gender, this incremental policy will be difficult to achieve its goals.

Contrary to the incremental affirmation policy, the second type of affirmative policy or can be referred to as the fast track policy in other literature, includes policies oriented directly to “results” which indicate an increase in the representation of marginal groups. In this affirmative policy, efforts to build a community culture that is open to gender acceptance are considered to adjust to the results of this policy which aims to place women in strategic seats in the bureaucracy. Some examples of this policy are reserved seat, quota, and target policies. The difference between the quota and the target is if the quota is mandatory and the regulation determined by an external party (in this case by the government). Quotas also have other consequences for men because if the quota not fulfilled, then some men are denied their presence in a political institution so that women’s quota can be met.

Meanwhile, the target is voluntary from the parties concerned to recruit the marginal group in question. In other words, this regulation comes from private parties, namely party commitment, even though it does not rule out the possibility that the government can also determine the target. However, the most apparent difference from the target and quota is that the target has a specific deadline to achieve the desired target, while the quota is more accelerated (Work Place Gender Equality Agency, 2013).

The author uses the theoretical approach to affirmative policy as a tool to analyze whether the existing bureaucrat promotion policies in Indonesia have accommodated affirmative efforts to provide equal access for women to be able to occupy top management positions in the bureaucracy. The researcher will form this affirmative policy in the bureaucracy with the representative bureaucracy that relates to how a person’s recruitment pattern into public administration positions, especially those related to the problem of equal opportunities and representation of a population within the bureaucracy. By using the concept of representative bureaucracy, the unnecessary bureaucracy seen as a government organization that only emphasizes the small merit system as in the ideal bureaucratic conception of Webber’s style. The importance of raising public bureaucrats that can portray the character and diversity of people in a region also becomes another thing that needs to be considered in analyzing the bureaucracy.

This Study of Representative Bureaucracy has been preceded by the writings of J. Donald Kingsley in 1944 entitled Representative Democracy. Kingsley examined public service operations in England, and he noted that public services should reflect the characteristics of the ruling social class. The point is the representation of the bureaucracy measured in the context of a social class. Furthermore, the importance of representative bureaucracy was also raised by some women activists who criticized the fact that bureaucracy had not been value-free and tended to be gender neutral. The bureaucracy is indicated that there is a tendency to exclude women from strategic positions.

The context of this discussion about Representative Bureaucracy then alludes to the problem of Passive Representation and Active Representation. If the bureaucrat reflects merely the public social background served, then it is a Passive Representation. This

representation interpreted as the composition of bureaucrat representation that reflects the population based on race, ethnicity, political party, social status, and the like.

Meanwhile, effective representation arises when a bureaucrat acts similarly to the interests of those who are represented by both the entire community and some of the people he represents. The Representative Bureaucracy theory focuses on translating from passive representation into the effective representation with an emphasis on what and when a bureaucrat makes decisions that benefit the people represented. Feminist criticism of the Weberian-style bureaucracy in the perspective of bureaucratic representation is what the writer will use as an analytical tool to see how the condition of the bureaucracy in Indonesia can accommodate the interests and presence of women in strategic bureaucratic positions.

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Education is Her First Milestone**

As a position obtained does not come from the results of the election mechanism, the recruitment and appointment process of civil servants or bureaucrats based on a merit system that emphasizes a person's skills and qualifications that demonstrated through a series of specific test results. This merit system is also closely related to the education of a prospective civil servant. The higher the educational background of a bureaucrat, the higher the position he/she can get.

The high and low level of education of a bureaucrat which determines his/her rank and position in the institution seen from the group and rank patterns that exist in this institution. In the bureaucracy, especially in the type of structural position, echelonization can be directly related to one's rank and position. In general, there are four categories as well as seventeen ranks in the civil service career level, which starts from the IA class as a class of Youth to class IVE with the main class of coaches. The high and low educational background determines the first rank and class to be obtained by a bureaucrat. That is, the higher the educational background of a bureaucrat at the beginning of joining this institution, the higher the opportunity he/she has to accelerate positions. For example, for someone who has a bachelor's degree, he/she will be directly in the IIIA category, the master's degree will occupy the IIIB category, and the doctorate will occupy the IIIC class.

The influence of the educational background on the career of the class and rank of a civil servant can not only have implications on the incentives that will be accepted but also affect the career paths in the structural bureaucratic position. In other words, the opportunity for acceleration of position from someone with a particular educational background as referred to above can indirectly bring him closer to the source of power in the bureaucratic institution. This implies the opportunity to increase access for him to be a decision maker in the bureaucracy. These two great opportunities can arise because to be able to become a structural official. Particular group and rank requirements must be met, for example for echelon IV positions he/she must be someone with the lowest class IIIb and highest IIIc. Therefore, when a bureaucrat can start his career directly to a specific high class, then the opportunity for him/her to be able to become a structural official immediately is also getting bigger. With such regulations, then how the educational background of women in the bureaucracy reflected primarily in the bureaucratic portrait of the last five years?

Based on BKN data on the condition of civil servant education until December 2016, the number of female bureaucrats with the diploma and undergraduate levels is more than the number of men with the same educational background. Unfortunately, the higher the educational qualifications of a bureaucrat, the number of women in the qualification decreases. For example, only 0.09% of female bureaucrats have a doctoral education background.

Based on the data above it can be seen that there are still imbalances in the level of education of bureaucrats, especially in master and doctoral degrees. The data above concludes that the current trend, the first majority of the rank level obtained by a bureaucrat is class IIIA. Interestingly, the table 5 above shows that those who sit in the ranks are mostly women because the number of female PNS with a bachelor's degree has a more significant proportion than the male PNS at the same level of education. This condition can mean that there are more than ¼ bureaucrats (women) in Indonesia who should have access to accelerate positions compared to other bureaucrats (men) because they have been in the IIIA group.

Unfortunately, if it looks at the fact that the number of women who hold masters, doctorates degree and women who hold structural positions, is still minimal. This shows that there is still an imbalance between men and women in bureaucratic institutions, especially in the process of promotion of bureaucrats with all current dynamics. The lack of women in the bureaucracy who holds a master's and the doctoral degree is one of the reasons for the lack of women in structural positions in the bureaucratic environment. However, the educational background factor is not the only factor that causes the lack of representation of women in the bureaucracy, especially in the position of decision makers. Educational background is only the first precedent that can determine one's initial rank and class which also determines the speed of a bureaucrat's career path. Furthermore, other factors related to organizational culture and policies in the bureaucratic environment are other essential things that can affect the low representation of women in the bureaucracy, especially at the top management level.

### **Recruitment and Promotion within Bureaucracy: Existing of Glass Ceiling Obstacles**

Based on some quantitative data that the author has shown in the previous section, it shows that there is an irony that deserves to be studied more deeply about the phenomenon of women in the bureaucracy. Initial conditions between civil servants Men and women tend to be moderate. However, when looking further at strategic positions in the bureaucracy, the imbalance is evident there. So what makes women so difficult to develop their career paths in the bureaucracy which is famous for its meritocracy system?

Judging from the bureaucratic recruitment process, bureaucratic reforms implemented in Indonesia result in cleaner bureaucratic recruitment mechanisms free from corruption, collusion, and nepotism. Besides, this reform is also determined always to put forward the merit system in which one of the initial stages is measured using an educational background. Especially with the computerized selection mechanism for PNS as it is today, fraud in PNS recruitment can be minimized. In the lens of bureaucratic and political analysis, this mechanism has reflected bureaucratic meritocracy in Webber's thinking. Therefore, this mechanism will only produce selected bureaucrats who have competence regardless of the background of the particular identity of the prospective bureaucrats.



If it associated with some quantitative data that the author describes in the previous section, the recruitment mechanism based on the merit system is not a significant problem for women. This is the proof from the proportion of the number of men and women who are quite moderate in the last five years. It means that in a healthy competition situation and must rely on their competence, women can compete with men in a very gender-neutral situation. However, analyzing women in the bureaucracy is not enough only at the stage of women to enter the bureaucratic environment. Tiered bureaucratic careers require scholars to also see the mechanism for the promotion of bureaucrats amid the fact that conditions are still not free of value, singularly free from patriarchal values.

Based on information from the Ministry of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform to the authors, it recognized that both the recruitment mechanism and the promotion of bureaucrats were all done using the merit system. In other words, at the stage when women are already in the bureaucratic environment and want to make a career leap, the bureaucracy does not provide affirmative policies for women. He even added that it was a general pattern if women bureaucrats would experience fluctuating work patterns.

In the early days of joining the bureaucratic environment, women, especially those who were not married, tended to have good performance and were even more productive than male bureaucrats. However, this situation changed quite drastically when the female bureaucrat married and had children. Such a decline in performance has become one of the conditions that have hampered the career of female bureaucrats. Whereas when their performance was decreasing, at the same time the career of male bureaucrats was getting closer to the source of power in the bureaucratic environment. This is what makes female bureaucrats left behind from male bureaucrats in their career paths because some of the causes of such a decline in performance cannot accommodate by the bureaucrat promotion system based on merit systems.

The trend of the above conditions of performance deterioration can occur because at the same time women bureaucrats must assume a dual role, namely productive roles, and reproductive roles. The productive role is related to him as a bureaucrat and breadwinner. While the reproductive role is related to the role of women as the primary executor, the person in charge of the caring function in the family. In the citizenship discourse, these two roles often attached to women. Unfortunately, women are required to first carry out the second role, as the person in charge of the caring function in the family. Even in a society with a concept of citizenship of modern civilian republics which highly recruits the participation and involvement of its citizens (Heater, 1999), the good or bad of women are still only judged by their ability to carry out their secondary role. As for men, the role of caring is not too demanding. Consequently, men can be freer to enter public spaces and work in public spaces, including holding strategic positions in politics without having to play a dual role. This description of double burden can be one of the reasons why the performance of female bureaucrats tends to decrease after marriage and family, which is unconsciously it can also hamper women to get closer to the source of power in top bureaucratic management.

What is faced by women in the bureaucracy is an obstacle that is cultural, structural, and institutional obstacles. Glass Ceiling Obstacle is a term first introduced by Carol Hymowitz and Schellhardt which illustrates that there is an obstacle but it does not visibly appears because it likes a glass ceiling. The concept of glass ceiling according to



Adair (1999) is a condition where women tend to have difficulty achieving the highest achievement in their career. This difficulty is not solely due to the existence of substantive obstacles but rather because he is a woman who must submit to the cultural value system that surrounds him. Being as a woman is what makes her space in the public sphere more limited. This phenomenon is closely related to how social acceptance of the status and role of women in the public sphere strongly influenced by an understanding of gender roles constructed by social and cultural conditions of society. Therefore, in an institution that is still required by gender bias, women will find it difficult to achieve a higher career because women are considered different.

The existence of the glass ceiling phenomenon indirectly decreases women's motivation to improve their careers in the bureaucracy. Some women then assume that no matter how strong they struggle, they will not be able to penetrate the highest position of their career in the bureaucracy. Not to mention that when institutional regulations made with very gender neutrality, women will usually prioritize their reproductive workload first than their careers in the public sphere. This is what can then be the reason why some women are not eager to continue their studies or some training that can support their careers.

Some conditions above that Inayatullah in Partini (2013) stated that women in the bureaucracy faced with their internal problems. Moreover, from the ambivalence of women who on the one hand want to get a good career and work performance, but on the other hand, there is a sense of reluctance if they have to leave his domestic duties. This ambivalence situation causes the opportunities that can ideally allow passing. Women's ambivalence attitudes seen when they get an offer to take a charting course, and they tend to refuse because they have to leave their families and children especially if they need a long time. One of the conditions for holding a primary position is its participation in the charting course. This type of condition shows the sense of fear of women in developing their career paths in the bureaucracy. This fear is due to the meaning of a merit system that is very gender neutral and does not have a specific affirmative policy that can accommodate the dual role of female bureaucrats.

### **Toward Substantive Representation of Women in Bureaucracy**

As an improvement in the bureaucratic system, the inclusion of affirmative policies for women is time to be implemented. In the context of gender, affirmative policies are not congruent with giving preference, let alone privileges, to women. The affirmative policy also does not mean giving the opportunity to second-class groups to occupy certain positions in the name of representation. Likewise, the affirmative policy of women in bureaucracy does not necessarily mean changing the recruitment and promotion system to not a merit system. Basic criteria such as quality, competence, and expertise must remain an absolute requirement for men and women in their political careers including in the bureaucracy.

It is true, in the last few years, the policy of gender mainstreaming (PUG) in various public spaces in Indonesia, including in the bureaucratic environment has been quite massive. Unfortunately, as well as political affirmation policies for women in the legislative body, PUG is still interpreted mainly as just a way to increase the number of women in political institutions, including the bureaucracy (add in programs). Whereas the spirit of the affirmative policy is not only how to include women in public space, but more import-

ant is how women can participate as decision makers with a significant role and be able to bring the interests of women. In other words, in the Gender Analysis Pathway (GAP) perspective affirmative policies must be able to create access, participation and benefits for women who ultimately can have control over these sources of power. Therefore, in a bureaucratic environment, a conducive work environment and supporting career acceleration, female bureaucrats need to be created. This conducive work environment can also include various efforts to encourage the development of the capacity of women bureaucrats to become a qualified bureaucrat.

Affirmative policies for women in the bureaucracy can be carried out by regulating several policies related to the performance of bureaucrats without sacrificing one of the roles of women, both as bureaucrats and as family keepers. What the Bhutanese government does can be an example, even adopted, by the Indonesian government in order to realize affirmation for women bureaucrats. KunzangLamu's (2018) study concludes that even though in the recruitment process and quantity there is still an imbalance between male and female bureaucrats in Bhutan, the local government does not necessarily consider it to take for granted. The Bhutanese government can interpret that women's participation in the bureaucracy strongly influenced by gender-sensitive rules and regulations of working mothers. Therefore, as part of the reform of the Bhutanese bureaucracy, the government strives for a variety of policies that support gender-friendly work conditions. Some examples of these policies include extended paid maternity leave from 3 months to 6 months, increased breastfeeding duration, the mandatory establishment of workplace cramps, and extension of paternity leave underlines the fact that is equally responsible for child rearing. The local government believes that by creating such conducive conditions, women's participation in the bureaucracy improved.

Some things such as those carried out by the Bhutanese government have indeed been carried out by the Indonesian government in the Law on State Civil Servants and the BKN Chief Regulation concerning Provisions on Leave. In the latest regulation, Indonesia even has the policy to provide leave for men who will accompany their wife's childbirth. Unfortunately, regarding this provision is not explicitly categorized as a paternity leave but being one of the individual cases leave. Besides, not all bureaucratic institutions in Indonesia have several childcare facilities and adequate maternity rooms. Whereas if a variety of affirmative policies interpreted as one of the tools to support women's performance in the bureaucracy, women can also accelerate their positions without having to be burdened with multiple roles or sacrifice one of their roles.

Therefore, affirmative policies for women in bureaucratic institutions done with a variety of policy engineering that can create gender-friendly work conditions, not the other way around by giving privilege to women which ultimately destroys the merit system that characterizes a healthy bureaucracy. The affirmative policy is intended to open equal opportunities and equal treatment for anyone, principled equal opportunity by respecting and recognizing the diversity of socio-cultural backgrounds to compete healthily and openly in fighting for positions in the public arena. This is what makes efforts to drive the representation of passive bureaucracy into active representation a matter that is indispensable because the empowerment of women in the bureaucracy is not only interpreted quantitatively but also the most important thing is promoting gender mainstreaming in their political work.

This kind of affirmative policy is what Bachii calls the soft affirmative action. This

policy is indeed more process oriented by creating a conducive atmosphere for women. However, if this policy is consistently carried out, women bureaucrats can carry out self-development and, in the end, can also follow high-ranking leadership positions without having to reduce the rights of male bureaucrats to participate in the same promotion as when applying a quota policy / reserved seat.

## **CONCLUSION**

Realizing a representative bureaucracy for women is another agenda of bureaucratic reform that is not easy to do. Even though the objective conditions of women in the bureaucracy show almost equal proportions between men and women, this is not the case with the proportion of male and female bureaucrats who can occupy strategic structural positions in the bureaucracy. The inability of women to occupy these structural positions was not solely due to the potential of the women themselves who were considered insufficient.

The inability of women to occupy a structural position that less caused by the situation of bureaucratic organizations that are still very masculine both concerning structure, culture, and institutions that cause women to face visible obstacles that can often break women's motivation to work. Furthermore, gender-neutral institutional regulations also make women continue to carry double burdens and live in a patriarchal cultural environment. Whereas, the presence of women in strategic positions in the bureaucracy, is significant because it relates to women's interests.

The inclusion of affirmative policies for women in the bureaucracy environment has become an urgent need to create quality female bureaucrats who not only present as an additional component in the bureaucracy but also present as a core component in decision making in the bureaucratic institutions. Bureaucratic conditions that prioritize merit systems and very gender neutral need to be corrected. This improvement does not necessarily mean eliminating the merit of the system but in the effort to create a gender-friendly workspace that still allows female bureaucrats to develop self-capacity amid their reproductive role. Therefore, efforts to reform the bureaucracy that promoted currently. Must also be balanced with the reform of the mindset of seeing the segregation of relations between men and women in the bureaucracy. This is necessary so that the bureaucratic achievement which so far is still limited to passive representation can change into actual bureaucratic representation. With this representation, women are not only harvested as passive subjects from the bureaucracy but also as actors and determinants of the direction of the bureaucracy in implementing government policies.

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## Women's Transformational Leadership in Environment Management: Does Individualized Consideration Exist?

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### ABSTRACT

Women are both vulnerable group and agents of change in the management of environment. Women have basic characteristics that can make them stay close to the environment through domestic roles that they undertake. The local initiation of women in the environment management has been done in Surakarta through the women empowerment group (i.e. "Joyosuran women group"). This article analyzes the implementation of women's transformational leadership in the environment management at "Joyosuran women group". Through the research, it can be found out whether women have been discharged from comfortable zone and freed from glass-ceiling phenomenon. The research was conducted in Surakarta with Joyosuran women group as the informants. The data was collected through in-depth interview, observation and documentation studies, and then they were analyzed using interactive model analysis. The research revealed that the female leader of "Joyosuran women group" has implemented three of four dimensions of transformational leadership, namely idealized influence, inspirational motivation, and intellectual stimulation. Meanwhile, the individualized consideration dimension has not been fully implemented. The female leader merely paid attention to the active members without providing the passive members of Joyosuran women group with following up. This research finding is contradictory to the public perception if she is more attentive and capable of fulfilling the needs of the members. This phenomenon showed that women leadership has changed from giving more attention and fulfilling the needs of organization members to goal orientation and development of the potential of organization members. Accordingly, it can be concluded that female leaders have been discharged from their comfortable zone, in which they are always associated with more attentive and understanding to the members of organization and their stigma of glass ceiling which hamper women to gain stronger and higher position in society.

**KEYWORDS:** Individualized consideration, transformational leadership, women's leadership, environmental management

### INTRODUCTION

Women are agents of change in addressing environmental problems (UNDP, 2013). On the other hand, women are also a party affected by environmental problems because of the domestic roles that have kept them closer to nature (Aditya, 2016; Aye, 2017). The Statute Number 32 year 2009 concerning Environmental Protection and Management states that basically all citizens, both men and women, have the same rights and obligations to be actively involved in environmental management. However, women often do not have the opportunity to participate in environmental management because of their mar-



ginalized position (Karmilah, 2013; Nurhaeni et al., 2009; Nurhaeni, Sugiarti, Marwanti & Pratiwi, 2017; Shiva & Mies, 2005). Based on these arguments, efforts are needed to empower women in the environmental management.

Women play an important role in the environmental management because it is related to prevention efforts, so that the environment does not experience exploitation, pollution, and degradation. In addition, environmental management is also an effort to balance the use of resources for the present needs without harming future needs (Ayo-linde, Omolola, & Olugbenga (2015). The important role of women in environmental management can be developed through empowerment. Women's empowerment is usually found in group form. Leadership style is needed in the empowerment process to move and direct all elements of women to be actively involved in environmental management, and leadership must also be able to realize environmental problems that have been experienced by women while accommodating resources to overcome these problems. Transformational leadership can facilitate this empowerment process.

Transformational leadership is leadership style that is more socially oriented, makes followers prioritize moral values to overcome actual problems, and is able to produce significant changes in the life of society and organizations (Cetin & Kinik, 2015; Saeed & Ahmad, 2012; Yukl, 2010). In addition, transformational leadership which is considered as the most effective leadership style is also more identified with women because some feminine traits such as motivating, understanding, nurturing and supportive attitudes (Hadriana, 2011; Stempel, Rigotti, & Mohr, 2015). The application of transformational leadership in the empowerment is thought to be able to mobilize resources to overcome environmental problems while at the same time generating change for groups and strengthening communities at the grassroots level (Martiskainen, 2017). Surakarta is an area that has problems with the production of industrial waste such as Batik and furniture. One of the districts in Surakarta that experience this problem is Joyosuran. This research examines the application of women's transformational leadership in the empowerment of Joyosuran Women's Groups in the environmental management as an effort to mitigate flood disasters and waste management. The transformational leadership dimension used in this research refers to Bass and Avolio (2002) which includes idealized influences, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individual consideration

## **RESEARCH QUESTION**

Women who constitute important role in household have not been actively participated in environmental management since they are marginalized. Therefore, efforts are needed to make sure women take an active part in environmental management through empowerment. Women's empowerment is usually found in group form. Leadership style is needed in the empowerment process to move and direct all elements of women to be actively involved in environmental management. Transformational leadership can facilitate this empowerment process. The general objective of this research is to find the implementation of transformational leadership style in the empowerment of Joyosuran Women's Group in the environmental management regarding to flood mitigation and waste management.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This research was conducted at Joyosuran, Pasar Kliwon, Surakarta with few con-



siderations. First, Surakarta has good Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) in the Solo Raya region (Boyolali, Klaten, Sukoharjo, Wonogiri, Karanganyar, Sragen and Surakarta). GDI Surakarta in 2014 was 96.48 and in 2015, it was 96.38, while the achievement of the Surakarta GEM was 74.93 in 2014, and then it increased in 2015 to 74.98 (Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection, 2016). This indicates that the development and empowerment of women in Surakarta can be categorized quite well when compared to Boyolali, Klaten, Wonogiri and Sragen.

Second, in Surakarta precisely in the Joyosuran, there is women’s group that empowers in the environmental management as an effort to mitigate floods and waste management, the Joyosuran Women’s Group (KPJ). Joyosuran Women’s Group is the only women’s group engaged in environmental management in Surakarta because Joyosuran is one of the areas with environmental problems due to an annual flood from the Jenes River and the accumulation of industrial and household waste production. The majority of women’s groups usually do empowerment in economic strengthening program such as the Kemlayan Women’s Group or in the development of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) such as the Musuk Women’s Group.

The data was obtained through doing interviews, observation and documentation studies. The informants in this research were included the leader of the Joyosuran Women’s Group, members of the Joyosuran Women’s Group, Joyosuran Village Head, Women’s Empowerment for Child Protection and Community Empowerment Departement of Surakarta (DP3AKB), Environment Departement of Surakarta (DLH) and the SPEK-HAM NGO. This research is the qualitative descriptive study. The data analysis used in this research is interactive techniques of Miles and Huberman models which consist of reduction, presentation and conclusion. The aspects analyzed in this study stated in the Table 1 as follows:

Tabel 1. Four dimensions of transformational leadership

Dimensions	Descriptions
Idealized Influence	The attitude of the leader as a role model and the person who is trusted, has certain skills, gives appreciation so that the members feel they want to be developed.
Inspirational Motivation	The way the leader encourages, motivates, communicates and inspires members and spreads enthusiasm and optimism in every empowerment activity.
Intellectual Stimulation	The way leaders develop, hone innovation and creativity of members and involve members in the formulation and problem solving.
Individualized Consideration	The attitude of the leader to know the differences in members and pay attention to the needs of members.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Transformational Leadership

Leadership is a social influence process in which the leader seeks the voluntary participation of subordinates in an effort to reach organization goals (Nanjundeswaraswamy dan Swamy, 2014). There are many leadership styles with each characteristic; one of them is transformational leadership style. Transform means changing or changing the appearance or character of something in its entirety, or someone, with the aim of increas-

ing the person's ability. Transformational leadership is a leadership style that transforms personal values from followers to support the vision and goals of the organization by maintaining conducive environment where relationships can be developed and stabilize the climate of honesty where goals can be shared (Cetin & Kinik, 2017). Saeed and Ahmad (2012) stated that transformational leadership styles create significant changes in the life of people and organizations. It redesigns perceptions and values, and changes expectations and aspirations of employees. Unlike the transactional leadership, it is not based on "give and take" relationships, but on the leader's personality, traits, and the ability, it is to make the change through vision and goals. Transformational leadership occurs when one person or more people engage with others in the way that the leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality. According to Bass and Avolio (2002), transformational leadership has four main dimensions, namely idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration.

### **Women Leadership**

The concept of leadership is basically neutral; it is not assumed with men or women. Both have the same right to be a leader. However, all this time due to socio-cultural construction in the community, there are not many women who can present themselves as leaders because they are considered to violate the rules. During this time, the ideal leader figure is always identified with men who are firm, strong, rational and dominant. Meanwhile, women are only positioned as followers. In addition, women's leadership is often to be doubted because women were considered too emotional, so they could not be relied on to make decisions. This is a form of injustice for women because they experience stereotypes (Fitriani, 2015). Women leader is often considered as an emotional, aggressive attitude on his subordinate and equally irrational in decision making due to the influence of emotions encountered by them, when they held high positions in the organization (Ibrahim, 2015).

However, Fletcher cited in Wolfram and Gratton (2008) said that women are more often seen to bring transformational leadership because of the feminine traits in it. Yukl cited in Wolfram and Gratton (2008) stated that effective leadership is often influenced by feminine attributes such as motivating attitudes, empowering activities and supportive attitudes.

### **Women Empowerment**

Longwe cited in March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay (2010) mentioned that women's empowerment is a process of making women able to obtain equal positions with men, and participating in the development process to achieve control of the same factors of production as men. Women's empowerment can be interpreted as a multifaceted concept and can be defined in several dimensions, including rights, resources, voice, perception, relations and power (Bayeh, 2016; Sundstorm, Paxton, Wang and Lindberg, 2017). Meanwhile, according to Janssens (2010), women's empowerment is identified with the process of influencing women's capacity to make effective decisions, so that they can be changed into a form of activities and outcomes.

### **Environmental Management**

Environmental management is a process to protect all elements that exist in the environment so that activities carried out by humans do not damage or result in environ-

mental sustainability. This includes prevention efforts so that the environment does not experience exploitation, pollution and degradation. In addition, environmental management is also an effort to balance the use of resources for the present needs without harming future needs (Ayolinde, Omolola, & Olugbenga, 2015)

The Statute number 32 year 2009 concerning Environmental Protection and Management (UU PPLH) states that environmental management is a systematic and integrated effort carried out to preserve environmental functions and prevent environmental pollution and/or damage which includes planning, utilization, control, maintenance, supervision and law enforcement.

