

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIR
THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITAS AIRLANGGA



ICOCSPA 2016



**PROCEEDING
RE-EXAMINING GOVERNANCE:
STRENGTHENING CITIZENSHIP IN THE CHANGING WORLD**

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Editor :

Novri Susan, Ph.D.
Sulikah Asmorowanti, Ph.D.





Prologue

The Second International Conference on Social and Political Science (2nd ICoCSPA) 2016 was previously known as International Conference on Democracy and Accountability (ICODA 2015). The Conference is conducted by Faculty of Social and Political Science (FISIP Universitas Airlangga).

The word governance has a very strong color in the trajectory of social and political journey since the late 20th century. It does not only trigger the theoretical debate about the country and sovereignty but also opens an advocacy strategy against the despotic rule of the country. In countries with established democracies, governance practices showed significance when the citizenship have been entrenched. However, different conditions will be achieved in countries with relation between citizens and the unbalanced nation.

Instead of equalizing access in the space of participation, governance provides opportunity for market dominance over the country and even the civil society. Assessment of governance in strengthening citizenship is a big agenda, especially in this changing world. How can the governance and citizenship mutually strengthen themselves in social, economic, and political context within specific culture? What lessons can be learned from those cases? Are there any novelty cracks in the theoretical debate about governance and citizenship?

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Table of Content

PROLOGUE	iii
Table of Content	v
1. Governance in the Changing World vis-à-vis CSR in Development. <i>Seiichiro Shimamoto</i>	xi
2. Influence of Socioeconomic Situation on Biological Well-being of People. <i>Maciej Henneberg</i>	xiv
CHAPTER 1.	
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION	
1. Women's Leadership Through A Context of Rembang Movement. <i>Abdul Kodir, Daniel Susilo & Hafizah Awalia</i>	3
2. Deterrent Factors on Woman's Autonomy in Rural Tourism Activities: The Case Study of Pentingsari. <i>Aris Chandra & Juwita Fitrasari</i>	9
3. Gender Perspective in Divorce Phenomenon in Purbalingga District. <i>Dyah Retna Puspita, Pawrtha Dharma, and Rukna Idanati</i>	17
4. The Partnership of ZakahOrganizing Institution in Zakah Collection in Sragen Regency. <i>Kristina Setyowati & Lungid Wicaksana</i>	25
5. Growth and Development of Girls in an Elementary School in Malang City: Menarcheal Age and Body Mass Index of Lower and Upper Socio-economic Status. <i>Ofri A.S.B. Amalliah, & Myrtati D. Artaria</i>	30
6. Policies and Empowerment of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (UMKM) of Industri Tas dan Koper (INTAKO) at Tanggulangin Sidoarjo Regency to Facing The Asean Economic Community (AEC). <i>Berliana Mustika Rani</i>	36
7. The Cement Company and the Non-Economic Activities of Women Rural Areas: The Case Study at the Ring-1 Villages in Tuban, East Java, Indonesia. <i>Rustinsyah</i>	43

8. Halal Tourism in Indonesia: Capturing the Properness of Halal Tourism in West Nusa Tenggara. <i>Nurul Hidayah, Marvy Ferdian A. S & Binaridha Kusuma N</i>	50
9. Gijzeling and Penology. <i>PrimadonaHarahap</i>	58
10. The So-Called Man (The Importance of Gender Equity Education On Adolescent Boys). <i>Ika Rizki Yustisia, S.I.Kom, M.A. and PrimadianaYunita, S.IP, M.A</i>	65
11. Youth Unemployment Crisis In Lesotho: The Impact Of Decent Work Country Programme Phase Ii On Youth Employment Creation. <i>Manapo Anastacia Chopho</i>	72
12. The Typology of Women Victims Domination of Domestic Violence (Study of Gender Equality in Women's Prison in Bandung). <i>Vinita Susanti</i>	77
13. Grass-Roots Empowerment in the Changing World: What the Community Can Initiate? <i>Sulikah Asmorowati</i>	82

**CHAPTER 2.
GOVERNANCE, PUBLIC POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT**

14. Village Development Strategy towards Good Village Governance. <i>Meirinawati& Indah Prabawati</i>	89
15. Implementing of Participatory Development Planning Process through Eco-village Program at Sukamaju Village, Cimaung Sub Districts of Bandung District. <i>Maya Septiani</i>	95
16. Towards Empowerment of Disadvantaged People through Community Governance in the Lack of Government's Social Welfare Service. <i>Sudarmo, Lestariningsih, Suryatmojo & Endang Martini</i>	105
17. BLC as One of E-Governance for Community Development. <i>Putu Aditya Ferdian Ariawantara</i>	111
18. Good University Governance, Is It Necessary? <i>Rhini Fatmasari</i>	119
19. Shifting from e-Government to e-Governance? Case Study of Surabaya Single Window System as a Tool to Improve the Public Service in Surabaya. <i>Rindri A Gati & Sulikah Asmorowati</i>	123
20. Developing Through Government or Governance? Indonesia's Infrastructure Development in the Decentralization Era. <i>Septaliana Dewi Prananingtyas</i>	133

21. Constructing Indonesian Soft Power through IACS (Indonesian Art and Culture Scholarship) Program. <i>Sri Issundari & Iva Rachmawati</i>	142
22. Surabaya Single Window (SSW): Transparency and Public Service Innovation Towards Future City. <i>Fitrotun Niswah and Eva Hany Fanida</i>	149
23. Green City or Grey City? An Urban Environmental Security Perspective on Jakarta's Waste Management System. <i>Ucu Martanto</i>	154
24. Urban Water Transformations: Can social innovations and entrepreneurships transform governance and citizenship in developing cities? <i>Erika M. Duncan, Megan A. Farrelly, and Briony C. Rogers</i>	160
25. Development of Apparatus Soft Competence for Improving Poor Health Services in Surabaya City. <i>Falih Suaedi</i>	171

CHAPTER 3. GLOBAL JUSTICE AND SECURITY

26. Market Share Limitations in the Search Engine Industry: Comparative Study of Google Inc. in Rusia and South Korea. <i>Atika Wardah & Citra Hennida</i>	181
27. The Transformation of Coffee Industry in Brazil: the Development of Country Image and Regimes' Adaptation. <i>Ika Devi and Citra Hennida</i>	192
28. Combating Transnational Crime In The Pacific Region. <i>Sistya Asri Prasetyo and Baiq Wardhani</i>	199
29. The Implementation of Public Diplomacy through Paradiplomatic Activities for an Effective Place Branding. <i>June