### **Women in Environmental Management**

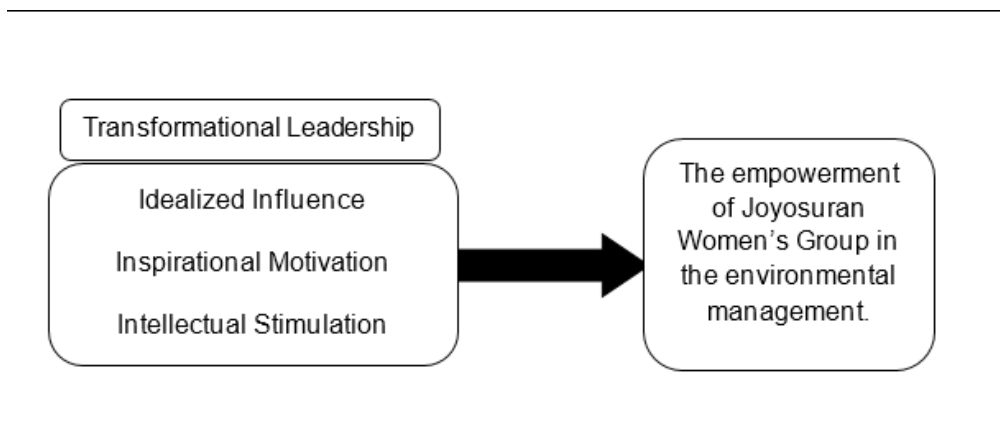
Women's potential role in the environmental management can be developed in the maintenance, preservation of the environment and prevention of environmental pollution, because in addition to the large number of women, there is also a lot of evidence that women have been able to overcome the environmental problems around them. Furthermore, women have not been included in environmental management in access, participation, control and benefits. Women are also not given the knowledge about environmental management including waste management and prevention of environmental pollution. Women are only used as objects, as users of household consumption materials, without being given knowledge of the dangers of the ingredients to themselves, their families and their environment. Based on the facts above, women need to be empowered to participate in maintaining the environment, especially in preventing environmental pollution through empowering women; they can participate in sustainable development. Therefore, women's empowerment programs are directed to improve the quality of life, especially for women and their active participation in the community in the prevention/control of the effects of pollution and environmental management (Sudarwanto, 2010).

Women are required to be involved in environmental management activities because they have a special closeness to nature through their domestic roles, such as taking care of children, collecting food, and ensuring water availability in the household (Aditya, 2016; Guiriba, 2016).

### **THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK**

The main concept in this research is transformational leadership which is more indicated to women leaders. This research refers to Bass and Avolio (2002) which develops the dimensions of transformational leadership including idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individual consideration. This research examines the applications of those four dimensions of transformational leadership in the empowerment of Joyosuran Women's Group in the environmental management. The theoritical framework of this research can be seen in Figure 1. below:

Figure 1. Theoretical Framework



## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This research refers to Bass and Avolio (2002) which develops the dimensions of transformational leadership including idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individual consideration.

The results showed that the first dimension of transformational leadership has been applied by women leaders in the empowerment of Joyosuran Women Groups. Women leader is considered to be role model who is used as example for Joyosuran women in the environmental management. Women leader takes an active part in the maintenance of the Jenes River and 3R socialization (reduces, reuse, recycle). The 3R socialization provides knowledge about the use and processing of waste in an environmental friendly way. Women leader is also considered to have the ability to speak in public and very vocal, so that she is able to submit proposals and environmental problems experienced by the community, especially around the riverbanks in the village planning and development planning meetings (musrenbangkel). Women leader also often provides content or material in forums, gatherings and PKK to invite other women to be aware of the importance of protecting the environment from the level of the household, both through sorting garbage and a clean pattern of healthy living. Although it was difficult at first, Joyosuran women were also trained and developed to be able to speak up and speak out in public. Hence, Joyosuran women are able to follow and involve themselves more actively in discussions and forums. In addition, women leader also gives appreciation to both members and the community to be more active in environmental preservation. Appreciation is given through outbound activities and competitions such as village clean competitions, Solo Menyapu, 3R competitions and community service activities.

The second dimension of transformational leadership is inspirational motivation. The results of the study show that women leader has implemented this dimension in the empowerment of Joyosuran Women's Group. Women leader motivates and moves members and communities in several ways. The first one is socialization and workshop. The female leader invites all members and the community to maintain the cleanliness of the environment, especially the Jenes River area by presenting it in socialization and workshop. Furthermore, to encourage the community to be more active in environmental management, women leader goes directly to the field to discuss with Joyosuran residents about environmental issues, such as mapping flood-prone areas on the banks of Jenes Riv-

er. Through the field data, women leader can find out the causes of the Jenes River flood, which is the clogging of flowing children under the houses of river banks. In addition, in the formulation of empowerment activities, women leader tends to formulate activities that are more targeted directly at the community. This is done to invite the community to be more massive and to make people aware that environmental management is a shared responsibility, considering the causes and consequences of the Jenes River flood also come from the production of waste from Joyosuran residents and unclean living behavior. By inviting the community, the community feels an important role and feel needed.

Inviting the community to be active in environmental management requires a clear and effective communication process. Women leader tries to establish communication with all parties involved in empowerment. The communication of women leader with Joyosuran Women's Group members is established through meetings at the end of each month. In the meeting, the leader evaluates the activities that have been carried out, how the results of the activity are and what the shortcomings are. Women leader also discusses activities that will be carried out and prepared members who are capable of managing those activities. Meanwhile, the communication with the community was established through socialization and workshop which was held by speakers from the Joyosuran Women's Group and in collaboration with NGOs and local government. The communication is also established with the Joyosuran government as the stakeholder. The female leader coordinates in every activity that will be carried out and asked for supporting its implementation. This must be done because the KPJ is an empowerment group located in the administrative area of Joyosuran. Through communication with several parties, the empowerment process carried out by Joyosuran Women's Group was able to get optimal support from members, communities and regional stakeholders.

The third dimension is intellectual stimulation. The application of intellectual stimulation of women leader in the empowerment of Joyosuran Women's Group can be seen from several things. The female leader strives to develop the creativity and innovation of its members in environmental management through several types of training such as 3R training and the manufacture of handicraft waste products from soap packs, plastic bottles, cans, and newspaper. The training produced several economical waste products such as bags, flower vases, brooches, souvenirs, hats, hair ties and ornaments. Through the training, the members make products with various innovations and different levels of difficulty. Creative products are usually being of higher economic value. In addition to the development of creativity and innovation, women leader also trains critical thinking and analysis of members by involving members in the formulation and problem solving that is usually done during monthly meetings. The leader demands the progress of each member and submits proposals or ideas about environmental issues in each neighborhood. Furthermore, women leader stimulates members to try new things such as marketing waste creation products through the internet and websites and trying marketing techniques based on branding value systems. Through this, the scope of marketing of KPJ waste products can be expanded with buyers from outside the city and even abroad.

The last dimension of transformational leadership is individualized consideration. The results showed that the application of individualized consideration was not optimal. This is because women leaders only pay attention to members who are active in empowerment. Even though many members are passive and cannot participate in empowerment activities because of the double burden of women as housekeepers, working and taking



care of children. Women leader only pays attention to such concessions or understanding when members do not participate in activities or participate in activities, but they are late and bring children. This causes differences in the ability of members to participate in empowerment activities because there are active and rapidly growing members while on the other hand, there are also members who cannot participate in forums optimally because they are passive and have a lot of household activities

The results showed that the application of women’s transformational leadership in the empowerment if Joyosuran Women’s Group includes three dimensions, namely idealized influence, inspirational motivation and intellectual stimulation. Meanwhile, the individual consideration dimension has not been optimally applied. More concisely, the application of the transformational leadership dimension can be seen in Table 2. below:

Table 2. Application of Women’s Transformational Leadership in Empowering Joyosuran Women Groups

Dimenensions	Findings	Descriptions
<i>Idealized Influence</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Leader is considered as role model</li> <li>❖ Leader dare to speak in front of the forum</li> <li>❖ Leader has critical thinking</li> <li>❖ Leader develops members’ ability to speak in public</li> <li>❖ Leader give appreciation to members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The women leader in Joyosuran Women’s Group has the position of the community society (RT) head in Joyosuran.</li> <li>- Actively involved in community service activities and waste management.</li> <li>- Providing material during the 3R socialization and training as well as providing entries in the PKK.</li> <li>- Express ideas and opinions during the musrenbangkel related to waste issues.</li> <li>- Deliver suggestions and criticisms related to the implementation of environmental management programs during monthly evaluations.</li> <li>- Propose Jenes River maintenance activities as an effort to mitigate floods.</li> <li>- Looking at the problem of waste in a macro way because it has an impact on the whole community and attempts to solve it with the activities of the waste bank and recycling of waste.</li> <li>- Ask members one by one in a monthly evaluation of the progress of activities that members have done in their neighborhoods.</li> <li>- Sharing problems and experiences to be discussed together during evaluation.</li> <li>- Appreciation by taking part in the clean environment competition at the city level.</li> <li>- Appreciation in the form of outbound.</li> </ul>



<i>Inspirational Motivation</i>	Leader invites the community through socialization and training	- Dissemination of waste management by inviting persons/ informants and providing material independently.
	Leaders approaches and goes to the field directly	- Invite people to participate in 3R training to provide experience and skills development.
	Leaders develops activities that target people directly	- Approach and discuss with the community regarding mapping the environment on the banks of the Jenes River.
	Leaders communicate with members, community and village government	- Providing information directly to the public regarding the implementation of environmental management programs.
		- Ensure community involvement by formulating activities that require high participation, so that people feel important and feel needed in every activity such as maintaining Jenes River, processing waste, etc.
		- Through direct socialization and approach.
		- In a monthly evaluation to discuss the program that has been implemented and the program that will come.
		- Inform the implementation of environmental management programs and coordinate assistance with pre-facilities.
<i>Intellectual Stimulation</i>	Leader develops member creativity and innovation	- Development of innovation in the formulation of environmental management activities such as 1000 sweeping women and the Love Earth Movement.
	Leader involves members in the formulation and problem solving	- Development of creativity through training in waste handi-craft products such as brass, flower vases, ornaments, bags, etc.
	Leader stimulates members to try new things	- Problem solving through deliberation and discussing the program according to the proposal of the members. The discussion is also done by leveling system.
		- Formulation of the problem is done by sharing system, each member tells about environmental problems in their neighborhoods.
		- Perform a rotating committee system so that each member has experience as a leader of activities.
		- Try marketing via the internet and applications.
		- Try marketing garbage craft products through a branding value system.
<i>Individualized Consideration</i>	This dimension not yet optimally implemented because women only give attention and explanation to active members and do not follow up on passive members.	- The women leader is advised that members must bring their children when empowerment activities are carried out. But so rarely do members bring children because they cannot be left behind.
		- The women leader does not attempt further to give attention to passive members because of busy work.

According to the Great Men and Great Women Theory, effective leadership is always identified with transformational leadership style (Bass, 1985). This is claimed because transformational leadership is able to generate or change the strengths that are often overlooked in an organization into something that is needed (Cetin & Kinik, 2015;

Saeed & Ahmad, 2012). In addition, transformational leadership is also able to increase the awareness of its members through a better articulation process (Bass, 1985). This is what makes transformational leadership styles considered to be correlated more strongly and consistently with leadership effectiveness (Yukl, 2010). The appearance of women's leadership is able to produce a big impact both for women themselves, organizations and for society. With the presence of women's leadership, it educates other women, increases the potential relationships in the community, and better manages financial management of the organization (Place & Vardeman-Winter, 2017).

The results showed that women leader in the Joyosuran Women's Group is the driving and pioneering figure for the community to be involved in environmental management activities. The application of these three dimensions of leadership is an indication that women do tend to be transformational when presenting the leadership process (Bawa, 2017; Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt & van Engen, 2003; Gipson et al., 2017; Mulla-Feroze & Krishnan, 2000). In connection with the not optimal implementation of the individualized consideration dimension, the results of this research indicated a contradiction with several previous studies which stated that female leaders psychologically tend to be more attentive and supportive than male leaders (Ibrahim, 2015; Yukl, 2010). These results also contradicted other researches showing that when women appear with transformational leadership, one of the highest dimensions applied is usually individualized consideration (Eagly, 2007; Mulla-Feroze & Krishnan, 2000). However, Bawa (2017) showed that individual consideration gets a low score compared to other dimensions because it is considered not too directed towards transformational leadership style.

The interesting thing that was obtained from the results of this research was that the lack of individual application in the empowerment of Joyosuran Women's Group leading to an indication that women begin to leave their leadership comfortable zones. This is consistent with other research stating that the discharge of women from the zone of individual consideration is one step to escape the glass ceiling phenomenon which has been likened to as a barrier to women to move towards the higher hierarchical position in society (Bombuwela & De Alwis, 2013; Mohammadkhani & Gholamzadeh, 2016). On the other hand, the implementation of individualized consideration has an impact on the needs of passive members so that their ability to participate in forums and empowerment activities will tend to lag behind more than the active members.

## **IMPLICATION**

The results of the research revealed that women leader in the Joyosuran Women's Group is the driving and pioneering figure for the community to be involved in environmental management activities. The application of these three dimensions of leadership is an indication that women do tend to be transformational when presenting the leadership process. In connection with the not optimal implementation of the individualized consideration dimension, the results of this research indicated a contradiction with several previous studies which stated that female leaders psychologically tend to be more attentive and supportive than male leaders. These results also contradicted other researches showing that when women appear with transformational leadership, one of the highest dimensions applied is usually individualized consideration. Another research showed that individual consideration gets a low score compared to other dimensions because it is considered not too directed towards transformational leadership style. It is indicated that women begin to leave their leadership comfort zones and start to escape from glass

ceiling beliefs.

## CONCLUSION

The application of women's transformational leadership in empowering the Joyosuran Women's Group plays an important role to overcome environmental problems, especially in efforts to mitigate floods and waste production in Joyosuran. The results showed that three of the four dimensions of transformational leadership had been applied by women leader in the empowerment process including idealized influence, inspirational motivation and intellectual stimulation. Meanwhile, the dimension of individualized consideration has not been applied optimally because the leader only gives attention and fulfillment of the needs of the active members while passive members with various activities and household affairs are not given follow-up. These results indicate that women begin to get out of their comfortable zones when they appear as leaders who are identical with understanding, emotional, more caring and begin to emerge from the glass ceiling stigma that has hindered women from achieving higher hierarchical positions in society. But even so, this research suggests that women leaders also give more attention to members who are less active in empowerment because of their business and household affairs, so that all members can participate in empowerment forums and activities more optimally with the same development and abilities.

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## **Changing Family and Challenges of Engendering Government Policy in Japan and ASEAN Member Countries**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This research is aimed to (i) describe the the role of women in the family with the issue of family changing (ii) to explore the ASEAN and Japanese government's strategy and policy in protecting women. This research in particular uses Policy Analysis Framework to portrait the trends and engendering policy in anticipate changing family. This research relies on qualitative method analyze of the data trend from statistical reports on family changing trend. It is used to analyze the data trend from statistical reports on family changing trend. The major data on family changing will be drawn from many credible sources such as: (a) national population census data and official statistics published by national governments over five years; and (b) country reports, government in figures (c) country population figures collected. The result shows that patterns and trends in household size and living arrangements in ASEAN Countries is different from Japan. The family changing in Japan highlight: first, the changing in lone parent families is critical issue in Japan due to female vulnerable labor forces. The main problem caused to economic hardship for the lone female parents is the legal status of lone parent households. Second, money for marriage was chosen as the most serious obstacle to marriage by both men and women, Ideology of "I-E" still plays crucial role in Japanese "family" system and its gender relations. "I-E" represents "a quasi-kinship unit with a patriarchal head and members tied to him through real or symbolic blood relationship. Third, the spousal tax benefit in resulted in discouraging many women from seeking jobs. While in ASEAN, the family changing more on tackle issues of poverty, children employment, and fertility birth.

**KEYWORDS:** Changing family, engendering government policy, pattern and trends

### **BACKGROUND**

Family changing turn into the new rising issues of Asia and on populace and advancement which is tended to in the Post-2015 Development Agenda. As national socio-economics change, Japan's populace will incorporate developing partners of more established persons- key populace bunches with interesting unaddressed necessities. With this statistic change, there are likewise numerous elements impact the family patterns, for example, environmental change, extended urbanization, and progressively portable



populaces are patterns that present new difficulties to guaranteeing that family and people can completely accomplish their rights.

The development programs to anticipate family changing also influenced by poverty which is still remains as governance policy constraints toward decent life for family as well. World Family Map 2014 shown that the percentage of the population living in absolute poverty (on less than 1.25 U.S. dollars a day) is greater than the percentage of the population that is undernourished in almost all Asian and sub-Saharan African countries such as China, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, and Uganda. Strikingly, in Nigeria 68 percent of the population live on less than 1.25 U.S. dollars a day and 7 percent are undernourished. Though not as extreme, a similar story is taking place in Ghana, where 29 percent of the population live in absolute poverty and less than 5 percent are undernourished. Some countries are able to make combating hunger a high priority among expenditures; in addition, private-sector programs as well as international food aid, food pricing differences, and a country's food distribution infrastructure may help explain these differences (World Family Map, 2014).

One of important issues related to the phenomenon is the women's role changing in the family which is previously limited in domestic affairs. Since the increasing intensity of women's activity, they will perform as money earner beside doing domestic affairs. The changing role of women is a consequence of technology advancement, feminism movement, globalisation, migration and complexity of life needs. Feminism movement has effectively improved the performance of women from internal household affairs to external household affairs including work to earn money. Meanwhile globalization process along to the advancement of technology has provided a large access for women to fill jobs all over the world.

In response to development programs of family changing under poverty circumstances, the government of ASEAN countries have made this journey a reality into three pillars of ASEAN, namely the ASEAN Economic Community, the ASEAN Political Security Community and the ASEAN Socio-cultural Community. Latest economic data have shown that, in general, all member countries, both old and new, have shown remarkable economic growth even though there is a big economic gap between the CMLV (Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Viet Nam) and the other six countries (Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei, Thailand and the Philippines).

When economic development takes place in any country, family, as a feature of social institution, has been shown to experience many dimensions of change. Rapid urbanization, for example, has led to the breakdown of the extended family which is very much a form of family in rural communities, into a more nucleated form of family. Gender roles have also been shown to change though certain roles have remained intact, resulting in stress and strains in

family relationships. Migration is a common feature in ASEAN and a gendered phenomenon with serious implications on family dynamics. Yet much still remains to be understood about family in ASEAN.

One of important issues related to the phenomenon is the women's role changing in the family which is previously limited in domestic affairs. Since the increasing intensity of women's activity, they will perform as money earner beside doing domestic affairs. The changing role of women is a consequence of technology advancement, feminism movement, globalization, migration and complexity of life needs. Feminism movement has effectively improved the performance of women from internal household affairs to external household affairs including work to earn money. Meanwhile globalization process along to the advancement of technology has provided a large access for women to fill jobs all over the world. In addition, migration phenomenon also influences the change role of women. Indonesian women workers (TKW) who worked overseas for several years has social both positive and negative impacts in their family. On one hand, the women workers' activity has contributed significant income for their family, but on the other hand, it also causes family disharmony, such as divorce and infidelity behavior. Finally, the complexity of life needs is also stimulating women to work to complement the husband's earning which is frequently insufficient for everyday living.

### **RESEARCH QUESTION**

Base on this background, this research is aimed to (i) describe the the role of women in the family with the issue of family changing (ii) to explore the ASEAN and Japanese government's strategy and policy in protecting women.

### **RESEARCH METHOD**

According to Maxwell and Chatterji, qualitative research remains an important tool for policy researchers (Maxwell 2004; Chatterji 2005 in Fischer et al, 2007). Qualitative research involves research that uses observational, communicative, and documentary methods in natural settings (Riehl 2001, 116 in Fischer et al, 2007) in an effort to understand the social world.

According to Denzin and Lincoln, it is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical methods—case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts—that describe routine and problematic moments in individuals' lives. (1994, 2).

This research will be used to analyze the data trend from statistical reports on family changing trend. The major data on family changing will be drawn from many credible sources

such as: (a) national population census data and official statistics published by national governments over five years; and (b) country reports, government in figures (c) country population figures collected.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

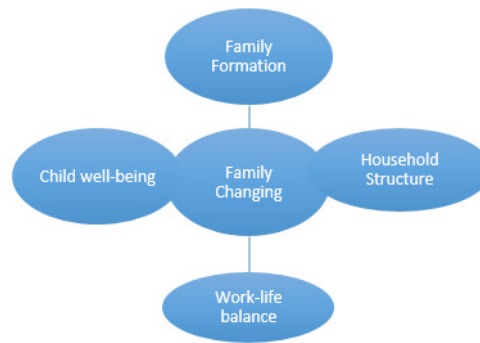
On family changing, the study in 2003 by Quah, has shown that there are five main global trends identified by United Nations experts in the comparative analysis of family formation and family structure. More specifically, UN experts assume that families are (1) facing changes in structure leading towards “smaller size households, delayed marriage and childbearing, increases in divorce rates and single parenthood”; (2) undergoing demographic transformation characterized by “aging”; (3) affected by a rise in migration; (4) suffering the effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic; and (5) trying to cope with the effects of globalization.

Quah (2008) continued her research on family changing and found that Asia is a region comprised of more than 50 nations and 60 % of the world’s population. It encompasses countries that exemplify the extremities in economic development, fertility, and life expectancy, such as the cases of Japan and Afghanistan. Japan, the beacon of modernity in Asia and one of the wealthiest nations in the world, sharply contrasts with Afghanistan, one of the poorest.

Further Esteve and Liu (2009), explain that a sizeable literature has examined the evolution of the family systems in Asia. Modernization theory predicted that as countries advance economically, the pervasiveness of multigenerational living arrangements will decline as a result of urbanization, economic power, and value in privacy (Goode, 1963; Quah, 2003 in Esteve and Liu, 2009). Nevertheless, Esteve and Liu (2009), stated very little decline has been detected for China, India, and Vietnam, despite their substantial economic development in the past few decades.

To update think about on family changing, The Organization for Economic Co-activity and Development (OECD) led an overview on 2011 on family changing. The outcomes demonstrated that families have changed in the course of recent years. It gives an outline of the adjustments in family arrangement, family unit structure, work-life equalization, and kid prosperity. Fruitfulness rates have been tirelessly low in numerous OECD nations prompting littler families.

Figure 2. Family Changing



Source: OECD, 2011

In family changing, poverty risks are highest in jobless families and lowest amongst dual-earner families. Important gains in female educational attainment and investment in more family-friendly policies have contributed to a rise in female and maternal employment, but long-standing differences in gender outcomes in the labour market still persist.

Family behavioral changes have occurred in a context of major structural changes in economies, education systems, and other institutions (Noriko et al, 2005; Rindfuss et al, 2010). A study lead by East-West Centre researchers found that there are diffusion of selected innovative family behaviors that are rare in Japan today, including childbearing outside of marriage, cohabitation without marriage, remaining unmarried throughout the childbearing years, and use of childcare centers for very young children. A high level of acceptance of non-traditional behaviors can reinforce the diffusion of such behaviors (Noriko et al, 2005; Rindfuss et al, 2010). This study also examines the patterns of change in family behavior and the relationship to changes in economic conditions, education systems, and other institutions in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and the United States. Behaviors including marriage, childbearing, divorce, cohabitation, gender division of labor, and intergenerational relationships (Noriko et al, 2005; Rindfuss et al, 2010).

### **Challenges of engendering policy towards family changing**

The significance of family changing to policy maker has been featured by The Organization for Economic Co-activity and Development (OECD), it states for what reason should the fate of the family intrigue approach producers? Since it offers them a crystal through which both to consider how society may change over the coming decades, and to be better arranged for those progressions. It is through the lens of the family that multifaceted developments can be explored and perhaps anticipated such as in housing, health, work, welfare, leisure, migration, finance, economy, technology, and so on, helping policy makers to identify upcoming issues and stimulate the debate on long-term policy strategy for society (OECD,2008).

Changes within society will impact on government policies, so will government policies impact on families and young people themselves. While it is always difficult to predict how policies towards housing, education and training, taxation, social benefits, employment, health, media and entertainment etc. will influence family formation and outcomes for young people, the experience of the last fifty years or so of the welfare state may have useful pointers to offer for the future (OECD,2008).

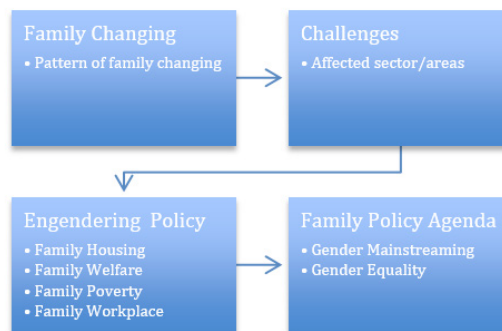
In family, the job of people is similarly imperative and reciprocal. The term of correspondence among ladies and men is a human right, and a precondition for, and a marker of, maintainable individuals focused advancement. Discrimination could imposes large costs on a developing country’s capacity to increase economic growth and raise living standards by excluding women or men from access to resources, public services or productive activities.

Engendering policy play crucial role in determining the fair and just distribution of benefits of development to the people. Economic and social policies that fail to take into account gender disparities contribute to the creation of further gaps in the ability between women and men to achieve decent livelihood on an equal basis. These policies include those related to work and employment, tax and budget systems and trade regimes. Structures of governance where women have limited opportunities to influence policies and economic decisions may further exacerbate the situation for women (Endut and Mutiarin, 2014).

Gender mainstreaming should implanted out in the policy. The talk about gender fairness as an approach ought to be seen in a pubic arrangement space. Policy will dependably be about open arrangement as component that originates from the procedure of politic framework. Open arrangement shows up from a procedure of data sources transformation that is the interest or support from the encompassing that began from issues or issues developing in the general public.

**Theoretical framework**

This research resumes the theories using in this conceptual frame work as below:



## Research Parameters

### 1. Family Changing

- a. The structure of families (SF)
  1. Families and Children
  2. Fertility indicators
  3. Marital and partnership status
- b. The labour market position of families (LMF)
  1. Families, children and employment status
  2. Workplace hours and time for caring
- c. Public policies for families and children (PF)
  1. General policies for families with children
  2. Child-related leave
  3. Formal care and education for very young children
  4. Typology of childcare benefits and net parental fees by family type and income level
- d. Child outcomes (CO)
  1. Child health
  2. Child poverty
  3. Education/literacy
  4. Societal participation

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Asean Family Changing**

The analysis of Indonesian data is basically an analysis of trend in socio economics and gender data based on World Bank Data, from the years 2005-2015. All the data use in this analysis were taken from the official World Bank website.

To provide the regional background and to position Indonesia in comparison to its ASEAN neighbors, the table below provides the basic overview of the total population for



each country by sex.

Table 1. Total population for each country by sex

Country	Total Population	Male Population		Female Population	
		Number	%	Number	%
Brunei	417,200	216,600	51.92%	200,600	48.08%
Cambodia	15,578,000	7,599,000	48.78%	7,979,000	51.22%
Malaysia	31,186,100	16,112,100	51.66%	15,074,000	48.34%
Myanmar	53,897,000	26,335,000	48.86%	27,562,000	51.14%
Singapore	3,933,559	1,929,526	49.05%	2,004,033	50.95%
Thailand	67,961,000	33,496,000	49.29%	34,465,000	50.71%

Source: Brunei Darussalam, Department of Economic Planning and Development. Brunei Darussalam Statistical Year Book 2015; United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision, custom data acquired via website; Department of Statistics Malaysia. The Labour Force Survey Report 2015; Singapore Department of Statistics.

The total population and percentage of male and female population in Brunei, Cambodia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Singapore and Thailand are shown in the table. Thailand has the largest population, followed by Myanmar, Malaysia, Cambodia, Singapore, and Brunei has the least population. Among the six countries, female population in Cambodia (51.22%), Myanmar (51.14%), Singapore (50.95%) and Thailand (50.71%) are slightly higher than their male population.

Table 2: Women in Parliament, Women in Ministerial positions, and Years with Female Head of State for Last 50 Years

	Country	Female	Male	Female to Male ratio (truncated)	Rank
<b>Women in Parliament</b>	Singapore	24	76	0.31	59
	Cambodia	20	80	0.26	73
	Malaysia	10	90	0.12	118
	Brunei Darussalam	6	94	0.07	130
	Thailand	6	94	0.06	132
	Myanmar				
<b>Women in Ministerial positions</b>	Cambodia	7	93	0.08	123
	Malaysia	6	94	0.06	130
	Singapore	6	94	0.06	131
	Thailand	4	96	0.04	136
	Brunei Darussalam	0	100	0	139
	Myanmar				
Years with female head of state (last 50 years)	Thailand	3	47	0.06	38
	Cambodia	0	50	0	68
	Malaysia	0	50	0	68
	Singapore	0	50	0	68
	Brunei Darussalam	0	50	0	68
	Myanmar				

Source: The Global Gender Gap Index 2016

Table 2 shows the rankings and truncated female to male ratio (F/M ratio) of Brunei, Cambodia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Singapore and Thailand in the three variables of Political Empowerment (sub-index of the Global Gender Gap Index). The three variables include Women in Parliament, Women in Ministerial positions, and Years with Female Head of State for Last 50 Years. These three variables were included to evaluate the gender gap in Political Empowerment across countries.

Singapore ranked the highest position among the 5 countries in the variable “Women in Parliament” (Global Rank= 59, F/M ratio = 0.31), followed by Cambodia (Global Rank = 73, truncated F/M ratio = 0.26), Malaysia (Global Rank = 118, F/M ratio = 0.12), and Brunei (Global Rank = 130, F/M ratio = 0.07). Thailand shows the biggest gender gap for seats in Parliament, as compared to the other 4 countries (Global Rank = 132, F/M ratio = 0.06). Myanmar was not in the ranking due to the absent of latest statistics.

For the variable “Women in Ministerial Positions”, Cambodia fall at the first place with highest ranking (Global Rank = 123, F/M ratio = 0.08), indicating that gender gap in

Ministerial Positions in Cambodia is the smallest among the 5 countries. Both Malaysia and Singapore have the same F/M ratio in Ministerial Positions, which is 0.06, putting them at Global Rank 130 and Global Rank 131, respectively. Thailand ranked lower than Malaysia and Singapore (Global Rank = 136, F/M ratio = 0.04), while Brunei do not have any female holding Ministerial Positions, putting it at Global Rank 139, lowest among the 5 countries. Myanmar was not in the ranking due to the absent of latest statistics.

Lastly, referring to the variable “Years with Female Head of State for The Last 50 Years”, among the 5 countries, Thailand ranked the highest position with three out of fifty leader of state are women (Global Rank = 38, F/M ratio = 0.06). The other 4 countries have 0 female head of state for the past 50 years, putting all of them at Global Rank 68. Myanmar was not in the ranking due to the absent of latest statistics.

Table 3: The Global Gender Gap Index 2016

Country	Global Index	Economic Participation and Opportunity		Educational Attainment		Health and Survival		Political Empowerment		
	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
Singapore	55	0.712	17	0.793	95	0.975	121	0.967	97	0.111
Thailand	71	0.699	22	0.77	74	0.99	1	0.98	131	0.057
Brunei Darus-salam	103	0.669	56	0.696	70	0.992	130	0.966	141	0.021
Malaysia	106	0.666	80	0.658	89	0.985	109	0.969	134	0.051
Cambodia	112	0.658	77	0.659	128	0.897	1	0.98	108	0.098
Myanmar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: The Global Gender Gap Index 2016

Table 3 shows the Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) 2016, which has ranked the countries according to their current gender gap in different field. The Global Gender Gap was indexed based on women participation in 4 sub-indexes: Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival and Political Empowerment. Referring to the global index, among the 5 countries (Myanmar was not ranked in the Global Gender Gap Index 2016), Singapore ranked the highest (Global Rank = 55), followed by Thailand (Global Rank = 71), Brunei (Global Rank = 103), Malaysia (Rank 106), and Cambodia fall at the lowest rank (Global Rank = 112). The Global rankings suggests that after taking account into all the sub-indexes, among these 5 countries, the overall gender gap is the least in Singapore and the most in Cambodia.

The sub-index Economic Participation and Opportunity was ranked based on 5 variables (in ratio): female labour force participation over male value, wage equality between women and men for similar work, female estimated earned income over male value, female legislators, senior officials and managers over male value, and, female professional and technical workers over male value. In this sub-index, Singapore is at the highest

rank (Global Rank = 17), indicating that its gender gap in this sub-index is the lowest as compared to the other 4 countries. Thailand took the second place in this ranking (Global Rank = 22), followed by Brunei (Global Rank = 56) and Cambodia (Global = Rank 77). Malaysia ranked the lowest among the 5 countries in women economic participation and opportunity sub-index.

The sub-index Educational Attainment was ranked based on 4 variables (in ratio): female literacy rate over male value, female net primary enrolment rate over male value, female net secondary enrolment rate over male value and female gross tertiary enrolment ratio over male value. In this sub-index, Brunei Darussalam was placed at the highest rank (Global Rank = 70), indicating that its gender gap in this sub-index is the lowest as compared to the other 4 countries, followed by Thailand (Global Rank = 74), Malaysia (Global Rank = 89), Singapore (Global Rank = 95) and lastly Cambodia (Global Rank = 128), which is the lowest rank among 5 countries, suggesting great gender gap in terms of educational attainment.

The sub-index Health and Survival was ranked based on 2 variables (in ratio): Female over male ratio at birth and female healthy life expectancy over male value. In this sub-index, both Thailand and Cambodia fall at the highest rank (Global Rank = 1), suggesting both countries have low or close to none gender gap in Health and Survival issues. Next, among the 5 countries, Malaysia took the second place (Global Rank = 109), followed by Singapore (Global Rank = 121) and Brunei (Global Rank = 130).

The last sub-index for the Global Gender Gap Index 2016 is Political Empowerment. This sub-index was ranked based on 3 variables (in ratio): females with seats in parliament over male value, females at ministerial level over male value, and number of years with a female head of state for the last 50 years over male value. In this sub-index, Singapore ranked the highest among 5 countries (Global Rank = 97), followed by Cambodia (Global Rank = 108), Thailand (Global Rank = 131), Malaysia (Global Rank = 134), lastly Brunei (Global Rank = 141). The rankings suggest that among these 5 countries, the gender gap in political empowerment is the least in Singapore and the most in Brunei.

Table 4: Marital Status by Sex Aged 15 Years & Over

Country	Marital Status							
	Male (%)				Female (%)			
	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/ Separated	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/ Separated
Brunei Darussalam	39.27%	58.34%	1.33%	1.06%	34.86%	56.68%	4.91%	3.55%
Cambodia	35.31%	62.53%	1.30%	0.86%	27.40%	61.29%	8.38%	2.93%
Malaysia	37.83%	59.76%	1.91%	0.50%	32.21%	59.44%	7.20%	1.15%
Myanmar	32.26%	61.40%	3.10%	1.36%	29.54%	57.79%	10.42%	2.04%

Singapore	33.57%	61.83%	1.86%	2.74%	29.78%	57.32%	8.46%	4.44%
Thailand	29.47%	63.92%	3.12%	3.48%	22.35%	61.35%	11.48%	4.80%

(Source: Brunei Darussalam, Department of Economic Planning and Development. Brunei Darussalam Statistical Year Book 2015)

(Source: National Statistical Office, Ministry of Information and Communication Technology, Thailand. The Labor Force Survey Quarter 3 July-September 2016)

(Source: National Institute of Statistic Cambodia. Cambodia Inter-Censal Population Survey 2013)

(Source: United Nations Statistics Division)

(Source: Singapore Department of Statistics)

The table above shows the marital status of citizen aged 15 years and above of each countries by biological sex between year 2013-2015. Overall, the percentage of “never married” male (aged 15+) is higher than the percentage of “never married” female (ages 15+) across the six countries. The percentage of “married” male is higher than the “married” female, same patterns appear in all six countries. However, when it comes to “widowed”, the percentage of “widowed” female is higher than the percentage of “widowed” male across the six countries. Also, the percentage of “divorced/separated” female is higher than the percentage of “divorced/separated” male across the six countries. Brunei has the highest percentage of “never married” male and female as compared to the other 5 countries. Thailand has the highest percentage of “married” male and female as compared to the other 5 countries. Both Thailand and Myanmar have relatively higher percentage of “widowed” male and female as compared to other countries. In Thailand, 3.12% of the male population and 11.48% of the female population are widowed. While in Myanmar, 3.10% of male population and 10.42% of female population are widowed. Singapore has the highest percentage of “divorced/ separated” female (4.44% of female population), while Thailand has the highest percentage of “divorced/ separated” male (3.48% of male population), among the 6 countries.

Table 6. Female Healthy Life Expectancy over Male

Country	Female	Male	Female to	F/M ratio	Rank
			Male ratio	(truncated)	
Thailand	69	63	1.1	1.06	1
Cambodia	64	60	1.07	1.06	1
Malaysia	66	63	1.05	1.05	75
Singapore	78	75	1.04	1.04	92
Brunei Darussalam	69	68	1.01	1.01	137
Myanmar	-	-	-	-	-

Source: The Global Gender Gap Index 2016

Table 6 shows the truncated female healthy life expectancy over male (F/M) ratio in six countries. In the Global Gender Gap Index 2016, female in five countries (except Myanmar) have higher healthy life expectancy compared to male. Both Thailand and Cambodia

scored Rank 1 in female healthy life expectancy over male ratio with the truncated ratio of 1.06. Next to the two countries are Malaysia (Global Rank = 75, F/M ratio = 1.05) and Singapore (Global Rank = 92, F/M ratio = 1.04). Brunei scored lowest female healthy life expectancy over male ratio among the 5 countries (Global Rank = 137, F/M ratio= 1.01). Myanmar was not in the ranking due to the absent of latest statistics.

### JAPAN FAMILY CHANGING

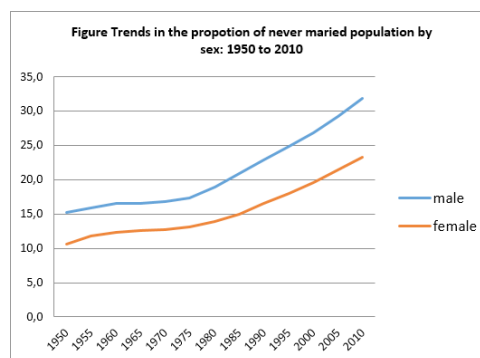
The size of household becomes smaller and “the number of households with 3 persons or less shows an upward trend while the number of household with 4 persons and over shows a downward trend since 1995”: the households with 2 persons and 3 persons account for 27.2% and 18.2%, respectively, and 4 persons accounts for 14.4%, in 2010 (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan, 2010).

There were about 4.5 million lone parents with kids’ family units in Japan in 2010, a figure which has developed from 3.5 million of every 2000 to 4.0 million out of 2005 and after that further to 2010 (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan, 2010). The expansion of around 1 million somewhere in the range of 2000 and 2010 is measurably noteworthy. Lone parents with kids’ families spoken to 24% of all families of family unit with youngsters in 2010, higher than 19% out of 2000 and 22% out of 2005. In 2010, ladies represented 85% of lone parents with youngsters and men the rest of the 15 %.

### Marriage as option

In 2010, the standardized data for marital status (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan, 2010), the proportion of the never-married men and women, and the proportion of the divorced men and women showed an upward trend.

Figure 1. Figure Trends in the propotion of never maried population by sex: 1950 to 2010



(Source: Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, *Summary of Results of Population Census of Japan 2010*, p.396.)



Table 7. Trends in the number of Marriage and Divorces: 1950 to 2010

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Number of marriages	715	866	1029	775	736	722	792	798	714	700
Number of divorces	84	69	96	142	167	158	199	264	262	251

Benefits of single life which never-wedded men picked were (1) freedom of activity and way of life (69.7%), (2) no obligation regarding supporting a family so can relax (26.7%), (3) prosperity (25.2%), (4) simpler to keep up an extensive variety of kinship (17.3%), (5) opportunity in association with the contrary sex (7.2%), (6) more decision in living condition (6.3%), (7) having the capacity to proceed with cozy associations with ebb and flow family (3.4%), and (8) keeping up social association through work (2.8%) in 2015 (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, 2016). Benefits of single life which never-wedded ladies picked were (1) freedom of activity and way of life (75.5%), (2) less demanding to keep up an extensive variety of kinship (25.8%), (3) no duty regarding supporting a family so can relax (19.8%), (4) prosperity (16.2%), (5) having the capacity to proceed with cozy associations with ebb and flow family (10.6%), and (6) keeping up social association through work (9.8%), (7) more decision in living condition (6.0%), and (8) opportunity in association with the contrary sex (4.9%) in 2015 (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, 2016). The far most noteworthy extent of never-wedded the two men (more than 2 to 3 people) and ladies (more than 3 to 4 people) picked opportunity of activity and way of life as value of single life.

Snags to marriage which never-wedded men picked were (1) cash for marriage (43.3%), (2) habitation for wedded life (21.2%), (3) occupation and work (14.5%), (4) school and scholarly accomplishment (11.1%), (5) endorsement from guardians (8.5%), (6) age-related issues (4.7%), (7) living with and supporting guardians (4.6%), and (8) wellbeing related issues (2.2%) in 2015 (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, 2016). Hindrances to marriage which never-wedded ladies picked were (1) cash for marriage (41.9%), (2) occupation and work (19.9%), (3) home for wedded life (15.3%), (4) endorsement from guardians (14.3%), (5) school and scholarly accomplishment (12.8%), (6) living with and supporting guardians (6.5%), (7) age-related issues (4.5%), and (8) wellbeing related issues (2.8%) in 2015 (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, 2016). Cash for marriage was picked as the most genuine snag to marriage by the two people.

### Ideology of “I-E”

Ideology of “I-E” still plays crucial role in Japanese “family” system and its gender relations. “I-E” represents “a quasi-kinship unit with a patriarchal head and members tied to him through real or symbolic blood relationship” (Sugimoto, 2010). In the pre-World War II Civil Code, the head was equipped with almost absolute power household matters

including the choice of marriage partners for his family members. “The headship of ie was transferred from one generation to another through primogeniture, whereby the first son normally inherited most of the property, wealth, and privilege of the household as well as ie headship. As a general rule, the second son and younger sons established their branch families, which remained subordinate to the head family. For the continuation of ie arrangements, it was not unusual for a family without a son to adopt a boy from a different family. (Sugimoto, 2010)” The amended Civil Code after the World War II considerably dismantled the patriarchal system under the introduction of gender equality. The ideology of “I-E”, however, remained as an undercurrent of family life in Japan.

The provision of the amended Civil Code forced marriage couple to use the same surname reflects the “I-E” ideology under which marriages unions between not individuals but families. During the Meiji era (1868-1912), when the law was introduced, it was common for a woman to leave her family to become part of her husband’s family. While the law does not stipulate which name married couples shall adopt, in practice almost women take their husband’s name reflected by Japanese male-dominated society, and many women, especially professionals, continue to use their maiden names at work and their legal and married surname in official documents. The issue of the married couple’s surname had divided public opinion for a long time in Japan. A poll by the liberal Asahi newspaper found that 52% of respondents believed couples should have the right to choose, while 34% opposed the move; and, with option, more than 70% answered that they would adopt a single family name (The Japan Times, 2015).

## CONCLUSION

1. The approaches which focused to expand pay of poor family conveys better effect to female work interest, however the neediness of lone parent families end up basic issue.
2. The information of lone family destitution have suggestion on sex imbalances. The circumstance of female lone parent family units is more terrible than it is for lone male parent families because of female powerless work powers.
3. Family changing example appeared on the connection among family and family specialists, richness level, time of first marriage, high school mother, and contributing family laborers.
4. The working populace as a key driver of the economy is contracting in Japan in view of the declining birthrate and quick maturing populace.
5. Japan have gained noteworthy ground in advancing gender mainstreaming worldview. Anyway the difficulties still stay in female political support, and female work constrain cooperation.

6. Japan Government's Gender Strategy organize the significance of securing rights, opportunity and welfare of its subjects (people). The arrangement is to advance gender equality in the family, society and country.

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## **Beyond Orthodoxy Religious Dialogue: Rejuvenation of Interfaith Women Movement in the Case Study of Women between Religious (PAUB) In Malang**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This study was about to see religious dialogue that gender bias. During this time, the religious discussions built on the perspective of masculinity. Women are often overlooked in the forums cross-religion dialogue. The simplest example is the religious figures who are often invited to dialogue are men. So, the problem is religious dialogue as long as it is held not gender friendly. In fact, women have a uniqueness in resolving disputes, religious conflict, as well as in the side of building peace and harmony. This paper is about to assert such. Through the women's Interfaith Religious (PAUB) Malang writing was about to explain two things. First, through PAUB, women are able to bridge the long debate between theology feminism feminism movement. Second, not only are at PAUB level discourse (discourse) about how the women act as peacekeepers and harmony between religious, but have come to the real action (movement) as the peacekeepers, by do women's empowerment action cross-religion. In fact, PAUB has done a new social movement by using the identity theory approach. Namely, build solidarity-based collective action as fellow creatures of God. Thus, the women's movement has experienced rejuvenation by involving themselves in religious issues

**KEYWORDS:** Religious dialogue, new social movement, identity theory, femininity

### **INTRODUCTION**

There is a problem when observing religious dialogue in Indonesia. The problem lies in the religious dialogue forums are loaded with the injustices against women or gender bias. It said gender bias because during this religious discussions only involve religious figures that in fact ruled by men. For example, when Indonesia attend religious dialogue in the Vatican, Italy, religious leaders who came to represent Indonesia entirely male. There's Philip Wijaya (Buddhist), Henriette (Christian), Fr. Sunarko (Catholic), Vishnu (Hinduism), Tenaya and Abdul A'ala (Islam) (Diamond, 2018). Furthermore, Religious Unity Forum (FKUB) Malang also indicate such things. Organizational structure of 2015-2020 period dominated by FKUB men that in fact the old faces (Bakesbangpol, 2015). Although there are divisions in FKUB overshadowing womanhood, but the women did not get the position in the strategic management of FKUB. The woman does not have the capacity or integrity in leadership. It gets worse, it is this stereotype that continuously reproduced by communities through social construction.

Domestication women's area indeed has not led to the intersection. Demands for equality and Justice against women always find long debate. Not only between women with men arguing with each other over it. However, the struggle to obtain equal rights and equal with "caste" men ever reap the outcry or protests from women themselves. Thus, this paper seeks to provide a defense against the stereotype that has been attached to the

women. That, in the context of religious dialogue, women using the perspective of femininity to realize harmony between religious which is clearly different from that laid down in the House of the masculine. What is different and how do women create harmony and peace between fellow that will be discussed in this paper.

This study is also present as a reflection on the conditions of Indonesia which is still engulfed in conflict SARA. The degree of violence between groups and religion in Indonesia is still high. This is because one is the inter-faith dialogue that is built more reactive than solutif. The point is, the religious leaders just do intensive dialogue when conflicts between religions have exploded (Rusli, 2013:128). New religious leaders react to dialogue in order to dampen the dispute already is happening. However, the dialogue often get stuck on finding the root cause of the conflict or issue, not on the search solutions to problems that occur (Hapsin, Komarudin, Imroni, 2014:351).

The irony is when religious leaders of character valued as bearers of peace was not able to deliver peace. Religious figures where the majority are men is thus not successfully run well role. They are thus trapped in internal conflicts between religious figures (grace, 2105:7). Meanwhile, women have their own special strategy in solving inter-faith conflicts, such as that run by PAUB during this time. Not only at the level of discourse, but the real action was already doing PAUB peace and harmony between people.

The irony is the cases of women, such as violence, sexual abuse, rape, and so on, never touched and got the attention of proponents of religious leaders. Even from fellow female himself was still very rarely that not ignore or concerned with the case experienced by their neighbour. According to data of the National Commission on women of the year 2018 discovered 348,446 cases of violence against women. While reported to police only 22% (CATAHU, 2018:2). This confirms that the movement feminism also have not seriously in resolving problems that are often experienced by women. Especially if the harassment or violence issues involves two different religions. Certainly the settlement is more complex and intricate. But, PAUB proves that the community is able to solve such problems.

See such a case, again reminded of long debate and never over with feminism theology between feminism movement. The two currents of thought actually complement each other, but in fact it is precisely tendency of mutual negation. The theology of feminism was born as a response to the injustice experienced by women. Injustices experienced by women, for example the question of domestication and public spaces, can be tracked from its historical roots. One of the results of such historical tracking says that religion also plays a role in creating inequality. So, the struggle to obtain equality and justice that is to retrace and understand the back of religious texts. (Esha, ND: 3-5).

On the other hand, there is a movement that feminism actually also voiced equality and justice for women. Basically, feminism is a school of thought that gave voice to the rights and freedoms of women. This struggle is based on a result of oppression, marginalization and the assumption that women are merely complementary beings. This idea later evolved not only fight for political rights, equality, justice, but also on the question of the existence of the women themselves (Amin, 2013:146-152).

Essentially, the theology of Feminism and the feminism Movement is in the direction of the same struggle, that of the liberation of women from oppression and injustice.



However, the two streams at specific points instead of mutual negation. As expressed by one of the characters named Mun'im Sirry. He argued that contemporary feminism movement of the era quite blatantly not interested in issues of religious pluralism. Implication in fact is the absence of the contribution of feminists in inter-faith dialogue. According to him, the movement of women in pressing the tension and religious conflict less prominent feminists Contribution in promoting inter-faith dialogue and actions are also not visible. This is due to their disinterest toward religious pluralism issue in addition to the primary character is indeed patriarchy of religion (Sirry, 2016).

At this point, the contribution of this paper is dedicated. This study is about to deliver a breakthrough by combining two schools of thought. PAUB has been transformed into a community of feminist theology which direction his struggle is justice and equality. Meanwhile, PAUB also became the feminist movement which not only removing women from oppression, but also doing the empowerment of women. PAUB is a real example of cross religion, that women are not allergic to talking about religious pluralism, dialogue and discussion, and the religious action on women's empowerment that creates peace and harmony between fellow cross-religion.

To scrutinise the theoretical gap , then this article will be escorted with empiric study based research field, which will then be dissected by using new social movement theory with specific uses of identity theory approach. Two streams are not quite sufficient to explain how PAUB do his movement. So, keep supporting theory to sue masculinity dialogue that became a problem in this research.

But earlier, it needs to be presented on the research methods of discussing the strategy or how to obtain, process and analyze the data findings.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

So far, studies in the context of religious dialogue more discussed or discussions dominated the nature of masculinity dialog. Religious forum dialog in masculinity is understood as a form of exclusivity of the realm of religion that dominated the religious figures that in fact the majority of men. For example, research on the role of inter-faith figures in creating the peace (Harahap, dkk, 2017:220-229; Son, 2017:530-539) as well as religious organizations whose members the majority of men. For example, the study of the role of the Assembly of scholars of Indonesia (MUI) and Religious Unity Forum (FKUB) in maintaining religious harmony (of Ramadaan, 2018; Darniati & Hashim, 2018; Sjoraida, Mariana, Asmawi, 2017).

Meanwhile, the movement feminism more examined the struggles of women activists, which is how the women's movement is able to break down the construction of the patriarchy in the Community system, safely equality gender (Wijaya, 2017:106-117), justice public spaces (Puspita & Mahendra, 2017:267-270), even the struggle in environmental issues (Fitr & Akbar, 2017:83-102).

The flow of feminism in fact striving to liberate women from the shackles of patriarchy and domestication. Women want to get equal rights in public space, public office or political rights. From this assertion, then comes a lot of perspective begin the flow of feminism, liberal feminism to feminism radical (Amin, 2013:147-157).

Meanwhile, the struggle to crush the system patriarchy and domestication also

comes from the flow of the theology of feminism. If feminism movement that flourished during the more inspired from the perspective of the West, then the theology of feminism offers a perspective of religion in patriarchy systems break down. I.e., with the text – text debunking of religion then interpret the meaning of the verse back (Saputro, 2017:62-76). They set out from a religious conviction that basically is not discriminatory. God Most Fair. According to them, the patriarchy and the system of discrimination comes from the long journey of the existing social system in the Community (dawn, 2017).

Despite having the same purpose, the movement feminism feminism and theology also has the distinction of viewpoints. The difference in viewpoints is visible when discussing sensitive issues. For example, in terms of ritual worship and sexual orientation. Among feminist requires the existence of freedom, including on private matters, such as sexual orientation (Shean, 2016). Meanwhile, feminist theology speak only of religious understanding of gender bias, so it required the demolition of the theological interpretation of still rests on religious texts (Mahfud, Nazmi, Maula, 2017:95-110). Moreover, the movements of feminism often shy away from discussions that they consider as religious systems that perpetuate cultural patriarchy (Sirry, 2016).

With earlier studies observe the movements of feminism and theology feminism above, there are the yet unexplained when discussing the matter. That is, no one has examined how feminism movement can go hand in hand with feminism theology flow in harmony between religious issues. If there is doubt of movement feminism can make peace with feminism theology, then the study is dedicated to answer those doubts. That in the context of harmony between different religious, inter-faith women able to prove two things at once, namely cross-religion religious women are capable of breaking down the cultural patriarchy with proving that the peace movement and religious harmony can be done by women Between Religious (PAUB).

Meanwhile, no one has reviewed PAUB as representation of religious feminism movement. Previous research more review from the perspective tolerance (Ash'ari, 2016). Thus, this research be beginning to research women's movement a religious cross cultural patriarchy in breaking down resorting dialogues, as well as religious become the descriptors that religion and women can 'make peace'. This study can be a breakthrough, both at the level of theoretic as well as empiric.

## **LOGIC FRAMEWORK**

In order to understand or analyze the movement of women religious in Community traffic PAUB, research is escorted with a new social movement theory, i.e., more specifically in the theory of identity. The Foundation of the identity theory of footing or analytical devices for building argumentation in order to criticize the masculinity of the religious dialogue and discussion of theology the deadlock feminism feminism movement.

There is the question of when observing religious dialogue that was built during this time. As explained at the beginning that religious dialogue over use of masculine perspective. Meanwhile, the contribution of women is good idea nor the real religious dialogue in action tends to be ignored. Because women are considered to have no capacity or quality in the realm of religion. Religion seems to be the exclusive realm of the reserved only for men. For example, the construction of leadership. Always deemed worthy and deserved the lead are men (Wijaya, 2017:106-117).

Injustices experienced by women gave rise to the protest from among women. They are demanding repeated studies over religious texts. Redenomination over religious texts were meant to see if religion was discriminatory. Through repeated over interpretations of religious texts are expected to found a new interpretation of re explain that in fact both men and women have the same degrees before the Lord (Izziyana, 2016:142-145; Suryorini, 2012:21-29; Nurrochman, 2014:267-288). The reinterpretation of a school of thought called the theology of feminism. This flow was born as a form of struggle for women to obtain justice and equality. The inception of this paradigm is also inseparable from the modern Islamic thought and the construction of the patriarchy still attached firmly in Moslem society (Esha, ND: 2-4). So, from a reinterpretation of the religious verses, got it interpretations-which States that women and men have complementary positions (QS. An Nisa: 1), has a positive side and a negative (QS. Al Azhab: 35) (Djoeffan, 2001:294).

On the other hand, there is a movement that feminism is also doing the same action, i.e. the fight for freedom, justice and equal women's rights, undermine the culture of patriarchy and domestication but not use religious foothold in buildings views (Violetta, 2018). They build a movement based on oppression and injustice that women experience. Feminism movement in Indonesia for example, through a long journey until it came to the alignment of women in public spaces as well as political rights (Djoeffan, 2001; Wijaya, 2017; Wijayanti, 2018).

The movement focuses more on feminism real action such as advocacy or persuasion urge people who care about justice and equality to combating oppression and discrimination against women. They also fought for women's rights to occupy public offices and political, as part of the Balinese have done against the domination of men.

In the meantime, comes the ideological or theological stream of feminism also has parallels with the struggle of feminism. That is, wanted to liberate women from the oppressive patriarchy system. But the difference with the movements of feminism is feminism movement, if driven from patriarchy construction that has made women become marginal creature, feminism theology theological reflection upon departing from religious texts. Feminism theology starting from the interpretation of religious texts that are considered to be masculine House footing to legitimize his position. And "against" him with religious verses that describe the position of the parallel between women and men (Esha, ND; Uterus, 2018).

There's a gaffe when observing the flow of feminism and the feminism movement theology. Any discrepancy is seen in the difference of viewpoints in responding to sensitive issues. In sensitive issues, both approaches tend to negation. No-arms and ideology in fight for freedom and justice for women, especially on the issue of sexual orientation (Sirry, 2016) which each have a coherent argument negation

However, in the Female Religious Interfaith forum (PAUB), both these flows can be met in a religious context, i.e. the harmony between religious. Feminism movement also encourages women to engage actively in public spaces, including the religious dialogue that is also supported by the flow of the theology of feminism are also trying to disassemble male dominance through religious texts.

However, that has not been able to be explained by both this theory is how women take a position in public spaces. What should be done by cross-religious women to prove

that women have the capacity to lead the quality of peace and harmony between religious which is handled by the religious figures that the majority of men.

To that end, the need for additional analytical devices to understand the movement of the traffic of women religious. This study will be supported by a new social movement theory (GSB) in particular the theory of identity. In fact, different identity theory with the theory of resource mobilization. Identity theory is a greater emphasis on emotionality dimensions than rationality. Identity theory is capable of capturing expression and motifs of movement feminism, environmental movement, the peace movement, the movement of local liberties, etc. (Sukmana, 2013:47). Identity theory analyses movement with emphasis on aspects of integration, solidarity and commitment. In addition, it is also influenced by elements of the struggle, mobilization, and consciousness (Sukmana, 2013:48).

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research includes the type of qualitative research using case studies as search tools and data processing. The reason the case study method, able to become a tool to track the movement in detail PAUB and deep. Case study on Methods of its own indeed right in use for research with the focus of the review of his case will either be a single peeled thoroughly or comprehensive because uniquely in such cases (Babbie, 2007:298-300).

Although the case study method is considered weak in terms of accuracy, objectivity, and the strength of his research was judged inadequate, but Creswell explained that the case study is a research method that can explore a case that was then into the study. So, the focus of the case studies is the specification of the case in an event, be it a covers individual, cultural groups or a portrait of a life (Creswell, 2010:37-38). Thus, this research right if escorted by case studies. As being characteristic of case studies: 1.) identified the "case" for such a study. The study tried to identify PAUB and making it one of the studies on the women's movement. 2.) the case is a "system-bound" by time and place. Such is the case, the PAUB examined in one time and place in Malang. 3.) case study using multi source to support the collection of data in order to get a picture in detail and depth. This research also using multi source as base data. That is, doing observation, in-depth interviews, as well as the collection of supporting documentation and reports. (Creswell, 2010:36-37). In other words, this research uses qualitative case studies.

In addition to the that, case studies also accords with the mission this research. *First*, the formulation of the problem using the word ask *how*, i.e. how PAUB do action or movement of peace and harmony between religious. *Second*, this research is contemporary research or are based on the present focus and locus of research that specific, namely PAUB and model his movement. *Third*, in this study the researchers do not have the opportunity to control the phenomenon being studied (Pawito, 2007:53; Yin, 2009:2; Joseph, 2014:79). So, m etode case study findings in the field remain dedicated as part of the the development of science in General. The development of science in this study is to downloadelaah PAUB movement in creating peace and harmony between religious where results are inextricably linked with the development of knowledge about movements of feminism the theological.

Related data collection, as has been explained earlier that the data was collected using multi source of evidence, the source of this evidence was divided into the primary data source and the data source secondary . Primary data include *the words* and *actions*

of informants obtained through observation and in-depth interview with Chairman PAUB, Dr. Mufidah Cholil, M.Ag, as well as with members of PAUB (Moleong, 2008:157). Data secondary in this research retrieved from a variety of sources that discuss the movement PAUB. Such as, document or report, documentation activities PAUB when do discussions or actions of peace and harmony between religious people in the city of Malang. This is relevant to the six data collection forms expressed by Yin, which is a.) documentation; b.) recap archives; c.) interview of type open-ended; d. direct observation); e. participant observation) (Yin, 2009:103-118).

Meanwhile, the case studies did not have raw and rigid procedure in data analysis techniques. The data analysis of the difficulty in making a case study research method was judged incapable of composing a good and scientific research. Nevertheless, Creswell explained that analysis of a case study similar to ethnographic methods, i.e. the "detailed description" (Creswell, 2010:153). So, data analysis begins with an examination of the whole of the data obtained. Then, *first* do a reduction data to classify data in order to get the data to the core. *Second*, the conduct of empirical research in detail the core data. The conclusions obtained by conducting empirical research-based findings and interpretation of the field and the analysis conducted (Yin, 2009:141-158) and logic framework with the new social movement theory.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Results explained that Women Religious Interfaith forum (PAUB) is religious feminism movement. This can be understood from the routine activities carried out by this community. For example, women's groups not only PAUB religious peace and harmony voice only, but became an agent of peace and harmony through empowerment and resistance of oppression against women.

PAUB build mass base by collecting movement through the community network in each religion. Through the net of this community their vigorous voice of peace and harmony between religious. PAUB spread the virus "one accord in diversity". They also build awareness through the equation of fate as women, so courageously voiced voice peace. They also build commitment begins with mutual understanding symbol-a symbol of religion in order to know each other, that we are all equal before God. God is not discriminatory, Most just and wise. Through the process of introduction of such religious symbols symbol that continuously treated in activities PAUB (Cholil, 2018).

As explained by the Chairman of PAUB Malang, Dr. Mufidah Cholil, M.Ag, that was established on the basis of PAUB awareness that religious pluralism should be accepted as an inevitability. As part of Indonesia, women are obligated to maintain peace and harmony between the people of religion, as enshrined in vision and mission PAUB. Our vision is to be the container movement PAUB peace and harmony through empowerment. As for the mission is to bring about a peaceful Indonesia (Cholil, 2018).



Figure 1. Routine PAUB



Source: <http://kampusdesa.or.id/perempuan-antar-umat-beragama-bicara-islam-nu-santara/>

The spirit of women's empowerment in collaboration with realizing harmony between religious became the *entry point* the establishment of the forum which is Unfortunate PAUB inclusive. The process of adaptation to the mutual understanding and foster empathy to one another is long but progress shows significant improvement. Unifying the ideas and likened the perception also passed with the multicultural spirit of nationality and no longer majority-minority dichotomy or other social strata, but instead bore the motto PAUB "ONE ACCORD in DIVERSITY". Intercultural dialogue hospitality heart much more substantive forum than imposed by a situation and demands of post-conflict peace and violence that are often referred to by friends as the hapless PAUB Concord preamble instrumental, temporal, and (Cholil, 2012:102-103).

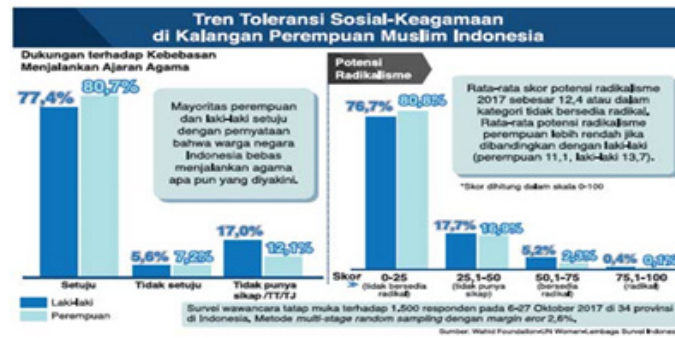
Therefore, intensive interaction through regular meetings alternately, not only the demands of the forum but has become the need of each inner spirit-based religion that are believed to value. PAUB emphasizes long-term strategies in which embody and preserve the unity and peace today will have a positive benefit for the survival of a nation forward (Cholil, 2018).

This is evidenced by the chart below which explains that women are more open in accepting tolerance of religious differences. Women thus becomes a bulwark of pluralism in Indonesia. Just as stated by Cholil that:

"the woman is a symbol of peace. women are the custodian of the unity between religious. This is because women have long thought, how to survive life, rather than on sheer egoism as popularized by men "



Figure 2. Graph Of Tolerance Muslim women of the year 2017



Source:<http://mediaindonesia.com/read/detail/143004-optimalkan-perempuan-jadi-benteng-toleransi>

Interestingly, PAUB has also been successfully solving inter-faith marriage that could trigger a conflict between religions. PAUB successfully mediate the issue have entered the realm of the law. However, because the issue is complex, the line becomes law was not able to finish it, then taken over by PAUB to be resolved by way of amicable (Cholil, 2018).

This was the uniqueness and distinctiveness PAUB movement in creating and maintaining harmony and peace between the people of religion. PAUB humanist approach and dialogic. In addition, for the sake of harmonious relation between sustainability Member, empowering them do against its members so that their economies become more prosperous.

The above findings about to explain at the same time confirm what the previous question. That is, it is the representation of movement PAUB feminism religious who managed to break the dialogue and masculinity manifest harmony and peace between the people of religion. PAUB managed to prove that women also have integrity in maintaining the peace.

Thus, these findings are certainly different from feminism movement studies more. Discourse on women in the context of movement, not only meant as a subordinate or subsystems in a movement. However, women now occupy the position as a *leader* in the movement studies brings social change. Not only raised the issues of anti discrimination and exploitation. But it also took roles in strategic efforts create peace, harmony coexist between fellow.

If feminism Theology studies still dwelling on discourse (Wijaya, 2017: Amen, 2018), this research has proven that the theology of the feminism movement becomes a transform cross-religious women who successfully spreading peace.

Thus, this study was about to explain that femininity dialogue in the context of harmony between religious needs to be an alternative in the effort of creating peace. During this time, discussions about the harmony between religious are at *mainstream* masculinity. That is, the religious realm is the realm of religious leaders. Religious leaders and also is a form of *gender bias*, because almost the majority of the leaders of religions are men. So, discuss harmony and peace often use perspective of masculinity. Concord built dialogue with the logic thinking of masculinity because when there is a discussion about religious certainly invited to exchange ideas, ideas and thoughts are the leaders of religion, and

religious leaders are men.

Meanwhile, the dialogue between religious harmony barely rarely invited the women to voice his thoughts which may be differences in ways of thinking with a masculine perspective. Without intending confronted masculinity with femininity, research is more dedicated to providing another perspective in understanding that women have their own special way in solving a problem. When speech-speech of hatred against a group of increasingly massive provoked, women with his gentleness is able to provide an atmosphere of peace and quell the turmoil of religious sentiment spurred on easily.

On the cover it needs to ponder that God created male and female *bil haq* (really, not a mess). Discrimination to the detriment of both are not sourced from the teachings of the religion but rather to the gender ideology formed through the process of socialization that is long enough. The status, role and social responsibilities of both men and women can be altered and changed according to the development of society and the progress of science and technology.

The woman is not being weak, but both have potential as men. Women have hidden forces (*hidden power*) are closed due to the *mindset* and imaging communities, cultural patriarchy and religious understanding errors related to women. It's about time women shows identity and actualizing itself as contributing to the maximum power to build the nation especially in realizing peace between religious (Cholil, 2012:104).

## CONCLUSION

Interracial women Religious (PAUB) has been breaking down and go beyond the discourse of masculinity of dialogue in the context of religious dialogue. With the movement "one accord in Diversity", peace and harmony between believers are able to be realized. PAUB movement describes at least three things. *First*, PAUB until recently became the only religious cross women's organizations successfully change the perspective and the construction of society over women which does not have the capacity. So, it is at once voiced femininity perspectives on religious issues and build dialogue, femininity to be alternative thought in addition to masculinity dialog.

*Second*, the peace movement and harmony performed PAUB have contributed or breakthrough against the long debate between the flow of movement feminism feminism theology that often the opposite. PAUB made a breakthrough by combining both the theory. In other words, is a representation of the movement PAUB feminism religious. That is, women who have different beliefs, but banded together to create world peace.

*Third*, PAUB struggle not only repeatedly voicing women's rights. But, they also fight for Justice and equality through real action. The point is, don't just fight on the level of discourse (discourse), but also do real action. The real action is done in the form of women's empowerment. This is the empowerment of women through the actions of awakened a sense of solidarity between women of mutual respect, appreciate, know each other and understand each other. So, this was the distinctiveness or uniqueness of women's movement as religious PAUB inter-faith concrete creates harmony and peace between the people of religion.

Third, PAUB's struggle not only aggressively voices women's rights. However, they also fight for justice and equality through real action. The point is, not only to struggle at

the level of discourse (discourse), but also to take real action. Real action is carried out in the form of women's empowerment. It is through this action of women's empowerment that a sense of solidarity between women is developed to respect, respect, know each other and understand each other. So, this is what is unique or unique that PAUB has as a religious interfaith women's movement that concretely creates harmony and peace between religious communities.

Thus, the implication of this research is to assert that the women's movement has experienced rejuvenation by being actively involved in religious issues which have been avoided by feminist activists. Feminism movement not only sues social construction, patriarchal system, and male domination in public space and social relations. But it also took part in a dialogue about religious issues, especially on the issue of peace and harmony among the religious people.

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**Chapter VI:**  
**Communities, Partnership, and Green Politics**



## Implementation of Communication Programs in Tourism Sectors

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### ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study are: 1) To determine the communication strategy of the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi in Jambi publish tourist attraction. 2) To determine the constraints or obstacles encountered in implementing the communication strategy. 3) To find a solution that is done in the face and overcome obstacles or barriers in implementing the communication strategy. The method used is qualitative data analysis techniques deskriptif with interactive model of Miles & Huberman. The results of this study indicate strategies, barriers, and solutions conducted by the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province to publicize the objects of tourism has not gone up. Inadequate infrastructure facilities, accommodation and transportation are less supportive, as well as access to all the attractions is still a concern where there are still many dirt roads during the dry red dust and the soil becomes muddy if it rains. The bureaucratic process is one issue that is very difficult to overcome because it deals directly with the regulations.

**KEYWORDS:** Implementation, communication programs, tourism sector

### INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is the largest archipelago and has a wealth of natural and cultural richness outstanding. Alam Indonesia has a tropical climate combination, 17,508 were 6,000 of which are inhabited, and the third longest coastline in the world after Canada and the European Union. The tourist attractions in Indonesia is supported by a rich cultural heritage which reflects the history and ethnic diversity of Indonesia dynamic with 719 local languages.

There are 7 locations in Indonesia that has been established by UNESCO in the list of World Heritage Sites. Meanwhile, four other representatives also set out in the UNESCO Representative List of Cultural Heritage of Man, namely puppets, keris, batik and angklung.

Approximately 62% of tourists visiting Indonesia for holiday purposes, while 38% for business purposes. Singapore and Malaysia are two countries with a record number of tourists coming to Indonesia most of the region. While the Asian region (excluding

ASEAN) Japanese travelers in first place followed by China, South Korea, Taiwan and India. Highest number of immigrants from Europe come from countries the United Kingdom, followed by France, the Netherlands and Germany.

The position of tourism as an important pillar of the economy continue to be enhanced worldwide with the current growth reached 5% or two-three times higher than the growth of the world economy. Meanwhile, Indonesia's tourism sector growth reached 11%. One of the locations is a potential tourism in Indonesia precisely in Sumatra that is rarely heard his name that is the province of Jambi. Jambi province is a region that is incorporated in the NKRI (the Unitary Republic of Indonesia) is located on the east coast in the central part of the island of Sumatra. Size Jambi Province 53 435 km<sup>2</sup> with a population of Jambi Province amounted to 3,088,618 people.

There are more than 60 attractions of nature and culture which is located in the province of Jambi them are: National Parks Geopark, Mount Kerinci, Kaco, KerinciSeblat National Park, Cave Tiangko, Sungai BatangAsai, Air Semurup, Grao Solar, GraoNguak&Grao turmeric (Gesyer), Taman Mini Jambi, Taman MayangMangurai, Studio Batik PKK, Al'Falah Great Mosque, and different cultural tourism attractions and other realms.

Unfortunately, the state of tourism objects in Jambi Province is currently very poor. Many tourist attractions are not maintained and can even be said to be unfit to serve as a tourist attraction, because of the lack of infrastructure, facilities, and infrastructure in place that not many tourists who are interested to visit the province of Jambi to do a tour.

Lack of Jambi people recognize the potential of tourism attractions in the province of Jambi, also aggravate the situation and make very few people who know Jambi with tourism potential. As a result of the lack of interest of local residents, so if there are international tourists and domestic tourists who ask about tourism in the region, they do not provide information to the fullest.

Less than 7,000 people per year who visit the province of Jambi. The reason why the publication activities of tourism objects less than the maximum, although it has no means of publications such as folders travel guides, CD tourism guides and booklets are less effective publication activities that caused various problems both internally and externally.

Aforementioned problems include differences in the organization of the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi, facilities and inadequate infrastructure, accommodation and transportation are still lacking support, the people who still can not read a business opportunity, the lack of public facility, level of concern still very poor, bureaucratic process that is still less support, transfer of title, until the shortage of funds is the reason why tourism in Jambi can not yet developed and developing.

From the foregoing it is clear that things happen very ironic wherein Jambi Province has tourism potential is extraordinary keindahanya terms of both natural and cultural aspects and deserves to be crowned one tourist destination in Indonesia. However, lack of funding is a major obstacle in the development potential of tourism in the province of Jambi, and supported again by the lack of public awareness to recognize the potential of tourism in Jambi Province and is a very interesting thing to study.

Therefore, researchers are interested in examining more deeply about the com-

munication strategy undertaken by the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province in publicizing tourism objects in Jambi.

### **FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM**

Based on the background of the problems described above, then the root of the problem in the writing of this study is: "How Communication Strategy of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province in publicizing tourism attractions in Jambi?"

### **RESEARCH PURPOSES**

Based on the formulation of the problem above, the purpose of this study, as follows: 1) To determine the communication strategy of the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province in publicizing the tourism attractions in the province of Jambi. 2) To determine the constraints or obstacles encountered in implementing the communication strategy of Jambi Provincial Tourism Office in publicizing the tourism attractions in the province of Jambi. 3) To find solutions that do in the face and overcome obstacles or barriers in implementing the communication strategy.

### **BENEFITS OF RESEARCH**

1. Academic Benefits. This research is expected to provide insights, information, and understanding is quite clear about communication strategies that can be applied by the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province, in order to publicize the tourism attractions in the province of Jambi
2. Practical Benefits. This research is expected to provide information and provide input to the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province in applying the strategy of communication and publicize the objects of tourism in the province of Jambi, so more and more people of Indonesia in general and the people of Jambi in particular are familiar with the existing tourism in the province of Jambi. For the people, especially tourists both local and foreign will be informed about the uniqueness and the existence of tourism in the province of Jambi.

Communication model appropriate with this research is a model of circular communication Osgood and Schramm. This model describes a dynamic process. Messages are transmitted through the process of encoding and decoding (Yin, 2011: 18). The relationship between encoding and decoding like source and the recipient of mutual influence. Interpreter double as the sender and the recipient. This model puts the source and the receiver have equal position.

In this study, the Department of Culture Tourism acts as a messenger (encoder) which then interprets it to be delivered into a message received by the public (decoder). In the communication is two-way communication occurs, causing people who initially act as receiver of the message and then give a response and stimulate them into messages. In this process causes people to turn out to be the sender (encoder) and the Department of culture and tourism as receiver (decoder).

According Goldbaher in Muhammad (2004: 67) the process of creating and exchanging messages in a network of mutual relations tergantung each other to cope with an uncertain environment and constantly changing. The aims and objectives of the organization implemented a communications company (Ruslan, 2003: 259), among others:

1) As a means of internal communication on a reciprocal basis that is used within an organization or company. 2) To eliminate any misunderstandings or communication barriers between company and employees. 3) As a means of channels or communication tools in an effort to explain about the wisdom, regulations within an organization or company. 4) As an internal communication media for the employee to express desires or brainstorming and to information and reports to the management company (leader).

Definition of Public Relations submitted by W. Emerson ReckdalamSuhandang (2004: 44), as follows: "*Public Relations is the continued process of keying policies, services, and actions to the best interest of those individual and groups whose confidence and goodwill an individual or institution covets, and secondly, it is the interpretation of these policies, services, and actions to assure complete understanding and appreciation*"

From the above it can be concluded that Public Relations is an arts and social sciences that make the creation of a part or function of management in companies that build and maintain good relations between perusahaan with lingkungannya, where PR in the working process do plannings mature in programs to create a picture or a company becomes a good reputation and ultimately the creation of organizational effectiveness and profitability.

Based Yaverbaum (2006: 23-27) regarding Six Stages as the Public Relations program planning method: 1) Situation Analysis. To be able to make a good planning, Public Relations should be able to know how the environmental situation in the company or organization today, both internal environment and the external environment. 2) Establishing goals and Objectives. Setting goals is a step that must be run before making a decision. Once the data is acquired, the public relations began to align with the data the environmental situation of the company. The alignment results will appear the most appropriate destination, then that goal made into a decision. 3) Public. To obtain maximum results, the public relations have to adjust the decisions taken by the target audience. Because the information will be very important if it is delivered to the person who really need the information. 4) Media. After selecting audience through a process of companies, public relations must determine which media will be used in accordance with the decisions taken. In order to support effectiveness of the decision. 5) Budgeting. Calculating costs and adjust to the available funds is the last step performed by public relations before a decision is realized. 6) Evaluation. This process is the stage where public relations reports on the results of its work. The work of public relations can be obtained by doing some research. If the result of the decision be good, then the decision to do more in the future, but should be improved continuously and adapted to developments thus get better results again.

Tourism is a kind of new industry that is able to accelerate economic growth and employment, increasing income, living standards and stimulate other productive sectors. Furthermore, as a complex sector, the tourism industry also realizes industry-classics such as industrial handicrafts and souvenirs. Lodging and transportation economically also viewed as industry (Pendit, 2006: 32).

## **METHODOLOGY**

The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative research methods. According Denzim and Lincoln in Moleong (Moleong, 2009: 5) states that qualitative research is research that uses natural background, with the intention of interpreting phenomena

and done by involving a variety of methods. Researcher using informants / informant as a data source in order to obtain information. Resource used in this study consisted of:

1. Internal Speakers. This research will use internal sources to obtain information and data dtuhkan and are directly related to the research. The speakers include: Head and Secretary of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province as the party most responsible for the implementation of each activity related to the publication activity tourist attraction in the province of Jambi from planning to penyelenggaraanya, and each activity has to go through the approval of the Head of Culture and Tourism Jambi Province.
2. External Sources. This research will use external sources to complete the data and information dibuhkan. External resource persons have been selected randomly from communities in the province of Jambi and communities in Jakarta.

Data collection techniques used in-depth interviews and observation, and literature in the form of books, journals, corporate data, and internet / online media. Data analysis techniques in the study prepared by adopting Qualitative data analysis techniques developed by Miles and Huberman is an interactive model analysis (interactive models of analysis). In line with the above-mentioned proposed Bogdan, Miles & Huberman (in Denzin & Lincoln, 2011: 592).

## **FINDINGS**

Promotion of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province in publicizing the objects of tourism in the province of Jambi do direct promotion by making exhibitions, events, and festivals and use promotion through print media such create booklets that contain information about all objects tourism in the province of Jambi, brochures, booklets, folders that contain the objects of tourism development in Jambi, and DVD guide to tourism in the province of Jambi.

Cooperation with various related parties (stakeholders), such as central government, experts, and community among others conducting research in visits UNESCO Geopark Merangin and Muara Jambi enshrinement sites already make Jambi little known by the public and is expected to help finding investors.

Cooperation with the local media. Tourism Office is now a new cooperation with the local media only because of limited funds to carry out activities in the mass media publications with national and international media. Communication Strategies Public Relations conducted by the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi province in publicizing the objects of tourism is still very poor due to collide with obstacles ranging from strategy formulation, implementation, teamwork less compact government regulation, bureaucracy, funds are sometimes limiting the room the motion of the Department of Culture and Tourism of Jambi Province. The strategy has been executed at this time is very difficult to realize the vision of the department of culture and tourism is to realize GOLDEN JAMBI.

## **DISSCUSSION & RECOMMENDATION**

Based on the above findings, the researchers recommend:1) Finding sponsorship of companies concerned with culture and the environment. With the sponsorship can create a symbiotic mutualism between the custom and Tourism Office of Jambi province



with pemeberi company sponsorship. 2) Using the services of a PR consultant in order to avoid clash between superiors and subordinates and throwing the blame and responsibility, and also can be a maximum of publication activities. 3) Increase cooperation with the agencies involved in the development of such in-charge with the community of nature lovers, in-charge with companies, such as hospitality, telecommunications, and other objects so that tourism in the province of Jambi can be published in accordance with our ultimate goal which is to prepare Jambi became one tourist destination in Indonesia. 4) Developing Human Resources in the field of tourism with up to provide counseling to the communities that exist around the objects of tourism to be more willing to be open to change and move forward. 5) Improving facilities and infrastructures to be easy and convenient to reach their destination tourism in the province of Jambi. 6) Increase public awareness and government about how much potential Jambi province have in the field of tourism from the bottom line, such as school children and all walks of life.

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## Community-based Tourism Promotion Policy and Communities Solidarity in Upper Northern Thailand: Theoretical Perspective

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### ABSTRACT

The objectives of this research are to investigate the formation and dynamism of the community-based tourism promotion policy in Thailand and to propose a research and analysis framework about the influences of the policy on community solidarity. This study is based on a documentary research and content analysis as well as a conceptual synthesis in order to propose a theoretical framework for analyzing community development phenomena and for examining the influences of the policy on the solidarity of tourism communities in the country. The research findings reveal that 1) Thailand has utilized tourism as a major strategy for its economic development for over five decades in an attempt to distribute tourism-oriented earnings to communities and to seek new tourist attractions as well as to solve tourism-related problems in communities. The government has issued the community-based tourism promotion policy with dynamic community tourism, starting from mass tourism, ecotourism, community-based tourism to whatever is community-based tourism. The change of the policy has brought about state agencies using different development instruments and communities adapting to the policy. Each policy development has brought about changes in communities, because such tourism has led to changes of community relationship patterns in terms of access to community resources, assistance from the state sector, power relationship in community management, and conflicts in communities. Some communities abandoned tourism activities, while others refused the policy support from the state sector. Therefore, the research findings reveal that community development is not in accordance with tourism principles, weakening the communities and causing community solidarity problems. 2) In explaining or examining the influences of the policy, communities should conduct causal and multilevel path analyses. The factors describing community solidarity are complex and dynamic, which must be measured from observable variables in order to find out latent variables. Additionally, congruence of the measurement model must be established prior to examining the conceptual framework model.

**Keywords:** Solidarity, community solidarity, community-based tourism policy

### INTRODUCTION

Thailand is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural society. However, this diversification has been assimilated into a unique society with beautiful customs and traditions. The kinship system is strongly maintained and social hierarchy is a common practice. Livelihoods are specific to regions in addition to interrelationships among community members. Mentality and social value systems are particular to communities (Phanurat, 2006). These attributes reflect the bond and unity of community members, which are in

line with the solidarity concept of Durkheim. Durkheim divided social solidarity into two types. The first type is the mechanical or similitude solidarity, with a focus on interdependence, a relationship of society in the past (Chanthavanich, 2012: 40). The second type is the organic solidarity, where each social unit is assigned a duty about who they are, what their duties are, what their status is, and what role they should play. When the duties have been assigned and social members have played their respective roles, social solidarity will be derived (Chanthavanich, 2012: 41). Consequently, societies will be developed and members carry out their duties and organic solidarity will be formed (Turner, 2007: 283; Sawasdipong, 2001: 38-42).

Thai society had changed subsequently for the past five decades. These changes were partly due to socio-economic and technological development policies. In particular, the country had employed the tourism policy as an important tool for economic development, resulting in the change in the production sector from agriculture to services. This change has inevitably affected the livelihoods of people in rural areas. Since 1982, tourism industry had generated the highest earnings for the country. In 2016, the income from tourism was 2,237,187 million baht (Office of the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Tourism and Sports, 2016). To distribute tourism-related income to local communities and to seek new tourist attractions, previous governments had created policies encouraging local communities to participate in various tourism activities, such as, ecotourism, community-based tourism, community enterprise-based tourism, or homestay and biodiversity-based tourism. These tourism activities or patterns stemmed from a state-sponsored drive through tourism promotion policies.

Theoretically, community-based tourism, regardless of its patterns, is a tourism promotion based on social, cultural and environmental sustainability. Communities are involved in defining directions, management, rights and ownership in order to create a sense of leaning in visitors (Community Based Tourism Institute, 2012: 7). Community-based management is expected to be a tourism management method with potential. It focuses on community participation in managing and supporting the conservation of natural and tourism resources. The target of community-based tourism is expected to be a tool in various dimensions of community development: economic, social and environmental, by empowering community organizations to manage tourism resources. Community members are involved in managing and specifying directions, based on the concept that everyone is the owner of resources and the stakeholders of tourism, in order to create sustainable tourism, environmental conservation as well as fair income distribution. Therefore, the promotion of community-based tourism has spread rapidly. In the future, it is expected that it will become more networks (Sarobol, 2004: 15).

Nonetheless, previous empirical data of community-based tourism suggested that there were both positive and negative impacts on the community. On the positive side, there was an increase and distribution of tourism-related income to community members, leading to an improvement of community infrastructure (Dokbua, 2008: 134). Community members were proud of their culture and there was more revitalization of their conventional traditions and culture (Suparatpreecha, 2010). Furthermore, natural resources and community environment had been well maintained. The negative impacts of tourism on the communities included copying of inappropriate behavior and commercialization of traditions and culture (Chusongdate, 2012). Ways of community life had changed with more outsiders migrating into the communities and only certain groups of individuals

benefited from tourism (Suparatpreecha, 2010). These individuals were more influential, had more monetary power and better perceived relevant policies, adapting better to the advent of tourism by entering into the service sector like resorts, hotels, restaurants, souvenir shops or local guides. Local residents had little participation and were usually becoming workers in the tourism industry (Sittikarn et al., 2005). When communities responded to the policy, tourism associations, clubs or community enterprises were formed, leading to conflicts in resource exploitation as well as conflicts of interest. Thus, agreements or regulations on tourism management were drawn, which might benefit one group, not the other, or one group agreed while the other did not, because the latter needed privacy. When the community has become a tourist attraction, there are more visitors, causing feelings of unease and insecurity among community members. These changes have indicated that community-based tourism promotion policy has brought about reordering of the community and more conflicts. These conflicts have affected and weakened community solidarity.

This article aims to analyze the community-based tourism promotion policy in Thailand on how it was formed and what dynamism it has transpired, in an attempt to reflect policy changes in the forms of policy and the impacts on the communities, particularly on community solidarity. It is expected that this article will lead to a more serious study on the influences of the community-based development policy and to the proposal of a theoretical framework for academics and researchers to apply.

### **OBJECTIVES OF STUDY**

1. To examine the formation and dynamism of the community-based tourism promotion policy in Thailand; and
2. To propose a theoretical framework for analyzing and investigating the influences of the policy on community solidarity.

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This qualitative research is based on the data from a documentary research and a structured interview with tourism communities in Upper Northern Thailand. The data sources are detailed as follows.

1. The documentary research is based on the National Social and Economic Development Plans, which have put significance on ecotourism and designated ecotourism as a national policy. The data are also based on development plans of relevant tourism agencies, such as, Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT), Ministry of Tourism and Sports, Tourism Department and Special Zone Administrative Organization for Sustainable Tourism. Moreover, the data from documents and reports related to ecotourism and community-based tourism promotion policy were incorporated. The coverage included the formation and dynamism of the policy in Thailand as a means to analyze changes in communities due to the promotion of tourism policy in local communities.
2. The structured interview provided the in-depth data on the formation and dynamism of the policy and the implementation of the policy at the community level that affected the solidarity of tourism communities. The interview

was conducted in five communities as a case study, and the key informants were community leaders, chairs of community-based tourism groups and household heads in the five communities.

3. The content analysis was used to analyze the secondary data from the documentary research and the primary data from the structured interview.

## **RESULTS AND ANALYSES**

### **1. The formation and dynamism of the community-based tourism promotion policy in Thailand**

The development of the tourism industry in Thailand from 1972 to 1996 (The 3rd to 7th National Social and Economic Development Plans) focused on economic growth and prosperity measured by the number of foreign visitors and income from tourism. It was spectacularly successful. Income from tourism has been on the top until today. In 2016, tourism-related income accounted to 2,237,187 million baht (Office of the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Tourism and Sports, 2016). The statistics indicates that economic growth from tourism has been stable and continuous. Consequently, successive governments have perceived the importance of the tourism industry and issued tourism promotion policies by every means. One of the various types of tourism is community-based tourism.

#### **Origin and concept of community-based tourism promotion policy**

The concept of the policy was based on the impacts of tourism. Although previous tourism promotion and development had dramatically increased, the focus was on attractions in big cities like Bangkok, Phuket, Pattaya and Chiang Mai, in order to earn more foreign currencies. The emphasis was also on tourist numbers and tourism-related earnings. However, negative impacts from tourism promotion policies had been overlooked, e.g., clustering of tourists in big cities, socio-cultural and environmental problems, and clustering of earnings in the hotel, accommodation, restaurant, souvenir and transportation sectors. The earnings were not distributed to local communities. Furthermore, a population increase in big cities has brought about a plethora of problems, for instance, water, air and noise pollution, an increase of toxic substances, degradation of natural resource and environment, and a poorer quality of life of residents and communities.

Besides the negative impacts of tourism, there have been factors contributing to the community-based tourism promotion policy, that is, the global communities have realized about sustainable tourism and tourism alternatives, which have influenced the significance of "sustainable tourism". Additionally, ecotourism, based on visiting nature, has been the mainstream of the Thai tourism industry. It was spearheaded by the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) and was based on the policy to distribute tourism to local communities. Articles 46 and 56 of the 1997 Constitution on Rights and Power Distribution to Communities specify that the state must decentralize its power to communities for their independence and decision making on their activities. The articles reflect the decentralization of more power to local communities to manage their respective natural resources and environment.

From the actual problems and negative impacts, together with the awakening on sustainable development and decentralization as well as human rights policies, it was the

start of the consideration on problems and impacts from the tourism promotion policy. Alternatives on solving previous problems have been incorporated into the tourism concept for conserving natural resources, the environment and local ways of life with public participation in fair exploiting of and benefiting resources. The main focus is on resource conservation for the implementation of sustainable tourism at the policy level in the forms of ecotourism, conservation tourism or community-based tourism.

### **Dynamism of community-based tourism promotion policy**

The promotion of ecotourism policy and community-based tourism development was clearly reflected in the fact that TAT designated ecotourism as a national policy, so that concerned agencies were seriously involved in organizing ecotourism activities. It was also in line with the 7th National Development Plan (1992-1997) with a focus on participation of the state, private and popular sectors. In 2002, TAT specified a major policy in developing the national ecotourism with six aspects: management of resources and the environment; management of tourism infrastructure and services; management of natural information and study; management of local public participation; marketing and tourism service promotion; and promotion of investment.

Furthermore, the government utilized tourism to stimulate the economy by connecting it with the One-Tambon-One-Product (OTOP) Program in 2001. It was meant to be a value addition to tourism products and services by exploiting Thai identities and uniqueness that reflect in local cultures and community lifestyles. The program promotes income generation to communities from tourism. In 2004, the Homestay Standardization was established. It could be seen that there were various types of tourism promotion to communities, and community-based tourism was used as a tool for community development directed by the state. Tourism was used as a condition to provide community organizations an opportunity to play an important role in planning the directions of community development. Presently, the policy has been implemented at the community level in various aspects, e.g., the Promotion of OTOP Villages for Tourism, Creative Industry Villages, OTOP Na WatWi Thee Project, Agro-tourism Villages, Cultural Tourism Villages and many more.

From the origin and concept of the community-based tourism policy as well as the policy development, it reflects the dynamism of the policy from the type with a focus on popular destinations, tourist numbers and earnings that caused serious socio-cultural and environmental problems to the kind with a focus on conservation that emphasizes learning, natural resource conservation and revitalization of local traditions and customs. Besides conservation, community-based tourism emphasizes participation of local residents in tourism management and value addition of tourism products and services by exploiting local cultural identities and lifestyles. This development reflects the realization on the impacts of the policy and on providing alternatives of tourism activities that emphasize conservation of natural resources and the environment. The implementation of the policy at the community level has been diverse with different impacts on communities, as summarized in the following table.



Table 1. Summary and Synthesis of Policy Development of Community Tourism Promotion Policy in Thailand

Issue	Actors	Development tools	Type / Community role in development
Development			
Mass Tourism (1960-1992)	1. Government	Policy Top-Down	Passive
Eco Tourism (1993-2002)	1. Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) 2. Institution of education (Higher education) 3. The Thailand Research Fund (TRF)	Participatory Action Research (PAR)	1. Active 2. Focus on conservation 3. Sharing 4. Potential communities And ready for develop to Communities tourism
Community based Tourism (2002-2012)	1. The Thailand Community Based Tourism Institute (CBTI) 2. The Thailand Research Fund (TRF) 3. Department of Tourism 4. Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) 5. Designated Areas for Sustainable Tourism Administration (Public Organization) or DASTA	1. Participatory Action Research (PAR) 2. Co-management	1. Active 2. Localism 3. Culture/ Way of life/ Homestay 4. Potential communities And ready for develop to Communities tourism
All of thing is a community tourism (2012-Now)	Various agencies 1. Community Development Department 2. Ministry of Culture 3. Ministry of Industry 4. Local administration	5. Participatory Action Research (PAR) 6. Community Enterprises 7. Learning Center	8. Active + Passive 9. Benefit 10. Fund 11. Every community can be a tourism community.



The analysis indicates that patterns of tourism in every policy development are based on the development and promotion of community-based tourism in an attempt to create more jobs, generate more income and distribute more benefits to local communities. However, when community-based tourism gets supported, community, ways of life and solidarity of community members might be overlooked. Some communities have experienced an over-carrying capacity. Thus, community-based tourism has brought about both positive and negative impacts. On the other hand, communities have been transformed into tourism products. It is an economical value addition of tourism based on their being communities but overlooking various impacts on the communities. These communities are a social institute with historical and cultural roots, lifestyles, reciprocity, co-existence with nature as well as social and power relationships in socio-cultural, economic and environmental dimensions. When communities have responded to and implemented the policy, various interest groups would be formed, that might lead to conflicts of interest and unfair resource exploitation. New regulations or agreements on community-based tourism management would be drawn, depriving certain groups of individual of benefits. These changes illustrate that the policy has led to community reordering and could lead to conflicts that weaken community solidarity.

## **2. The conceptual framework for analyzing and investigating influences of the policy on community solidarity**

The policy concept and community-based tourism principles are in contrast with the actual impacts on the communities. The implementation of the policy has yielded the opposite results with conflicts in the communities. Some communities abandoned community-based tourism all together. Sociologically, community solidarity is a concept for community studies. It aims to explain how a society differentiates various social structures and how an individual is connected or related to other social members. In this study, community solidarity refers to awareness of households on the feeling of community solidarity and on similarities, close relationship, unity, generosity, reciprocity, sharing, collective activities for public benefits, consensus, assistance and changes of individuals' roles through mutual and continuous interactions and activities, in an attempt to achieve community goals. In this investigation, community solidarity is related to four dimensions of community-based tourism management, based on the concept posited by Landecker (1951), who applied the solidarity concept of Durkheim. The term "solidarity" is changed to "integration" instead. Firstly, cultural integration refers to the congruence between individuals and community culture by considering cultural behaviors and practices, the feeling of the existence of the culture according to normal life patterns of the community, and the feeling that community traditions and culture are maintained, despite having and managing community-based tourism. Secondly, normative integration refers to awareness on community norms by considering acceptance and conventional actions in managing community-based tourism without conflicts but with a positive attitude toward community-based tourism management and adaptation to community-based tourism management. Thirdly, functional integration refers to interdependence of community members and exchange of tourism-related work among members by considering individuals' duties, exchange of responsibilities and interdependence of the duties in managing community-based tourism. It is believed that the more there is work exchange, the more individuals are obliged to be in contact with others, making it even more difficult for them to separate from their society or community. Finally, communication integration refers to communication with individuals or social groups by considering communication patterns

among social members, communication frequencies and formal and informal social participation. Additionally, consideration is also on hostile relationship, enmity or conflicts among individuals due to the management of community-based tourism, which can be indicative of the failure of communication integration.

Community solidarity is a powerful concept in explaining the existence relationship of a community. The community-based tourism policy is an external factor that affects communities and households. The policy has both direct and indirect effects because the drive to implement the policy at the community/macro level could change community structures. This structural factor influences behaviors or practices of individuals at the household/micro level. The change at this level could change the relationship system of community members or community solidarity. It can be seen that the policy has brought about community reordering with a formation of community organizations to manage tourism. Moreover, tourism-related earnings and benefits are involved, which could lead to conflicts of interest and the weakening of community solidarity.

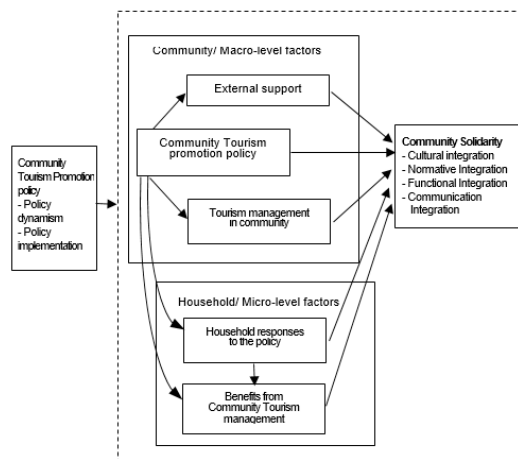
From the literature review, there are factors at the community/macro and household/micro levels that influence community solidarity as a result of the community-based tourism policy. The two levels require a deeper analysis since they affect community structures and management at the household/micro level. To strengthen the claim of this research that the policy influences the solidarity of tourism communities, it is imperative to analyze the two levels. At the community/macro level, the analysis focuses on the implementation of the policy at the community level. These structural factors affect the household factors, and the factors at both levels, in turn, affect community solidarity. From investigating related theories and literature, the factors at each level are detailed as follows.

1. Community or macro-level factors, consisting of
  - 1.1 Community tourism promotion policy, consider from
    - Policy Recognition of Leader
    - Time to tourism management in community
    - The receiving a budget to develop community tourism
  - 1.2 External support, consider from
    - Supporting from public organizations and network organizations
    - Participation in the Community Tourism Network
  - 1.3 Tourism management in community, consider from
    - Tourism Group Formation
    - Strength in tourism management
    - Number of tourists
    - Community availability in tourism management

2. Household or micro-level factors, consisting of
  - 2.1 Household responses to the policy, consider from
    - Policy Recognition of household
    - Tourist friendly
    - Experience in tourism
    - Participation in tourism management
  - 2.2 Benefits from community tourism management, consider form
    - income from tourism

The relationship of the factors at the two levels that influence solidarity of tourism communities is shown in the following diagram.

Diagram 1. Theoretical Perspective on Community Based Tourism Promotion Policy and Communities Solidarity



From the above diagram, an analysis of community solidarity is derived from the bond of households expressed toward community membership. If a household feels conflicted or distant from the solidarity, it means that community solidarity has been weakened. The analysis of the solidarity due to the tourism promotion policy is a unit of analysis larger than the household level, which means that an analysis at the community level must be conducted. This is because the approval of and participation in community-based tourism activities are derived from the decision making at the household/micro level. A part of the decision making is defined by the factors at the community/macro level. It is thus essential to analyze the phenomena at the two levels in order to understand and designate the directions of community-based tourism development. In the research dimension, besides a multilevel analysis, factors at the policy and household levels as well as solidarity variables contain a variety of components and indicators, both latent and observable variables.

## CONCLUSION

The development of community-based tourism policy in Thailand was derived from seeking a guideline to distribute tourism-related earnings to local communities. It was based on the concept that community-based tourism development and promotion would distribute more tourism benefits to communities. Previous development implemented the policy at the community level in various forms, ranging from mass tourism (1960-1992), ecotourism (1993-2002), community-based tourism (2002-2012) to whatever is community-based tourism (2012-present). These changes indicate that the implementation of the policy in each period was conducted by different agencies and in different means, which led to the changes in community aspects or to reordering community relationships. Theoretically, these policy changes have both macro and micro-level factors that affect community existence or solidarity. The difference in the social structures directly influences the household/micro-level factors because they influence the behaviors and practices of community members. Moreover, the factors in the two levels influence the solidarity of tourism communities.

## RECOMMENDATION

1. The community-based tourism policy is a top-down policy. Some communities have not been well prepared to implement it, resulting in conflicts of interest or resource management. It is thus recommended that, before the implementation of the policy, communities be well prepared, or those with well preparedness and potential be selected, so that the implementation involves participation of all sectors in the communities. Community members decide and manage tourism activities and fairly benefit from them. In this case, tourism can be beneficial to all and sustainable.
2. In conducting a research on the influences of community-based tourism policy on community solidarity, a conceptual framework should be established, which reflects the influences of both macro and micro-level factors. Meanwhile, policy effects and community solidarity are concepts; a deductive method should be based on the synthesis of more than one indicator, in order for the precision of the explanations. Therefore, research questions must focus on the congruence between the measurement and conceptual models.

In reality, the influences of community-based tourism policy on community solidarity are dynamic, complex and temporally serial. Consequently, the research must incorporate both causal and multilevel path analyses.

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## **Adat Communities and Modern Democracy: The Power of Penghulu in Local Political Dynamics in West Sumatra**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The practice of democracy in Indonesia experiences changes that can be seen in the implementation of democracy at the local level. These changes can be recognized by the involvement of traditional leaders in managing the social and cultural dimensions that influence the democratic process at the local level. This article describes the strength of indigenous leaders in the dynamics of local politics, especially in the implementation of regional autonomy and regional head elections. Both of these dimensions are important variables in seeing local democracy because they intersect with the strength of indigenous peoples in the region. This can be known with the existence of traditional leaders in strengthening local identity in the era of regional autonomy. Likewise with the regional head election, their position is getting stronger to give legitimacy to the regional head. This article is the result of field research in several regency/cities, namely Solok Regency, Tanah Datar Regency, Limapuluh Kota Regency, Padang Pariaman Regency and Padang City. This area represents the characteristics of the *luhak* and *rantau* regions known in West Sumatra. Research was conducted from April 2017 to July 2018. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with a number of informants such as traditional leaders, bureaucratic officials, village leaders and academics. In addition, this study also uses relevant documents to complete field data collected. This study found that the Minangkabau ethnic tended to respect *penghulu* as traditional leaders to maintain their traditional values and culture in the *nagari*. However, the traditional authority possessed by the traditional leader will lose his spirit if used for political purposes. The community considers the power of traditional leader today has decrease, especially their political power. This article affirms that the power politics of the traditional leader will be accepted by the community, if only used in the framework of integration of social and cultural institutions in the *nagari* rather than mobilizing political support for certain interests.

**KEYWORDS:** People, indigenous, democracy, modern and politics

### **INTRODUCTION**

*Penghulu* in *nagari* are traditional leaders chosen from each tribe. Because being the chosen person, usually the traditional leader has power in social and cultural aspects in his tribe. Even so, in some cases *penghulu* also uses his customary power for practical political interests to strengthen his existence. Since before independence, *penghulu* had indeed used his political power when dealing with the Dutch colonial government. In some cases the Dutch colonial government also cooperated with *penghulu* so that the objectives of the colonial government to control the community could be realized (Graves, 2007; Hasanuddin, 2013).

Besides *penghulu*, in the *nagari* there are also other elements that help *penghulu* implement these functions which are part of *urangampekjinih*, namely *malin*, *manti* and *du-balang* which together with the traditional leaders fulfill their respective responsibilities



in village (*nagari*). *Urang ampek jinih* sequence is an important part of an indigenous government in the village. For example, *malin* is responsible for religion; *manti* is responsible for governance and *dubalang* is the one that maintains security and order in the *nagari* (Diradjo, 2018: 178-180). Even so, the position of *penghulu* is one level higher than the other positions in the village (Graves, 2007: 24-26). While in the modern context this leader is a clan leader and tribe in the village. *Penghulu* who is usually known as a *datuk* is a person who is appointed as a leader in the clan and tribe because of the lineage. *Datuk* title for this *penghulu* is usually passed on to the mother's brother or son-nephew (*anak-ke-menakan*) of a mother's descendants who are also known as *sako*. This is the uniqueness of the matrilineal system in the *Minangkabau* ethnic group in West Sumatra.

For the leader, support from the clan and tribe is the basis of their social and cultural power. In certain cases it can be used for other purposes outside the social and cultural dimensions such as politics. Along with the passage of time, the leader is no longer merely perform social and cultural functions in his people and tribes. In some cases, the leader also plays his role as a person who can mobilize support for political interests in the *nagari*. Especially after the collapse of the New Order regime in 1998, the public gained the freedom to participate in political activities (Crouch, 2010: 27).

## RESEARCH QUESTION

Likewise, freedom of expression in political activities perceived by the community in *nagari* is also felt by these traditional leaders. They competed to get power, not only in the *nagari*, but also in the legislative institutions in the regency/city and province. The election of the village leader (*wali nagari*) openly encourages *penghulu* to be involved in this democratic contestation. Although there are *penghulu* who win, but not a few also lose the election. For those who lost in the contestation, it certainly affected the authority of the position of *penghulu* in charge. This article will explain how the involvement of traditional leader in entering this political arena, both directly and indirectly in democratic contestation in the *nagari*, regency/city or province. The main problem that will be explained in this article is how can these traditional leaders use their power in the process of democracy at the local level?

## RESEARCH METHODS

This research was conducted in several regency/cities in West Sumatra such as Tanah Datar Regency, Solok Regency, Lima Puluh Kota Regency, Pesisir Selatan District, Padang Pariaman Regency, Agam Regency, Padang City and Solok City. The location was chosen deliberately with consideration of the progress of this area in maintaining the *Minangkabau* social and cultural system in modern life. Field research is done from August 2017 to June 2018 to obtain data and an overview of the powers of traditional leaders in the practice of modern democracy. The data used in this study are the results of in-depth interviews with 26 informants with backgrounds as traditional leaders, *ninikmamak* and *bundokanduang* in the element of Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN), government officials in provincial and regency/city cultural offices, religious leader and community leaders. In addition, interviews to obtain relevant data were also carried out with a number of academics who were concerned with the problem under study. To complete the interview data with a number of informants, the analysis also refers to research documents, local government activity reports, published books and articles that discuss *Minangkabau* customs and culture.

The analysis in this study uses descriptive qualitative research techniques that study in depth the phenomenon to find patterns and themes about an event or fact when researchers have questions related to the phenomenon. The observed phenomenon is related to the use of power by traditional leaders both in daily activities and political and governmental activities. The analysis in this article is based on the interpretation of the opinions and comments of the interviewees who were synthesized with other information from other informants using the cross-test method so that it was found an explanation related to the politics of the power of the leader following a certain pattern. In order to improve the analysis, the data sourced from documents and other secondary sources are also used to complete the analysis.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Minangkabau in West Sumatra Indonesia is one of the ethnic groups in the world that uses a matrilineal system. This ethnicity positions the mother's lineage as the successor to the large family generation. The maternal line which is referred to as *kaum* in *paruik* developed into a large family called the village (De Jong, 1980: 11-12). The village or also known as *Jorong* continues to grow which, because it consists of several clans and several tribes, eventually becomes a village. According to Navis (1984), *nagari* is a customary law community unit with clear boundaries based on lineage (genealogy). The *nagari* represents a small sovereign state, but still remains part of the confederation of the Pagaruyung Kingdom during the 14th century Pagaruyung Kingdom (Diradjo, 2018: 71-82).

In the modern century, each *nagari* has become the lowest autonomous government unit in government administration in West Sumatra Province. Interestingly, each *nagari* has customs and culture that can be different and become a rule for residents. *Nagari* in West Sumatra is the lowest autonomous government system and is headed by a village leader also called *wali nagari*. In the administration of the government, *wali nagari* was assisted by his apparatus to fulfill the duties of government in the *nagari*. In addition to the *nagari* government, there is also a consultative body which is a legislative body in the *nagari* that reflects the representatives of the community elements in the *nagari*. Because the *nagari* also reflects the overall social and cultural system of the community, the *nagari* was formed also Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN). This customary institution is also known as an institution that maintain and preserves the social and cultural systems in the village (Asrinaldi, 2017: 94-95).

The clan in one *jorong* and in one tribe interact with other clan and tribes so that they form a *nagari* led by several customary leaders. Usually every *nagari* has at least four tribes that form the *nagari* as a government unit and at the same time as a place to implement its social and cultural system (Navis, 1984). In the Minangkabau ethnic group, *penghulu* has an honorable position in the people and his tribe, not only in the social and cultural aspects, but in broad terms. Graves (2007: 21) asserts

The leader is at the top of the *adat* hierarchy representing his tribe. Always this way, he is given the responsibility to implement the *adat* principles that affect his tribe and regulate relations between his tribes and other tribes, his tribe with the *nagari* as a whole, his tribe with a wider environment. He represented the suggestions of his tribe members in the government of the *nagari* which was most important in this regard was the division of un-cultivated land (*tanah ulayat*), forest control tasks and several types of communal elections.

This is also implied in the Minangkabau customary philosophy that the leader is “*ibarat kayu gadang di tengah padang. Ureknyo tampek baselo, dahannyo tampek bagantuang, daunnyo tampek balinduang, tampek balinduang kapanasan, tampek bataduah kahujan, batangnyo tampak basanda, kapai tampek batanyo, kapulang tampek babarito, pusek jalo pumpunan ikan, hukumnyo adia, kataonyo bana*” (Hakimy, 2001:8). (Like big wood in the middle of the field. The veins of the seats are cross-legged, the forehead is the place to hang, the leaves are the shelter, the shelter from the heat, the shelter of the rain, the trunk of a place to lean, go to the place to ask, go home to give news, the fish nets center, the law is fair and the word is right).

The influence of traditional leaders in the community is very large because of the traditional power they have. The power of *penghulu* gets legitimacy in custom and tradition because of the recognition of the people and his tribe. Haboddin (2017: 27) asserts that traditional power usually has the character that the power that is in one's hands is passed down from generation to generation following the lineage of his extended family. Likewise with traditional leaders in Minangkabau, especially those originating from the *kelarasan (lareh)* of *Koto Piliang*.

Indeed, the existence of a leader in the Minangkabau ethnic group is influenced by a political system or a system of government practiced by the community. In the political system or the government system in Minangkabau, there is a system of *kelarasan (lareh)*. This *kelarasan* system is the implementation of the functions of political units or government existing in the community following the cultural values that exist in the community (Shalihin, 2014). For example, *lareh Koto Piliang* has a tradition that the authority of *penghulu* is inherited from generation to generation according to a clear lineage. Meanwhile, in *kelarasan* of *Bodi Caniago*, the authority of this *penghulu* can be transferred or given to others as long as there is an agreement through the deliberation of the leaders who are in the clan and the tribe approves it. Even so, of course the granting of this authority is based on the conditions set by the tribes in the *nagari*.

Understanding the power that individuals have, for example, the power possessed by traditional leaders is also part of the focus of the study of political sociology. Power will be interesting if it is associated with who has this power, how to use it and what interests are expected from the power used. Power is basically owned not only by individuals, but also by both traditional and modern community groups. For example, in indigenous peoples in Minangkabau, the power that exists in their leaders is used to maintain the existence of the social and cultural systems they believe in (Piliang&Sungut, 2018: 189-191). Because with the traditional power, the traditional leader can manage the community so that it is always obedient and follows the order of social and cultural values. For those who violate, there will be customary sanctions or social sanctions (Piliang&Sungut, 2018; Diradjo, 2018).

In contrast to modern power, the government can impose repressive sanctions such as prison, death sentence and so on. Even the use of social sanctions by indigenous leaders is also carried out with extreme caution. Moreover, in the process of making social sanctions for the community in the *nagari*, of course, it must involve the leaders of other tribes so that justice can be upheld. So it is clear that the power held by the *penghulu* is an instrument to safeguard the social and cultural system of the community. Power for the *penghulu* is not in the context of pursuing and maintaining power as is the case in modern political practices.

What is practiced by the Minangkabau ethnic community illustrates the authenticity of the local democracy they carry out. With the order of values that has been accepted and respected by the community, generally the implementation can run well by giving space to each element in the community (Hadler, 2010). Even so, the leader who has power and is recognized by his tribe cannot use power outside the interests of the people and tribes. Moreover, the position of the leader is indeed to help the people and their tribes. Therefore, the leader must be wise and broad-minded in solving every problem of his community "(Diradjo, 2018: 177). While *penghulu* still holds the interests of the clan and tribe, what *penghulu* ordered will be followed by his son-nephews. Moreover, the high position of *penghulu* and his great name became the role model of clan and their tribes as explained by the traditional idiom "*kamanakanbarajokamak, mamakbarajokapangulu*." (Nephews respects to uncle, uncle respects to traditional leader).

Herein lies the height of the position of the *penghulu* who can order the *mamak* of the clan and tribes in the interest of maintaining their social and cultural values. Even so, the practice of democracy organized by the regional government turned out to have an influence on the existence of traditional authorities in fulfilling its functions. The power of the traditional leaders is reduced drastically and can no longer influence the way of the *nagari* government directly. Indeed, since the government implemented regional autonomy based on Law No.22 / 1999 concerning regional government and was last revised by Law No.23 / 2014, the authority of the traditional leader only takes care of customary and cultural matters. While the practice of political administration and governance in the *nagari* is held by *wali nagari* (village leader).

Even indirectly, the position of *wali nagari* who was directly elected by the community through an open election mechanism was considered to have strong legitimacy when dealing with the *penghulu*. As a result the function of the *penghulu* in the social and cultural system in *nagari* is diminishing because it is no longer part of the *nagari* government at the lowest level. This reality is the impact of central government intervention in the implementation of democracy at the local level. Of course, with the increasingly limited authority of these traditional leaders, it influences the dynamics of local democracy today (Asrinaldi, 2017).

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The practice of local democracy in many countries can be seen from many indicators. For example, democracy is seen from community participation in both political activities and governance (Huntington & Nelson, 1978). While others, local democracy can also be seen from how empowerment of the community is carried out by democratic actors. Empowerment in the context of democracy, according to Behrouzi (2006: 67-68), basically refers to two senses, first, independence in the sense of the existence of community participation in the selection of public office in the legislative, executive and judicial branches autonomously. Second, independence in the sense of indirect participation through groups that govern in maintaining elite sovereignty and interests. Even though in this context, there will be distortions of interests that tend to be only oriented to the interests of the elite rather than the people who give the mandate.

For Indonesia, the implementation of local democracy can also be seen from two variables that need to be considered, namely regional autonomy and regional head elections (Pilkada). First, understanding local democracy from the dimensions of regional



autonomy relates to the submission of government affairs to the regions. The local government is the main actor implementing government affairs that are submitted by the central government. However, for the successful implementation of the affairs that are the authority of the regions submitted, there are also those affairs that are distributed to the lowest level of government. In West Sumatra the existence of this lowest government is a *nagari* which clearly has the rights of origin and the original rights of the people recognized by the state. Therefore, the local government needs to consider the existence of traditional leaders in the *nagari* who are known as the leaders.

Moreover, since the implementation of regional autonomy, the existence of indigenous peoples and the existence of local communities influence the practice of democracy at the local level. In some cases, everything related to the implementation of government programs and activities must involve local communities so that they are dominant as the main actors. For example relating to development projects implemented or in the recruitment of local government employees. In many ways, the strengthening of the domination of local communities can clearly threaten the implementation of local democracy in Indonesia. (Agustino, 2011; Nordholt&Klinken, 2007).

Secondly, local democracy can also be seen from the election of regional heads which is also understood from the existence of indigenous peoples in giving legitimacy to the authority of regional heads. Strengthening identity politics is also a concern for many parties because it threatens democracy is a common phenomenon that has occurred since the direct election of regional heads (Aspinall&Fealy, 2003; Erb&Sulistiyanto, 2010). Politics of identity also illustrates the strengthening of the spirit of majority ethnicity in determining their future in the era of autonomy. It is not uncommon to strengthen identity politics as an issue in the constituency of the elections in Indonesia (Afala, 2018; Buchari, 2014).

The existence of the community by prioritizing their customs in the *Pilkada* process is often found in the dynamics of local democracy. For example, how indigenous leaders influence their followers by mobilizing their support to support certain candidates who come from their ethnicity. Buchari (2014: 6-7), for example, explains the position of the Dayak ethnic groups who are increasingly dominant in the local political contestation as in the elections. The strength of the dayak traditional leader in mobilizing the masses in the *Pilkada* succeeded in delivering Cornelis, one of the Dayak figures to become the governor in West Kalimantan Province in 2007. Whereas so far, even since the colonial era, Dayak ethnic groups did not get a place in political dynamics.

This fact also explained that not a few people did obey and submit to the wishes of their traditional leaders, especially when directed to support their candidates in the elections. This compliance clearly originates from the traditional power possessed by the traditional leader. As long as the customary leader has charisma in front of his community, then what is said will be heard by his followers. But the source of traditional power is not the source of everything. Although these traditional leaders have low traditional legitimacy of power, but they have good economic resources, the words of this leader will still be heard. This is related to the patronage relationship that is formed between the traditional leaders and the communities that have been established (Asrinaldi, 2017: 66-69).

In the contestation of democracy through the *Pilkada*, there are indeed still *penghulu* who participate in the *Pilkada*. This involvement will certainly not be left alone by the

people. They will clearly question the political attitude of this traditional leader. Usually, if the *penghulu* only use their traditional influence in mobilizing support, it will be difficult for them to get the support of the community. Except, if this *penghulu* also uses clientelism networks that have been built all this time. Especially in areas far from the information center, political clientelism is very effective to be used to win over candidates for regional heads (cf. Aspinall & Sukmajati, 2015).

Are Minangkabau people still having a role in the midst of an increasingly modern democracy in West Sumatra Province? What is the influence of traditional leaders in the implementation of local democracy? Both of these questions need to be put forward to explain how the political influence of the power of the leader is not only in society, but also in the administration of government. Questioning the influence of adat leaders is important because long before Indonesia became independent the existence of these traditional leaders was very clearly influential in the colonial period (Kahin, 2005; Graves, 2010; Asrinaldi, 2017).

### IMPLICATION

The Minangkabau ethnic group is one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia. Based on the Minangkabau ethnic population, it is indeed only 2.7% of Indonesia's population. While the Javanese tribe is the largest tribe in Indonesia, which amounts to 40.05% and is followed by the Sundanese Tribe with a total of 15.50% (BPS, 2010: 8). Even so, the pattern of the spread of the Minangkabau tribe is quite massive so that this tribe can almost be found throughout Indonesia. Obviously this is related to the spirit of migrating within the Minangkabau people. For them, wandering is another way to change the future for the better than just being in the village. They seek new livelihoods outside their homeland by leaving their hometowns known as *nagari* (Naim, 2013; Kato, 2007). Not only in Indonesia, the spirit of migrating Minangkabau ethnicity also crosses the borders of countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Australia and even in several European countries and the United States.

In addition to trading, the Minangkabau ethnic group is also known as a professional and intellectual who also influenced the Indonesian nation's journey. Although the Minangkabau ethnic majority is in West Sumatra Province, the pattern of social interaction is not closed. Evidently, the Minangkabau ethnic group was also very open to other tribes who also settled in the West Sumatra area. Therefore it is not surprising that the development of Minangkabau tribal customs also takes place dynamically because it is influenced by the outside culture that enters this area.

In the context of modern politics, the existence of the *nagari* has undergone significant changes. The change can be seen from the practice of modern government to the level of the *nagari* which changes the nature of the political unit at the lowest level. As a political unit at the lowest level, the *nagari* also has a form of government system introduced by the term *lareh*. As described above, there are two forms of *kelarasan/lareh*, namely *lareh Koto Piliang* and *Lareh Bodi Caniago*. *Lareh Koto Piliang* can be identified with an aristocratic system of government with the character of decisions made involving the leaders representing the people and tribes in the *nagari*. *Lareh Koto Piliang* did see the difference between the position of *penghulus* primus inter pares in the decision making process. Meanwhile, in *lareh Bodi Caniago*, the position of *penghulis* not multilevel, but has an equal position. Decision making in *lareh Bodi Caniago* always prioritizes deliber-



ation and consensus. It does not only involve traditional leaders, but all participants in decision making have the same voice. Therefore, *lareh* Bodi Caniago is more egalitarian, namely the position of the parties involved in making the same and equal decisions (Kahin, 2005: 2-3).

However, today's conditions, the two systems of *kelarasan/lareh* are no longer used in the administration of the *nagari* government. *Nagari* today uses a system of village governance introduced by the central government through the rules made. The practice of implementing a government like this has been implemented since the enactment of Law No.5 / 1974 concerning the principles of village governance during the New Order era. Likewise in the present, despite the regime change, Law No. 6/2014 on villages still emphasizes the importance of uniformity in the administration of the lowest government.

Then what are the political implications? Obviously with the implementation of the lowest form of government like this, traditional leaders of the *nagari* community is only a symbol of cultural sovereignty in the *nagari*. Unlike in the Dutch colonial era, which still applied the system, the presence of *penghuluwas* so respected. Aside from being an *adat* leader, *penghulus* also *wali nagari* who has influence in and out of the *nagari*. Even negotiations made with Dutch colonialism were actually carried out by *penghulu* as traditional leaders (Graves, 2007). This means that the authority of the leader is not only limited to handling customary and cultural issues, but also taking care of political and governmental issues. The authority of *penghulu* is so recognized and respected by the people and their tribes. This is illustrated in its customary philosophy "*kemenakan seperintah mamak*" (nephew on uncle's orders). *Mamak*, generally also serving as *penghulu* of the clan and tribe, is the brother of the mother of the nephew who he governed. This is the uniqueness of the matrilineal system in the Minangkabau tribe, the lineage that follows the mother's family.

Different today, traditional leaders no longer has clear political authority, except in certain cases the local government recognizes the existence of this *penghulu*. The form of recognition of the local government towards this leader is various. For example, individuals who are traditional leaders are considered to have the capacity as leaders. This is related to the authority he has in the presence of his society. Usually the authority of the leader is maintained because as a leader they are able to maintain the spirit of customs and traditions and maintain tribal heritage as an economic source for the lives of their society. In many cases, the current *penghulu* easily pawns and even sells the inheritance of clan and their tribes. As a result their self-esteem as informal leaders falls. Whereas the authority of *penghulu* is the bargaining value when negotiating with local governments that need the support of their people and tribes. Even in cases of conflict and violence handled by the police and regional governments in West Sumatra, it must be resolved by involving indigenous leaders. Especially if the dispute concerns *tanah ulayat* (customaryland) conflicts with investors or with the local government, then the existence of *penghulu* becomes important to resolve the conflict.

In modern life, the authority of *penghulus* more in the traditional territory. This is in accordance with the responsibility he has to maintain the authority of the traditional institutions he leads. Because the power of *penghulu* only exists in the *nagari* territory inhabited by the people and his tribe. Meanwhile, the authority of *penghulu* outside the *nagari* territory is only limited to the title of a *datuk* who is attached to him, but does not have the authority to give orders to other people in other villages.

Although *penghulu* of the Minangkabau ethnically maintains traditional institutions, the meaning is quite broad for the people in the *nagari*. Because, for Minangkabau ethnic, activities in custom include broad dimensions. The Minangkabau people will bear the psychological burden if they are considered as uncivilized people or people who do not know the customs. Even social sanctions that are also feared for the Minangkabau ethnic are when someone is sentenced to be banished throughout the custom. That is, sanctions are removed as long as this custom is a form of punishment that someone who violates *adat* is no longer recognized as a son-nephew or resident in the *nagari*. They are no longer considered part of clan and tribes who can help their lives if there are difficulties. Therefore, for residents in the *nagari*, if they violate custom in the *nagari*, they must redeem them with sanctions that have also been established in accordance with custom.

Interestingly in this Minangkabau ethnic group, even though the leader has authority in his people and tribe, his use cannot be out of customary interests. Many leaders as clan and traditional leaders want support from the community to be the *wali nagari*, regional head or legislative candidate. However, many failed because they did not get political support from the people in the election. It has become a paradox. On the one hand this leader is regarded as a person who is able to mobilize the masses for the political interests of candidates for regional heads because of the traditional power elections they have. However, on the other hand, they are many who do not get the support of their society when running for political contestation in the *nagari*.

This reality actually explains that the power relationship between *penghulu* and his nephew is not in the framework of domination and hegemony. More than that, the relationship formed between *penghulu* who are also *mamak* (uncles) of their nephews is a rational relationship. For example, there is no obligation for nephews to support *penghulu* who are also their *mamak* to be regional heads or legislative candidates in a general election. How could this happen?

For society, *penghulu* is a leader in *adat* who cannot necessarily lead others in political organizations or government organizations. The cultural legitimacy of *penghulu* does not automatically become a political legitimacy that tends to be used for the personal interests of the traditional leader. In addition, for the community, behavior, nature and ability of these traditional leaders is always their assessment. Many traditional titles descended on these rulers because they were merely lineages that were inherited directly from the *mamak* who had been the predecessor. This system is known as *warih nan bajawek*, which is the title handed down to the niece of the *mamak* who became the brother of the biological mother who received the title of *penghulu* (Diradjo, 2018: 187). Seeing the personal ability of *penghulu* who received the title that was handed down today, not all of them also have the capacity as leaders. Because of this negative assessment, this leader will not be chosen by his society as leader for a higher position.

Furthermore, in the political context of the *nagari*, the authority of *penghulu* does not cross customary and cultural boundaries. As a result, the power of this traditional leader is only limited to the power to maintain the values of customs and culture. It is rare for traditional leaders to use their power to pass their authority in the fields of custom and culture. There is a tendency when the leader uses his power outside the authority of custom and culture because the people in *nagari* will not “obey” again. Even if there is a leader who has succeeded in gaining public office, the source of his support is no longer based on the traditional authority within him. Usually the source of the power comes from



who are appointed as these leaders have better social and economic strata in society, they usually get support from clan and tribes. Especially if they have an attitude of generosity in the village and often help their society. There are many events, although the role of the leader is not seen directly in political activities such as the elections, but because of having special relations with candidates for regional heads, in some cases they also use their authority to provide support. Of course there are interests brought by *penghulu* when deciding to support one candidate for the regional head. Usually these leaders will not be acting in the name of their traditional position in the contest because it will have an impact on customary in the presence of their clan and tribes.

However, it is certainly difficult to release the influence of the figure of *penghulu* in the people and tribes he leads. Especially if this *penghulu* has a good socio-economic status in the community. Many of these sons and nephews listen to the direction of this leader in order to be able to help win over candidates for the regional head he supports. For example, this can be seen in the Padang Panjang regional election when there was the involvement of *Datuk Pangulu Rajo* from the *Koto* tribe. Though personally *Datuk Pangulu Rajo* is a community figure in Nagari Koto Baru, Tanah Datar Regency, which is adjacent to Padang Panjang City. But because of his figure and his influence can still be seen personally beyond his *nagari*. Support *Datuk Pangulu Rajo* succeeded in winning the Mayor of Padang Panjang elected Hendri Arnis in the 2013 local elections.

In many cases, the elections in West Sumatra, the elected regional heads are usually people who also have the character of generosity in their clan and tribes, especially in helping the community in the *nagari*. They get sympathy from the community because of their generosity. For example, the Pesisir Selatan Regency Hendrajoni was elected in the 2015 elections. Hendrajoni was well known for his generous attitude that became his social capital when participating in political activities. His success in overseas was also the concern of clan and his tribe to appoint Hendrajoni as the leader with the title *Datuk Bando Basou* in Nagari Kambang, Pesisir Selatan Regency.

Third, in fact there is no direct relationship between the existence of traditional power of *penghulu* and modern political activities, except only in order to preserve the social and cultural values of the community. In this case, this traditional leader is fully responsible for the preservation of the customs and traditions in the *nagari*. In this context, *penghulu* uses the traditional power to ask the regional government to participate and maintain and respect the customs and culture that develops in the community. Usually, almost all traditional leaders in the archipelago use their traditional authority to influence the elites in the government to respect the customs and culture that develops in society.

In political terminology, the concept of influence is an inseparable part of power in the soft form that individuals have to achieve their goals. Why, the traditional leader can influence the local government to help preserve the customs and culture they have to protect? Of course, because of the predecessor's charisma that originates from the social power it has (cf. Weber, 1947). If traditional leaders use this traditional power for practical political purposes, then they must be prepared to accept the consequences of being disrespected as the leader of clan and tribe. Especially if in political contestation such as the legislative elections or the elections that are followed by the leader, this ends in defeat. There is no more authority they can defend so that their advice and direction is no longer the concern of their community in the *nagari*.



## CONCLUSION

The leader in the Minangkabau ethnic group occupies a high position in the clan and tribe. The manager does not only play a leader, but also a place to ask and ask for advice related to the problems faced by son-nephews. Therefore, individually, a leader must have the authority and intellectual capacity needed by his community. However, the tradition of *merantau* (wandering) which has become a lifestyle for Minangkabau ethnicity has caused human resources to become *penghuluto* continue to decrease. Many sons and nephews who, after being successfully migrated, refused when asked to be *penghulu* in the village. This is related to social responsibility that they must embrace to take care of their clan and tribes. However, if the nephew is nominated to approve their appointment to be a leader, they usually will not stay in the *nagari*. For the sake of being a leader in the *nagari*, the clan and tribe who hold this customary title will appoint a *panungkek* as a substitute for the presence of the leader as the person who has the traditional title.

*Penghuludo* not have political power as a modern elite in politics and government. It is precisely for some people in the *nagari*, when traditional leaders play politics, the greatness of their traditional titles will decrease. Indeed there is still a "taboo" in the community in the *nagari*, *penghulu* are prohibited from acting in the name of clan and tribes when in contact with practical political activities. If this is done by *penghulu*, then the division will be found in the lives of the clan and tribes in the *nagari*. Therefore, if there is a leader involved in political activities, they will not act on behalf of the clan and tribes they lead. But more than mere personal interests. The impact of the decision of the political leader is the emergence of polarization within the tribe so that there is little chance for the leader to get maximum support from the community.

However, the political power of *penghulu* in this clan and tribe can still be found in the *nagari*. For example, mobilization of support executed by leaders in clans and tribes for certain purposes. However, the power of *penghulu* carrying out this political mobilization must be supported by the economic power to run effectively. Without it, it is difficult for the leader to use his power to mobilize support. From this aspect, what is seen is the strengthening of pragmatism symptoms in the political activities of the people in the *nagari*. Because the mobilization of support executed by these *penghulu* was accompanied by a number of compensation to the people in the *nagari* by giving them money, other material assistance or giving side jobs that benefited the community's economy.

Even so, basically the politics of the power of *penghulu* is only limited to taking care of the customs and cultural issues that exist in the *nagari*. Furthermore, the political power of these leaders is only widely used for institutional integration in society rather than being used to mobilize political support. However, *penghulu* realizes that his power in the political dynamics at the local level has diminished its meaning. This is due to the increasing social, economic and political status of the community so as to reduce the intervention of *penghulu* in advising or governing their nephews in the *nagari*. In addition, the weak role of indigenous leaders, especially in using their political power is the impact of state intervention in society. This intervention was carried out by the local government through regulations issued in the form of *Peraturan daerah/Perda* (regionallaw) which also marginalized the role of adat leaders in the *nagari* community.

**Endnote**

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For instance, John Donovan (2013) 'Preliminary critique of the Shell-IUCN Niger Delta Panel report' had this to say about Shell activities in the Niger Delta region "So for a few million dollars paid to UNEP and IUCN over the past 6 years, Shell has knowingly continued to operate a substandard oil production and transportation system in the Niger Delta, earned USD billions, re-invested little, and is now leaving. And that is Shell sustainable business model in Nigeria. Report available at: <http://royaldutchshellplc.com/2013/09/06/preliminary-critique-of-the-shell-iucn-niger-delta-panel-report/> Accessed 09 June 2018.

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## **Moving Critical Ecology (Ecoliteration) Literation as a Response to Global Warming Issues**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This paper aims to describe the ecological literacy movement (Ecoliteration) as a new concept in dealing with the discourse on the issue of global warming. Ecoliteration provides a basis to continue education and social advocacy as an effort to strengthen the character in preserving nature, even though the challenge of the presence of a technological revolution is oriented to the interests of the capitalist economy controlled by three main actors, namely government, private, and civil society. In this case, the eco-literacy as a national preventive sustainable development movement responds to the discourse on the issue of global warming by creating business ecology, new renewable technology, and strengthening ecological cultural control, carrying out ecological conservation movements, and developing an eco-literacy paradigm as the basis for sustainable national development.

**KEYWORDS:** Eco-literacy, technological revolution, ecological business

### **INTRODUCTION**

Indonesia's geographical state is a gift from the God that should be guarded. However, the current millennial human being who is essentially given reason and mind seems to turn blind to the problems that are happening, especially the issue of global warming. According to the Natural Resources Defense Council, the basic principle that must be known is global warming which is a condition of increasing the average temperature of the earth's surface layer caused by excessive greenhouse gas concentrations. This situation often occurs due to human activities that are not environmentally sound.

Some examples of causes triggering global warming are namely greenhouse gas emissions and fossil fuels, pollution of gasoline-fueled vehicles, methane pollution by agriculture, plantations and livestock, waste of electricity, forest destruction, and burning of waste excessive. As a result, all these activities become the biggest contributor to carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) which traps heat, so it cannot go out of space. Hence, this is the beginning that causes global warming. The source of these causes when are observed comes from the social activities of the community where there are still many people who do not yet have the awareness of building an environmentally friendly lifestyle.

All these activities are a threat to human survival, this is evidenced by the data in 2016 explaining the increase in the average temperature of the earth's surface to reach the highest record value in three consecutive years since the recording began in 1880

(liputan6.com, 8/5/2017). The global average temperature was 1.1 degrees Celsius above before the industrial era began.

On the other hand, according to the view of the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), the figure is also 0.06 degrees Celsius higher than the average temperature in 2015. The threat of changes in temperature increasing every year is a matter that might be really considered in the process of sustainable development in Indonesia.

The concept of a sustainable development agenda as stated in the development goals of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) must be supported by a social advocacy that can harmonize between the programs and the social practices of everyday society. This means that the government should put more emphasis on the role of the community or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to participate in assisting the community in the effort to socialize the environmentally friendly lifestyle. Hence, in this paper, the author tried to analyze further the ecological literacy movement (eco literacy) on the response of the issue of global warming. The issue of global warming will have an environmental impact in the future; of course, this is an issue that must get priority for special and intensive attention. This paper invites young people to be able to think critically that nature is the breath of life that must be maintained to keep the survival of beings on the earth. One effort that needs to be done is through the ecological literacy movement (eco literacy). This approach is an actualization of a theory which is later implemented in daily life.

Ecoliteration is an activity that understands the importance of protecting the environment that is supported by the basis of the power of environmental awareness. This is reinforced in the opinion of Capra (2013) who explained that eco-literacy or environmental literacy is high awareness ability about the importance of the environment with all its contents used wisely. The power of knowledge is a weapon that must be built early; one of which is to invite the public to open an opened insight and actualize a preventive role in the problem of environmental degradation. (David Efendi, 2015) asserted that the environmental problem is an input to find a smart solution in the vicious circle of ecological disasters.

## **ANALYSIS**

Global warming is a condition of increasing industrial activity that makes the earth's surface warmer. This is reinforced in the view of the American Science Dictionary global warming is an increase in the average temperature of the Earth's atmosphere which continues to cause global climate change. The issue of global warming is something that must be handled appropriately and intelligently. These ecological problems require a social work that is able to synergize in emancipatory and preventive efforts. The condition of environmental damage is actually not just discussing the consequences of global warming, but also building an understanding of the relationship between nature and humans. Seftyono (2014) also explained that the existence of a human and community relationship framework cannot be separated from natural studies, as well as social science. This means that when there is a relationship like this, it will also bring the presence of political interests. The politics defined in this case is the direction to benefit from nature or which is often referred to as ecological politics. Previously, in this discussion, I would divide the two basic problems of Ecoliteration.

## History of the Ecology Literacy (Ecoliteration) Movement as a Development Guard

The birth of a history cannot be separated from a long journey that has taken place as well as the Ecoliteration of combining an ecological word and the literacy of these two things into a new paradigm concept. According to Yuniawan (2017), literacy is a life activity that does not only focus on books but also it actualizes the values from the consumption of books. In Oxford 7<sup>th</sup> Edition Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2005, p. 898), literacy is the ability of a person in reading, writing, speaking, calculating and solving problems at the level of expertise needed in work, family and society. This is in line with Baynham (1995) stating that literacy is a form of integration of the ability to listen, speak, write, read and think critically. Previously, the definition of literacy was merely the ability to read and write (Oxford 7th Edition Advanced Learner's Dictionary 2005: 898).

The dynamics of the era opened the change in the curtain of the cover of literacy. Literacy is defined as social practices and relationships related to knowledge, language and culture. Then, literacy involves a series of learning that allows a person to reach knowledge, develop knowledge, and participate fully in a limited society and the wider community (UNESCO 2005). This is also confirmed by the related view from Rokhman (2017) who said that literacy includes responses, understanding, and life activities that are arranged and applied through continuous learning activities in daily life (Rokhman 2017). Meanwhile, ecology is a discipline that focuses on studying the environment. Thus, Capra (2013) explained the relationship between ecology and literacy in the concept of Ecoliteration, namely the ability or awareness of the public about the importance of caring for the environment with all available resources to be optimized.

Capra (2013) stated eco-literacy or ecological literacy. According to Capra, eco-literacy is a human capacity that has reached a high level of awareness about the importance of the environment. This is evidenced by the actions of someone who is aware and loves the environment as a place to care for the earth in living. Capra stated that eco-literacy is a state of people who understand the principles of ecology in order to build a conservation society. The interesting thing from Capra's view is that Capra craves and predicts that the future of humanity, the future of the human community, and the future of planet earth depend heavily on eco-literacy. Thus, the revitalization of such communities, including the education community, industrial community, the political community is needed to maintain, maintain, care for and protect the environment to remain ecological.

### 1. Ecological Political Dilemma

Ecological politics is an activity to meet the needs of life (exploitation) by utilizing the environment without environmental insight. This ecological activity always correlates with economic aspects, because many people sacrifice nature in order to reach the rupiah coffers. These activities sometimes also do not provide rupiah value, but they provide ecological disasters. For example in 2006 in Sidorejo Regency, East Java oil companies are exploring not getting oil sources but getting catastrophic hot mud bursts that spurt over the surface of the earth (Novenanto, 2010).

In addition, there are also other examples that make ecological dilemmas namely the use of trees to meet human needs. Based on Rahmawati (2017), reinforcing the view, forests make people live in wealth, but the demands of life sometimes need humans who must cut them down without being balanced with the right techniques. That is the logging

activity that should be based on an insight into environmental conservation. However, so far, the phonemes that we see humans can only cut down, without being accompanied by reforestation or replanting with the right techniques to keep forests sustainable.

## 2. Ethics of Ecological Literacy (Ecoliteration)

Ecological ethics is an attitude of the literacy output studied. The more a person is strong with her/his literary basis, the wiser s/he will be in her/his scientific actualization. In this case, the quality of human resources is an achievement to encourage the literacy ethics to continue to be down to earth. (Etmagusti, 2012) stated that in a work explaining one way to realize the management of quality human resources, that is to encourage a change in mindset which is environmentally sound through internalization into activities or processes of production and consumption supported by the basis of environmental values and ethics education in everyday life.

Education is an important element in fostering ethics. Education, referred to in this case, is in accordance with conservation, namely sustainable food-based on sustainable life education to provide a strategic role in increasing knowledge, attitudes, and behaviour in order to maintain food availability (Etmagusti, 2012). This is what actually proves that education is the key to the success or failure of eco-literacy ethics.

## 3. Ecoliteration School for Sustainable Development

The eco-literacy school movement is an appropriate choice of activities to support ecological understanding of the community. The introduction of basic concepts that must be based on literacy strengthening is the starting point for the success of this school activity. Literacy is narrowly one of the activities of reading, writing, and counting. This is in line with the view of UNESCO explaining that literacy is a set of real skill actions, especially in cognitive ways through reading and writing that are independent of the context wherever person's skills are acquired.

Today many literacy words are juxtaposed with several other words, namely philanthropic literacy, virtual literacy, media literacy, and so on. The word as a form of transformation of meaning, literacy in social life tries to give a special meaning. Actually, the meaning of literacy itself is a response, a detention, an active activity that can be applied daily through continuous learning (Rokhman, 2017). The real intention of this movement is to base education centre on the community which must be emphasized as a way of advocacy movement in improving the quality of human resources. Suhendri and Purnomo (2017) said that the quality of human resources is more important than a quantity. Hence, the effort to build environmentally literate human resources is the responsibility of the government in ecological advocacy efforts. The power of regenerating humans who are aware of ecology is the key to maintain the value of ecological culture. However, aside from the government, the role of a community will support the accelerated knowledge of society and knowledge. Yuniawan (2017), as one of the Language and Arts faculty lecturers at Semarang State University, also said that there are several eco-literacy objectives that should be supported by a basic curriculum as the basis of the movement, as follows:

- a. Eco-library. This activity is to provide access to the provision of interesting books to read and discuss. The books provided must be relevant to the values, character, art and culture, and environmental resources. Preparing reliable human resources is needed, with facilities that guarantee that people can learn every day. Actualiz-



ing reading results with the practice of planting and writing will be the output of eco-literacy activities.

- b. Eco-education centre method. This activity is carried out to someone who has sufficient literacy knowledge and understanding or this level can be said after someone has passed stage one namely eco-library. As an education centre, this concept can be done by targeting blind communities with an understanding of environmental insight, in this stage, it is necessary to form educated community skills and can create habits to reinforce ecological insights.
- c. The eco-collaboration method is very necessary as a work partner effort. It is hoped that with the strength of partners, this might help together foster environmental awareness. This collaboration can be carried out with government agencies, CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility), NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations), and other agencies.
- d. Eco-publication. This stage serves as a barometer of widespread socialization for the public to transfer knowledge so that Indonesian people who are divided into several islands understand and know the concept of an eco-literacy school trying to build and provide national development cadres who are capable of understanding the value of ecological culture. This activity can be done by socializing using tools such as Website, Youtube, Facebook, and Instagram, and other social media.

## **2. Critical Ecology in the Face of Environmental Degradation**

Reflecting on a theory from Giddens and Gorz explaining contemporary social theories about environmental degradation, these two writers criticize classical social theory which is felt not to have a conceptual framework that is relevant to understanding the relations between society and the environment that the two issues discussed in it only focusing on the way society transforms the environment without discussing the negative consequences of the transformation. Departing from it, this is the background of Giddens' new theory explaining the presence of environmental degradation focuses on the interaction between capitalism and industrialism.

Therefore, in this case, I strongly agree with the theory that the conditions after the technological revolution make the power of the capitalists (capital owners) to compete in building industries. It can be ascertained that the start of the industry is the biggest contributor to carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) generated from industrial processes. Data according to the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) obtained from the Director of Manufacturing Industry in 2017 mentions the results of as many as 9,901 new companies and 425 industrial companies that have been active again after several years of inactivity (vacuum). This amount is not a small number whose activity will produce carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) gas. The preventive action that we have to think about is how to make industrial expansion increasingly aligned with the concept of environmental insight in order to maintain the continuity of life on earth.

However, it is at this time that the interests of the environmental economics political elite are blinding humans of the importance of maintaining the ecosystem of life. Economic pressure seems to continue to want to exploit nature without thinking sustainable. This kind of thing is also justified by the opinions of Marx and Durkheim who explain that economics and demography are the real points of relations between society and their en-



vironment. The capitalist drive towards economic orientation is getting higher and higher, of course, the demand for productivity must increase which is actually what we see as a major threat in protecting the environment.

Meanwhile, according to Gorz's theory, two things are very suitable. First, the study draws knowledge from the work of environmental economists who showed sensitivity to the detailed dynamics of contemporary capitalist economic activities that are not explained by Giddens. Second, exploring environmental degradation is the environmental impact of modern consumption and the environmental impact of technology. This means that the theory should have the sensitivity born of a small group that seeks to criticize natural discrimination.

Furthermore, environmental degradation can be overcome by placing environmentally friendly lifestyle points as things that must be emphasized to all levels of society. The result of modern consumption is that the consumption in the form of meat will continuously contribute to methane gas which has an effect on the environment as well as the results of manufacturing technology that produces carbon dioxide trapping heat and triggering the presence of global warming. The turmoil in the issue of global warming is actually an issue that must be addressed with ecological movements. The community must be able to work together with NGOs or the community to jointly criticize the regime. The community can also propose that political parties should make vision innovations that are environmentally oriented. It must be realized that the economic dependence of the majority of people relying on crops, both in the agrarian sector and the industrial sector that hold waste directly above the soil surface. This statement is in line with David Goldblatt's (2015) who thought that economic, demographic and political matters are central factors of environmental degradation. This means that these three things constitute an integrated ecosystem of life, so that even one aspect moving provides another influence when there is no counterweight.

Economics is the foundation of strength in fulfilling the needs of life. In this case, there is a human dependence and the principle of profit orientation is what makes people think that how to get the maximum income without showing nature that continues to be exploited; one of them is the transfer of land functions, as if many who consider that farming is not a prestigious job, so many farmers sell their land to the capitalists. Then, on the hands of the capitalists, the exploitation of the earth is run. They use natural resources to enrich themselves and forget the impact of the future that is detrimental to many parties. Demographics should with population density even in an urban area and will not shift the idealism and morals that the environment is our shared responsibility to keep guard to give the rights of future generations of rights today to feel a beautiful and comfortable environment to sustain life and life. Whereas, in politics, it should be more environmentally oriented by including it in the National development agenda and being able to provide control over these three things.

The point of the environmental political debate is an issue that will never end because the main principles of the environment always interact with the community with a variety of interests. However, there are many people who do not understand fundamentally that the ecological movement is a social awareness movement that invites all elements of society to participate in it. If literacy figures Dauzan Farook (1925) who said that anyone could be a driver of literacy. Hence, anyone should be able to become an ecology ambassador to jointly promote an environmentally friendly lifestyle for the benefit of hu-

mans who inhabit the earth.

### **3. National Development Preventive Movement Responds to Global Warming Issues**

The anxiety on the issue of global warming (global warming) is something that needs to get a response to make the preventive and emancipatory movements truly present in the midst of people's lives. This movement seeks to change the conservative paradigm that makes economic factors a classic reason for humans to exploit nature. Recalling the theory presented by Giddens who stated that there are several factors causing environmental degradation, namely the existence of industrialism and capitalism, economic growth, the power of technological transformation, and the impact of agricultural systems. Addressing these impacts, there have several solutions that can be the latest reference in ecological movements.

#### **a. Ecological Business (BEE)**

Reflecting on the City of Yogyakarta, as one of the biggest garbage contributors in the province of Special Region of Yogyakarta, according to the results of an interview with the Yogyakarta City Environment Agency (DLH) in 2017, there is no solid waste industry run by NGOs or local communities. A culture of lifestyle that is too conservative related to the human eye in which if the waste recycling business and the sale of pollution reduction equipment are used, it will actually create new sources of income.

This new opportunity for ecological business is rarely demanded by someone who actually is an ecological movement besides having a social concern for the environment also trying to build an environmentally friendly business concept. Besides that, another example is that a lot of vacantland like a mosque yard not used, it should be used to plant some vegetables that can be consumed by the community, and that is where the populist economic system will be built to weaken the capitalist power that always wants to supply various goods and services. The system can certainly be an ecological collaboration that helps the concept of sustainable development in which the reduced number of poverty because the people's economy is running perfectly.

#### **b. Renewable Technology**

The technological revolution provides a dilemma to the community, basically the presence of technology is a supporting medium in solving human work, but on the other hand the results of these technological activities backfire for the social environment. The more activities that are carried out by technology, the more pollution emission gases are produced. This situation gives the issue of global warming. In response, the researchers assess the need for environmentally friendly renewable technology as exemplified by Smart Hydro Energy (SHE) which is an alternative renewable technology innovation as an environmentally friendly and emission-free electricity producer. This technology was created by James Kwok, an innovator born in Bandung, West Java who is now an Australian citizen. The technology has been introduced to the country since 2009. Some regions that have tried to implement these technologies such as East Java, South Sumatra, Riau, Batam and East Kalimantan are good for housing to the industry (okezone.com, 18/10 2017).

In addition, Indonesia has a new renewable technology, which is a Bayu pow-

er plant (PLTB) or wind that uses a giant windmill. Having 30 wind turbine generators (WTG) or windmills that produce 75 Mega Watts (MW), this is projected to be able to flow electricity to 70,000 customers in the South Sulawesi region (kompas.com, 01/16/2018).

The role of government in supporting renewable technological innovation is the main thing because in principle the government must be a supporting facilitator for the birth of technological innovation. Zaenuri (2012), in theory collaborate governance, explained a new concept model with the relationship between government, private and society. It means that the form of cooperation to protect the environment will be very balanced when synergized together in achieving the goal of forming an ecologically sound society.

#### c. Control ecological culture for agricultural activities

Building a culture of ecological insight is a long wait to build a green civilization that many people are waiting for. The researchers tried to analyze the ecological cultural control of agricultural activities. One of the things that must be known, especially the agrarian community, is the use of pesticides and fertilizers that produce ecological impacts. This agricultural activity is sometimes not everyone wants to think about the long-term impact. Should humans think why the release of these chemicals continues to be left? What happens if it continues to be left? This is the beginning of the question that begins as the basis for the presence of the ecological cultural control. Zaenuri (2016) explained the method of collaboration between government, private and civil society. (Levine, 1960) cited in the book Citizen Participation said Relations between NGOs and government refer to occurrences of interaction. This means that in this case the three actors must work together and work together to form relationships in order to achieve a goal. While the relationship between the government and NGOs, and NGOs is a representation that will control government policies that are not pro-ecological. The relationship between NGOs and NGOs is a pressure on government policies that are not pro-people, where people need living space to carry on life with an ecological ecosystem that is not exploited by violence.

#### 4. Capitalism Violence Destroys the Environment

A history is a cornerstone of knowledge. Like the history of relations between capitalism and industrialism. According to Giddens, capitalism has led to the pre-conditions of the emergence of industrialism, but it is unfortunate that Giddens did not study the impact of these two things. It is from a history that has led to a period of transition and transformation as we now feel together that the presence of environmental degradation we face. Natural damage occurs is part of the historical culture that ever existed. The main structure is a capitalist institution that becomes the main bridge in operating its mission. (Goldblatt: 2015) confirmed that there is a historical transition from agriculture to capitalism to capitalist-industrialism.

Therefore, it is appropriate if industrialism is a structural cause of environmental damage. There is a form of weakness that is worth noting that Giddens's theory does not implicitly mention the role of political power that is the main virus of environmental degradation. Giddens did not systematically explain the correlation between politics under capitalism. Moreover, according to Giddens's view, there are two weaknesses of political issues that have not been reviewed, namely (1) the relationship between capitalism and democratic polities, (2) The implications of electoral politics and representation for the

process of environmental degradation. Those confirms the need for more analysis and studies for the community to be more critical of the dynamics of development that are not conservation. Like the issue that is still hot at this moment, the construction process of Kulon Progo Airport ignores the basic thing, namely environmental impact analysis (AM-DAL) which should be the basis before the development process. However, this is ignored and legally invalid (CNN, 6/12/2017).

## 5. Conservation Ecoliteration Movement

The eco-literacy movement is always interesting to be studied more deeply, especially highlighting two things, such as national development control, and urbanization and ecology in responding to ecological issues which are more explained as follows:

### a. Control of national development and political policy direction

The number of national development issues both from the industrial sector and settlements greatly makes a few things that become joint unrest, especially the communities around the development area. The need of supervision of development as an effort done by the controller is to maintain the balance of environmental ecosystems inhabited by humans. In this case, the meaning of the control itself is a preventive measure to monitor the national development process carried out by several parties. The development process in Indonesia requires an accommodative policy to minimize the level of environmental degradation that will occur.

A reality occurring in the province of East Java attracted a lot of public attention that was critical of ecology. The conception of the ecological politics of development in East Java is very alarming and a national ecological issue, although it is known that its main purpose is to create an atmosphere and harmony between people, maintain economic, social, cultural and political stability. However, the dynamics that occur are not in line with common expectations, elite politics is the main control in the ongoing policy process.

At present the development process seems incompatible with ecology, doing development with all the negative consequences. A source said that East Java Province suppressed the Mining Business License (IUP) in 2012 totalling 378, so it successfully reduced to 347 in 2016 (detik.com, 09/27/2017). The same source is also mentioned that the emergence of emergency environmental conditions due to B3 waste from industries in East Java produced B3 waste of 19.4 million tons per year. The zone of the biggest waste contributor is from Gresik, Surabaya, Sidoarjo, and Pasuruan. The challenges of industrial cities that become economic assets of the people always clash with the ecological aspects. This condition must be saved because the environmental ecosystem must be kept as a space for human life.

As a wise effort, the government must bring this national issue of ecological development politics in the realm of policy synchronization of regional regulations (Perda) for re-regulation if there are overlapping regional regulations. This is needed as an effort to strengthen legal instruments to better respond to ecological issues. This action is very necessary to avoid an ecological crisis that causes conflict between the community and the government, the community and investors, or the community within the community. As it happened in East Kalimantan with illegal mining cases in the Bukit Suharto Forest Park friends, the police was threatened with machetes (Tribunkaltim, 05/29/2018). This

incident should be learned by all parties that ecological law must be well enforced. The direction of political policy in Indonesia should be carried out partially, using the methods and concepts of the collaboration of all parties, especially sensitive political leadership related to ecological issues. From this, it can establish the potential ecological literate generations, and then will create ecological maps in the concept of sustainable development in order to reduce the ecological crisis.

b. Urbanization and ecology

Urbanization is a process of shifting the population from the village to the city. In addition, according to the Indonesian National Encyclopedia, urbanization is a process of increasing the proportion of the population living in urban areas. Quoted in Haryono (1999), urbanization is as a social, economic and cultural phenomenon. The researchers added that not only those are three things, but also ecological factors have a vital role. How does this not prove that rural areas bordering urban areas move into luxurious residential areas? What has this caused many functions of agricultural land to become a settlement? The community viewed that the peasant profession is a job that is not prestigious; choosing to change the function of land is felt to make life safer. This is where the role of everyday literacy is present that the understanding of ordinary people is still narrow with the encouragement of ambition that is detrimental in the long term. Ecological literacy really needs to be advocated for all levels of rural communities, rural communities, and coastal communities to better understand how to survive with the right method of science.

## 6. The Eco-literation Paradigm as the Basis for Sustainable Development

Ecology literacy (Eco-literation) is a concept of a new paradigm using a combination of the ability to understand ecology and the basis of literacy. This combination establish to a new theoretical concept that can continue to be developed so that the hope will provide clear output. Criticizing the statement delivered by Sri Mulyani Indrawati, the Indonesian Minister of Finance, the growth of urbanization in Indonesia reached 4.1 per cent and assessing urbanization can encourage Indonesia to become a developed country if its governance is good (tirto.id, 19/12/2017). The researchers believed that this has not put ecological critical analysis into a major consideration. One can only assume the targets and concepts they want to meet the needs of life without remembering what the top priority in the development bar should be.

a. Environmental education

In order to prevent the impact of the environmental crisis publicly discussed, there is a social responsibility that must be carried out, namely environmental basic education from an early age. Borrowing the ideas described by Moh and Wahid (2018), as an environmental scientist asserting that provided education and information to all communities related to environmental issues is a form of commitment. Commitments that are expected to become actors of change. Environmental education, based on Moh and Wahid, is the key to success in preparing knowledgeable millennial communities, possessing skills, values and attitudes that are concerned with the environment, so they can participate in solving environmental problems. The theory of environmental education, regarding to UNESCO in Tbilisi (1997), is a process that has the aim of creating a world community that has concern for the environment and cares about the problems associated with it and has the knowledge, motivation, commitment and skills to work, both individually and collectively.



So the importance of education is what can change the mindset that does not understand the urgency of the problem.

b. Cultural principles of ecological ethics

Moh and Wahid (2018) explained that environmental problems are not only limited to the relationship between humans and the environment, but also the most important thing is ethics, norms and values. This is the initial foundation of collective action. The culture of ecological culture is always based on the capital of ecological education. There are four ecological principles that are always used by scientists, intellectuals and green (ecological) activists. These four principles cause many consequences (Ife, 2002), namely:

1. *Holistic* is an approach that respects nature and life. I mean that in the concept of culture this method has an important role because the approach can be partial.

2. *Sustainability (conservation)*, namely the conservation of economic consumption without suppressing growth, in this case, the problem is the development of technology. In my view, this is very contradictory in the millennial era. The technological revolution is something we cannot prevent because the need for appropriate technology is always needed by humans.

3. Anti-capitalist diversity, appreciating differences, no single answer to a problem, decentralization, networking and lateral communication. I mean that this principle must have a paradigm that can unite several differences to keep up with a humanistic ecological culture.

4. *Balance (equilibrium)* is namely global, local, gender, rights/responsibilities, peace, and cooperation. I give the understanding that in this principle, equalization between social, economic, cultural and political aspects must be balanced.

The four principles are still interrelated to uphold the main objectives of ecological sustainability through environmental preventive advocacy actions that have orientation in accordance with the SDGs development concept or sustainability development Goals. On other hand, Moh and Wahid mentioned that it can create the main objectives of ecological justice, economic justice and sociological justice.

## 7. School of Environment

A school is a place of regeneration that prints agents of change. The environmental actors also need legal rules that can be used as guidelines in life, namely: According to Law Number 32 Year 2009, protection and management of the environment is a form of systematic and integrated effort carried out to preserve the function of the environment. The purpose of Environmental Protection and Management according to Law No. 32 year 2009 are: 1) to protect the territory of the Republic of Indonesia from pollution and/or environmental damage 2) to ensure the safety, health and life of humans; 3) guaranteeing the survival of living things and ecosystem sustainability; 4) maintain the sustainability of environmental functions; 5) achieving harmony, harmony and environmental balance; 6) guarantee the fulfilment of justice for present and future generations; 7) guarantee the fulfilment and protection of the right to the environment as part of human rights; 8) control the utilization of natural resources wisely; 9) realize sustainable development, and 10) anticipating global environmental issues. Hopefully, all these goals can be achieved

and there is a balance of ecosystems.

The output of the environmental school can arise to a change from daily activities in protecting the environment, how humans live together with side by side with nature. According to Moh and Wahid (2018), the ability of every individual in his daily life to protect the environment is what is called environmental literacy. This theory also teaches everyday environmental literacy as follows (Moh & Wahid, 2018):

1. Providing 25% of open vegetation at home. The existence of open vegetation means that it has allowed rainwater to enter the soil, has provided continuity in the gas cycle, especially oxygen and carbon dioxide properly. I think this is the basic need of life is the air that is always needed in daily breathing.
2. Providing enough ventilation. In the presence of ventilation, it means that in addition to the gas cycle, especially oxygen and carbon dioxide properly. I think this is also a supporting factor in determining the temperature in the room.
3. Giving a gap for the sun to enter the house. So that sunlight also functions to kill bacteria.

The arising concept of environmental literacy attracted the attention of many educational researchers and environmental scientists. In fact, this concept does not have a specific definition that is generally agreed upon. Roth (1968) defined environmental literacy as someone who has basic skills, understanding and feelings about human relations and the environment. In addition, Roth added that environmental literacy people understand the relationship between natural and social systems, human unity with nature, how technology also influences decision making on environmental problems and learning about the environment is a lifelong endeavour. Thus, this is the point of stress that the ethics of protecting the environment is always the initial foundation of an education.

Collaborative work is needed to create a sustainable environmental school where education has not only focused on basic literacy such as mathematics, biology, chemistry, technology, and etc. Now, it must balance and optimize environmental literacy that relies on aspects of cultural conservation, multiculturalism, sustainable development, democracy, social sensitivity and manners (Moh and Wahid, 2018). In my opinion, this model and concept of education obtained from environmental literacy are a future orientation that thinks about changes in the ecosystem that must be maintained. Reorientation of education is a way of improvement in school management and education.

Reorientation of education towards the transformation movement is an integration of the education system that might provide better direction. This transformation is used as a way to direct the curriculum that focuses more on skills, and the value of sustainable education. Both of these are innovations that can be taken into consideration. This concept is justified by an opinion explaining that educational reorientation is seen as an effort to develop education/learning that evokes knowledge, skills, perspectives, and values that will guide/motivate people towards sustainable living, participate in a democratic society, and live sustainably (Desfandi, 2015). In my opinion, cited from Desfandi's statement, it could be a subject of study. So far, education policies in Indonesia have been less intensive in the socialization of environmental literacy, schools have only focused on basic literacy. This school environment is the beginning that forms the young generation to know life and the environment and its natural resources so that the best education that

must be changed is environmental ethics.

The concept of environmental school actually started in 2006 by the Indonesian government under the name eco school / Adiwiyata. Indonesia, in an effort to accelerate the development of Environmental Education, especially the formal education pathway at the primary and secondary levels, on 21 February 2006 the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Education and Culture launched the Adiwiyata Program, with the main objective of encouraging and forming Caring and Cultured schools An environment that is able to participate and carry out environmental conservation and sustainable development efforts for the benefit of present and future generations.

Adiwiyata has an understanding or meaning as a good and ideal place where all knowledge and various norms and ethics can be obtained that can become our lives and lead to the ideals of basic human sustainable development towards the creation of prosperity (Desfandi, 2015). Through this concept, there should be an adiwiyata school innovation that really focuses as an ecological activist, without leaving basic literacy at school. The first path that can be taken is to start moving with a community in making internal student organizations oriented towards green or environmental movements. This concept is more interesting by making daily campaign movements that can make a person have a culture of shame when not ecologically ethical.

According to the Ministry of Environment (2012), there are two principles in running Adiwiyata School, namely participatory and sustainable:

*a. Participatory* is an activity of the school community involved in school management which covers the entire planning, implementation and evaluation process according to their respective responsibilities and roles. In my opinion, this is an important part of the contribution, where all school residents work together in carrying out the adiwiyata vision.

*b. Sustainability* is all activities that must be carried out in a planned and continuous manner comprehensively. While in my opinion it is not only seeing the intensity of sustainability but what output can be felt in every program that is run. This sustainability is used as a basis for policy making so the output is an indicator in program development.

Schools that are already running well are expected to be healthy, clean and comfortable schools. Thus, ecology ambassadors were born who were ready to contribute to the community in protecting the environment. Moh and wahid (2018) mentioned that Actual forms of environmental education at the school level as the above examples through the program are expected to shape the character of students in treating their environment wisely so as to build environmental literacy which naturally leads to the ultimate goal of creating a clean environment. In this case unconsciously, actually, the environmental practice with the concept of eco-literacy is formed from the process of formal education in school.

## **8. Participation of Institutions/Public Institutions in Supporting the Ecology Movement**

Maintaining the environment is the responsibility of all Indonesian citizens. Social responsibility that must involve all elements of society to be together and committed to safeguarding the environment including one of them is some institutions

or public institutions that have their respective roles. These duties and obligations are things that must be implemented as the rules are made namely Law Number 32 year 2009 concerning to environmental protection and management. It explains the general provisions as well as strengthened with the principle of protecting the environment. With the existence of this regulation, it is expected that all parties understand that ecological responsibility involves the participation of both institutions and other formal institutions.

For example, for non-BUMN companies that carry out production activities, this is where social responsibility must be carried out. In addition to the responsibility of welfare, the responsibility for justice for ecology must be a following-up plan for all institutions/institutions. If we want to see the participation of institutions in the direction of political democracy, the role of political parties in responding and committing to ecology is what must be considered by the public to assess ecological participation. It becomes an interesting research material to assess the percentage of political party participation in supporting ecological movements because this needs to be socialized to arise to candidates for cadres of national leaders who are critical and sensitive to ecological issues. This is interesting for the public, especially regarding the commitment between political parties and ecology and the ecological development program in political parties.

Political parties are a politically oriented institution. According to Miriam Budihardjo, political parties are an organized group where members have the same orientation, ideals and values. The purpose of this group is in addition to helping in preserving the environment, namely obtaining power and seizing political power in a constitutional way. This situation explains that political parties are a forum and bridge to make the image of the (party) institution better which will be oriented towards public voting participation.

Whereas, the correlation between political and ecological parties lies in the political party program in helping respond to environmental crisis issues. Party commitment is needed as the country's carrying capacity in resolving social and disaster problems from ecological disasters. Currently, there are no political parties that really involve themselves in the ecological movement or there are no political parties that dare to claim themselves as a green (ecological) party.

In a study conducted by Supratiwi (2013) explains the state of Indonesia, for example, environmental problems are very complex. It can be seen from the number of coral reefs in good condition that only 6%, forests that have been damaged reach 2 million hectares/year, erosion and landslides occur everywhere. This is reinforced by the results of the IPB study which predicts that in 2010 as many as 55 watersheds and sub-watersheds experienced deforestation greater than 20%. In 2015 to 120 watersheds, in 2020 it became 123 with deforestation of more than 29% of the watershed area. Furthermore, air and water pollution seems inevitable. Special attention must be paid to 73% of wells in Java contaminated with ammonia. All of these are national issues of ecological threats and disasters. Humans are aware of a number of environmental crises when the issue of global climate change strengthens (Gatra, 2008).

National issues that have risen should be used as a dynamics of the political process that upholds human values towards the environmental movement that is pro for the

safety of the people. From this, we can also divide politics into two perspectives, namely humanitarian politics (philanthropy) and (practical) political interest. Political interests lead to the interests of natural resources. According Supratiwi (2013), the changes in the environment are part of the form of political environment, while according to Bryant (2000), environmental damage can be seen from political sources, conditions (actor conflicts), and their impact on socio-economic inequality.

These three things influence each other. According to Supratiwi (2013) past political sources in the form of policies were very centralistic, anthropocentric and technocratic, reflected in the technical mechanism of licensing for resource use. This, in my opinion, is very detrimental to ongoing democracy where groups of people tend to be marginalized because the centre honours the owners of capital (capitalists).

It is undeniable that the political contestation occurring in Indonesia is very diverse in issues and discourses; it is getting hotter with the tightening of the election mechanism and the regional elections that will be held both locally and nationally, so sometimes political officials who will retire and will run again are tempted to exploit SDA through licensing. We can see ecological degradation as is the case in East Kalimantan with the number of illegal mining (Fokuskaltim.com, 5/17/2018)

The presence of the national ecological issue should provide material for self-reflection for the party leading to environmental political awareness. Political parties should be the direction of national development partiality so that it will open political space for marginalized people (Supratiwi, 2013). Supratiwi also emphasized the picture of large natural resources so Indonesia should have a strong environmental political basis. So the green party concept is to balance Indonesia's democracy to immediately raise the flag committed to becoming a conservation party that sided with the interests and benefit of the people and nation.

## **CONCLUSION**

Global Warming Issues is a threat of the state of the earth which has an impact on environmental degradation. Hence, eco-literation is a preventive measure to reduce this impact through the eco-literacy education ecology movement which tries to use contemporary social theory, where the writer wants to establish a paradigm of ecological conservation that remains oriented towards the development of sustainable national ecological politics. This concept cannot be achieved with only a few people, but this can happen through collaborative methods that place the government as the main navigator, as well as the public and the private sector as actors in balancing the direction of development in holding environmentally friendly principles. This principle also invites social work through ecological education methods that invite formal education institutions and also public institutions to commit themselves to safeguard the environment to remain beautiful and comfortable for human habitation.



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## **A Local Agriculture Officer: A Human Resource Constraint of Thai Agricultural Decentralization**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Decentralization has been implemented in Thailand for more than two decades. Certainly, it has continuously boosted several advantages to local area of the country. Still, problems and obstacles related to decentralization are persisted, especially, the structural problems of power transfer. The incomplete permissive power transferring from the central to local government has obstructed efficiency of several agricultural policy formation and implementation. Central and local government continuously influence and take responsibilities on major missions of agricultural development. There are two crucial and persistent problems related to human resource in agricultural extension and development of many Thai local administrative organizations (LAO). First, the lack of agriculture officers in the LAO. Some LAOs, over the two decades, do not have agriculture officers of their own. This is due to the concept of “as your choice” of the agriculture power transfer. A LAO has a right to choose whether agriculture should be promoted or should not be promoted in its area. With this idea, certainly, agricultural development in some LAO is ignored, although the area is an agricultural potential area. As a result, there has no position of an agriculture officer in those organizations. Second, the lack of professional career development of LAOs’ agriculture officers. Agriculture officers in many LAOs, for over years of working, have either less or no chance to develop themselves in agriculture development. Since, they are under the Ministry of Interior, not Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, they are unlikely to be developed in agriculture. As a result, they are lacking of moral and motivation in work. They are also facing not only the problem of less and unsecured opportunity in their career path, but also the problem of sufficient working knowledge and potentiality in agriculture. The above problems concerning agriculture officers in LAOs have impact on the efficiency of organic agriculture (OA) extension and development in Thai rural area. Problems related to OA development at LAO, such as the inefficient local organic development policy determination and implementation, limited budget, small OA area, and less number of OA farmers, require efficient and active work from potential local agriculture officers. Thus, in order to accomplish the success and efficient OA development in any Thai LAO, truly, it is necessary to develop better knowledge, understanding, and attitude of these officers on OA. Also, acknowledging present potentiality of them on OA development capacity in production, marketing, networking, and communication and so on, will be crucial based information for creating appropriate ways to improve their work capacity and quality. In result, it will contribute to progress and continuity of OA development in Thai local areas.

**KEYWORDS:** Agriculture development, Decentralization, Local Administrative Organizations, Organic agriculture, Agriculture officer

## INTRODUCTION

Decentralization is worldwide believed as an effective concept of democratic administration. It is a practical form of local legal action, policy, and right and freedom under legal and social agreement (Roengtam, 2015). With effective decentralization, it is hoped that local people will be able to have authentic self-governance which lead to local self-sustainability amidst rapidly changing circumstances. Thailand, as a democratic constitutional monarchy country, has developed its decentralization for quite a long time. There was an ambition to launch many concrete practices of decentralization on many aspects; education, healthcare, and agriculture. Unfortunately, it can be stated that decentralization in this country is struggle with the domination of centralization (Satitniramai, 2012). Although the central government has tried hard to decentralize its power to local government through both its public policy process and local government, governed structural power and authorities is still be dominated by the central government (Thai Parliament, 1997). Importantly, local government still has not gained much attention from public than central and regional governance.

This paper is first aimed to provide concise development of Thai decentralization. It involves details of related concepts and legal linkages of decentralization in relation with Thai constitutions. Later, it will narrow down to the agricultural decentralization by focusing in some legal documents, the process of agricultural decentralization and its related organizations, and problems of the Thai agricultural decentralization. Then, human resources in the agricultural decentralization and its constraints will be emphasized and explained. Lastly, some recommendations on human resource capacity development in Thai local administrative organization will be discussed. With this sequenced information, hopefully, it will provide a better understanding and awareness on the needs to empower of Thai local agriculture officers.

## LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION: A CONCRETE FORM OF THAI DECENTRALIZATION

The concept of decentralization has been implemented in Thailand for more than half of the century after the national political reform in 1932. Although the country has long tried to introduce local self-government to its administration with an aim to develop local democratic participation, Thai decentralization is struggled throughout those years. Prior to 1997, Thai form of administration has been dominated by centralization. Public administrative power is responsive by central and regional government organizations. The local government organization has no distinctive power on local development. Local citizen participation cannot be claimed as effective and active participation.

Not until twenty years ago, the 1997 national constitution<sup>1</sup> has strongly emphasized the significance of citizen democratic involvement. In the Chapter 5<sup>2</sup> of this constitution has clearly stated the essence of decentralization. In the Article 78 of this section, it is specially determined that it is the state obligation to centralize central state power to local power so local will be able to be self-dependency, able to have self-determination on its local administrative activities which includes local economy development, local public

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1 This constitution is drafted during what is so called "The Thai blooming democratic period". So, it is believed by many Thai that this is the first constitution in Thai modern political history that citizen legitimate power is strengthen. So, some name this constitution as "People Constitution" (Titus Mala, 2011)

2 The main content under this chapter is about fundamental state policy which is directive principles of the Thai state policy

facilities improvement, and local healthcare and security. It also includes the equity and through roughly development of local people participation based on the premise of local people wills. In addition, in the Article 282 to 290 of Chapter 9 of the same constitution, it has detailed about the local. Summarized content of these articles is stated that the state should enhance local independency based on local self-government principle originated from local people wills (Thai Parliament, 1997). With this concept, local administration organization (LAO) has its legitimacy to determine all of its self-administration policy, self-personnel and fiscal & finance administration, and self-authorization. The main role of the state is to monitor LAO. The scope of state monitoring is limited within authorization of legal intendment in order to continuously augmenting decentralization. (Office of the Council of State, 1999)

Continuously, in the 2007 national constitution<sup>3</sup> has clearly maintained the necessity of decentralization. Importantly, it enhances concrete practical direction of decentralization by empower LAO, diminishing state power over LAO, development LAO human resources, develop LAO transparency, and enhance local participation. During the 7 years of the 2007 constitution, Thai decentralization was seemed to be strengthen and prosperous. There are some vivid concrete practical of decentralization in many aspects. In education, hundreds of kindergarten and primary schools have been transferred their administrative registrations from Office of the Basic Education Commission, Ministry of Education to LAO. In healthcare, local healthcare clinic<sup>4</sup> has been administered under LAO. In agriculture<sup>5</sup>, roles of agriculture development and extension have also been transferred to LAO.

Unfortunately, after the 2007 constitution was abolished by the coup in May 22, 2014, decentralization seemed to be in a stage of deteriorated. Under the military government, local administrative power is likely to be moved back to central administrative power for the national security and stability reasons (Thai Parliament, 2007). Local administrative power is legally limited. Administrative power from central government is more passing through regional governmental organizations rather than LAO. This causes several retarding on either education, health care, or agriculture decentralization. (Thai Parliament, 2007) Especially in agriculture decentralization, an example of the deficiency of local budget and lack of in-charged personnel resulting from the withdraw power from local to central has caused several problems retarding agricultural development in local areas.

### **AGRICULTURAL DECENTRALIZATION: FROM CENTRAL TO LOCAL ADMINISTRATION**

The concept of local self-authorization, which was a principle fundamental state policy registered in the 1997 constitution, implied that agricultural development should be self-determined development by local people in each area. The 2007 constitution also emphasized the necessity of agriculture decentralization through strengthening role of LAO. It is clearly indicated in the Article 78(3) that the state must promote decentralization for local's self-reliance and self-decision making. Also, in the Article 84(8) emphasizes role of the state to protect both farmers' production and marketing benefits, and role of the state to promote farmers' group to benefit farmers themselves. (Office of the Decen-

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3 The 1997 constitution was dissolved by the coup in 2006. A year later, the 2007 constitution was announced.

4 Local healthcare clinic was under Department of Health, Ministry of Public Health

5 More details will be discussed in the next topic



tralization to Local Government Organization Committee, 2004)

Results from both the 1997 and the 2007 constitutions, in 2000 the Thai government has announced the “Act of Plan and Procedure of Decentralization to LAO”. Under this act, the Thai Government Gazette<sup>6</sup> has announced that it is obligated for 50 state departments, from several ministries, to transfer their 245 missions to ILO. There are two categories of classified missions; “the obligated mission” which refers to the mission that ILO has to continuously take responsibilities and take action right after the decentralization, and the “non-obligated mission” which refer to the mission that, after the decentralization, ILO can consider whether it should do or not based on local potentiality and local people needs. Missions under this latter category should be prioritized by LAO. Unfortunately, agricultural decentralization is classified into the “non-obligated mission”. (Office of the Decentralization to Local Government Organization Committee, 2002)

To comply with the Act, the agricultural decentralization was taken into action. The role of agricultural extension and development has been transferred from DOAE, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives to LAO. The national agricultural decentralization steering committee has been form. An agreement of the committee in 2001 has stated the DOAE must transfer the operation of an Agricultural Technology Transfer and Service Center (ATSC)<sup>7</sup> to ILO by 2003. (Department of Agricultural Extension, 2006) The ATSC operation has to change from the state-run center to co-manage between the central and local government center. DOAE supports only agricultural techniques and innovation to ATSC, and LAO supports ATSC working staffs and budget.

Since the implementing of the Act, there were several progresses on related issues concerning cooperation between stakeholders of agricultural decentralization. These cooperation is created in several levels either at the national or regional level, for example, a memorandum of understanding between DOAE and Department of Local Administration<sup>8</sup> with is aimed to continuously support agricultural development of LAO, and the LAO agricultural development which is a co-planning plan between DOAE and LAO.

Apart from the above Act, the Act of 7<sup>th</sup> Government Administration Act B.E. 2550 (2007), which was launched in 2007, also supported the strength and efficiency of the agricultural decentralization. Content of this Act is mainly about the changing role and financial allocation of all central, regional, and local government organization. This change facilitates the financial and budget allocation of the LAO. LAO has more self-determined and more effective in its own financial and budget expenses. With the result, LAO has its legitimacy to manage any public affairs that fulfills the needs of local farmers for better income and quality of life of target farmers in the local area. Moreover, LAO is legitimated to have its self-determination on process of helping farmers. For example, how to help farmers to have their self-decision on their production, how to corporate with related partners in order to boost up the effectiveness of farmer organizations and institutes.

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<sup>6</sup> Announced in Thai Government Gazette Vol. 119 Special Part 23D: Dated March, 13 2002

<sup>7</sup> An Agricultural Technology Transfer and Service Center is a center which is set up by DOAE with an aim to be a farmer participated center for agricultural development in a sub-district. It is a one-stop service center that all related agricultural organizations under Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (plants, animals, and fisheries) will provide service and agricultural technologies to local people in the area. A center's operation should be under the community participation.

<sup>8</sup> A department under Ministry of Interior that has its main responsibilities in local administrative development

In details about the LAO legitimacy on self-determined agricultural development, there are 11 missions within 3 responsibilities that was transferred from DOAE to LAO; (Department of Agricultural Extension, 2006)

1. Enhancing farmers' quality of life. There are 9 mission related to this responsibility; Agricultural data survey, sub-district's agricultural development plan, information service and public relation on agricultural information, collecting of local agriculture wisdom, natural disaster rescue, survey and service on plant protection, agricultural training, establishment and development of farmers group, dissemination of plant varieties
2. Promoting agricultural planning, investment, commerce, and tourism. The only mission in these responsibilities is transferring an Agricultural Technology Transfer and Service Center (ATSC)
3. Natural conservation and restoration<sup>9</sup>.

To comply with the idea of self-reliance and self-decision making, and local involvement in agriculture development, policy of establishing the Agricultural Technology Transfer and Service Center (ATSC) has been implemented in the year 2000 by Department of Agricultural Extension (DOAE). There were hundreds of ATSC continuously set up in every sub-district throughout the country. Many of ATSC are still viable and function until today.

At the beginning of establishing ATSC, the ATSC in each district was under responsibility of DOAE staffs who is agriculture officer in charged. The operational process of ATSC is under the ATSC steering committee chosen by local people from each sub-district, and the DOAE agriculture officer performing as the committee secretary. However, both agricultural technology transfers and the ATSC operational budget is allocated through DOAE at the district level.

### **PROBLEMS CONCERNING TRANSMITTING ORGANIC AGRICULTURE FROM THE CENTRAL TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

For over twenty years of mission transmitting on agricultural extension and development from central to local government, it can be stated that the transmission is retarded. Agriculture development by LAO is quite far from success. There are several reasons for the unsuccessful of LAO agricultural development. First, for LAO, the mission in agricultural extension is not an obligation<sup>10</sup>, but is a consideration policy in which LAO can have its self-assess whether it is necessary for its people or not. Second, the transmission of agriculture is solely the transmission of responsibilities, neither an asset nor human resource transmission. The ATSC property right is still be under DOAE, so does its agriculture officers. LOA gain only responsibility and have to assign the agricultural extension and development jobs to its staff with the technical agriculture assistance from DOAE agriculture officers. Third, the transmitted power of LAO is not decisive. There still has an over-lapping mission and responsibilities between a DOAE agriculture officer, who take responsibilities agricultural extension and development in a sub-district, and a LAO agriculture officer.

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9 This mission is later canceled since it is considered that it is not the main function of DOAE  
10 It can be classified as "as your own choice" policy.

Focusing on LAO agricultural development in some provinces in northern Thailand like Chiangmai and Lumpoon<sup>11</sup>, it can be claimed that the LAO is hardly success in organic agriculture (OA) development. Organic agriculture<sup>12</sup> in the area is promoted since it is a source of safety food for not only local residents but also tourists<sup>13</sup>. In these two provinces, organic agriculture has been promoted by government, public and private sectors. For OA development of LAO in the area, there are only a very few LAO that are success in its OA development policy driven. Only a few LAO in the area have concrete action plan, and OA related project and activities.

A main reason of the unsuccessful OA development is the deficit and inefficiency of LAO human resource in agriculture. For the deficit of LAO human resource, as mentioned above, since the hand on of agricultural extension from DOAE is the only transmitting of responsibilities not the asset. With the result, LAO gains no human resource (or an agriculture officer) from DOAE. So, LAO has to either assign the job to its existing staffs whose works are related to agriculture, for example, community development officers, or has to recruit an agriculture office of its own. Certainly, the last option requires certain LAO budget for an agriculture officer's salary, allowances, and other compensations. With the result, a small and remote LAO that gain limit fiscal budget<sup>14</sup> is likely decided not to have an agriculture officer of its own. Agriculture related work is assigned to a staff who has neither knowledge nor experience in agriculture development (Tongrod, 2014). Certainly, agricultural development in a LAO is retarded.

Problems in LAO human resource in agriculture are not limited only the lack of an agriculture officer. In an LAO that has an agriculture officer of its own, two main groups of problems challenging an agriculture officer's work. First, the incompatible work between the two agriculture officers from two government organizations (Arpaphan and Ganesh, 2009). As mentioned earlier, a DOAE agriculture officer, who is responsible for transferring agricultural technics or innovations. This officer advocates the agricultural policies of the central government<sup>15</sup>. There are limited number of agriculture officers in each district extension office. Each officers, under a district agricultural extension office, must take responsible for agricultural extension in 2-4 sub-districts. Certainly, the policy advocacy is limited within certain group of farmers with limit agricultural problems issues. Whereas, the LAO agriculture officer take responsible to advocate local agriculture policies, which is formulated by LAO based on both local people and local leader needs. It is clearly that there is no proper integrated policy from the two sides in both policy formulation and implementation. Each of them has performed each of their own responsibility, which hardly incorporate with each other (Kawichai, et al. 2017). As a result, potential organic farmers

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11 There are 18 provinces in northern region of Thailand. Chiangmai is the biggest cities in the region with its highest population and economy, whereas Lumpoon is adjacent to Chiangmai where northern industrial park is located. These two provinces are located in the same geographical area called Chiangmai-Lumpoon Valley.

12 Organic agriculture is an alternative agriculture development which the Thai government has tried to promote. Organic agriculture has been declared as a national policy since 1992 (Yossuck et al, 2014).

13 These two provinces are famous tourism area in the northern region of Thailand. Each year, millions of both domestic and internal tourist flock into the area for its richness of beautiful scenery and unique culture.

14 Each LAO has two sources of income; from the central government and from its local taxes.

15 Agricultural extension policy advocacy is cascaded from Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives to Department of Agricultural Extension (DOAE), to Provincial Agricultural Extension Office, and to District Agricultural Extension Office.

in local area are lacked on support and opportunity to be further developed. The local agriculture officer realizes actual local farmers need and capacity, but lack of appropriate technology and budget<sup>16</sup> to strengthen the farmers, while a DOAE agriculture officer has handful of agricultural technology, but cannot be access to real needs of local people.

The second challenges for an LAO agriculture officer is the lack of professional career development. First, these LAO officers have less opportunity to be promoted to higher position in agriculture. There is no opportunity to be promoted to be a head of LAO agriculture officers because there is no that such position in LAO. In general, there is only one agricultural position in LAO. After working in LAO for many years, many of LAO agriculture officers have to shift to other positions, such as LAO general managers and community development officers. Second, a young recruited agricultural officer has less opportunity to develop his/her additional knowledge and experiences in not only organic agriculture but also other agricultural related knowledge. Only few LAO agricultural officers have capacity in OA technology, linkage and connection with either OA academic institutes or network. In addition, these capacities are more originates from each officer's personal interest than the support from LAO. (Tooksoon and Opatpatanakit, 2016) Most of LAO agriculture officers, years after their recruitment, have no chance to develop neither OA knowledge and skills nor OA policy formulation skill, which is based on local needs and compatible with regional and national OA policy, nor OA network development skill. DOAE agriculture officers are often able to develop their knowledge and potentiality through several human resource development projects conducted by DOAE. In the opposite, LAO agriculture officers have less opportunity to develop their potentiality especially potentiality of agricultural development. They are often lacked of both agricultural technological knowledge and community development capability. Some of them have training experience in agricultural and OA skills, eg. production of manure fertilizer, soil improvement techniques, and water management for agriculture. However, their knowledge and experience from the training is hardly applicable because their responsibility, assigned by LAO leaders, is not related to the content of their training experiences.

With the result of lacking their career development, many of LAO agriculture officers are struggling for a better work life. Some of them either change to other positions or move to other divisions in either within the same LAO or different LAO that they are likely to be easily promoted. Some even take another bachelor degree, especially in political sciences or public administration, (Rrithiyard, 2016) so that they are qualified to be leaders in other divisions. Some LAO agriculture officers who do not want to move to other LAOs because of their personal reasons such as they do not want to be away from their family or want to work close to their hometown, are always work as in-motivated and lack of energetic agriculturist. Many of them eventually resign from LAO.

### **SOME RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE ENHANCEMENT OF OA THROUGH THE CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT OF LAO AGRICULTURE OFFICERS**

As an officer under LAO, an agriculture officer is under Department of Local Administration, Ministry of Interior. Thus, they have no connection with sources of agricultural knowledge like Department of Agricultural Extension. Most of them, especially, young agriculture officers who have only a few years work experience, are lack of both knowledge

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16 Agricultural extension and development in LAO is so limited. As LAO's agricultural development policy is not obligated policy. It is often the last or almost the last priority in LAO budget, whereas physical improvement, public health, social welfare, and education are often the top priorities.



and experience in agricultural development, certainly also in OA development. As an agriculture officer in an LAO, they are hoped by local farmers that this officer should have sufficient organic agricultural knowledge and experience, and have abilities to transfer and guide those OA knowledge and experience to them. Most farmers expect the officers to provide them both intangible OA technologies and practical OA development.

Thus, in order to enhance OA development in any LAO, there are some suggestions for LAO and related sectors as follows:

1. To solve the problem of the deficiency of LAO agriculture officers, All LAOs, especially the rural LAOs, should have at least one agriculturist. This links to the LAO leaders who should be aware of the significance of agriculture and OA development in their respective areas. These leaders, especially rural LAO leaders, should be educated about the significance of agriculture and OA to local community. In addition, agriculture policy, and also OA policy, should be a “must” and eligible policy. These requires a future legal process on the adjustment of LAO human resources structure and manpower.
2. To develop knowledge, understanding, and potentiality of existing LAO agriculture officers, it is firstly and necessary to realize existing knowledge, understanding, and potentiality of these officers. This information will be first hand document for LAO, especially Department of Local Development, to realize their needs and potentiality so the department will be able to set up a strategy to develop both of knowledge, understanding, and potentiality of the LAO agriculture officers. Hence, a base line survey of knowledge, need, and capability of those officers is needed. Result of the research will be information for an appropriate strategy to development them in the future.
3. It is necessary to develop concrete career path for an LAO agriculture officer. In order to do so, it requires an adjustment is present rules and regulations concerning a LAO agriculture officer’s development. An improvement of job positioning, job description, and job analysis is required. How to promote a LAO agriculture officer in their own career path without transferring or moving to other positions is needed to be taken into consideration of the concerned LAOs and related sectors.
4. To enhance a LAO agriculture officer to work effectively, it is necessary to promote LAO agriculture officers’ network. With advantages of a network, those agriculture officers can share their either knowledge, experiences, and other existing resources of not only OA techniques, but also a process of OA policy development, and related plans and projected on OA development.

## CONCLUSION

Human resources in one of the key successes of an organization (Tongrod, 2014). LAO can effectively and successfully accomplish its goals only if its staff have been developed and participatory contribute to the LAO. An LAO agriculture officer is a key mechanism of the success of organic agricultural development of LAO. Thus, enhancement of an agriculture officer’s capability, potentiality, perception, and knowledge are required. Certainly, the development of LAO agriculture officers is perplexing and time consuming. It needs sincere contribution from several related sectors; leaders of a LAOs, the Department of Local Development, the Department of Agricultural extension, local farmers, and



so on. Moreover, several constraints of the agriculture officers' development should be solved. This include an improvement of rules, regulations, and legal process, a distinctive career path development, and creating inspiration and motivation of these officers.

With the concrete and practical development regarding the above details. Hopefully, several problems of LAO agriculture officers will be alleviated. The LAO agriculture officers, no doubt, would be filled with inspiration and be in good performance. With the result, this could lead to prosperity of LAO agricultural and especially OA development in local area of the country.

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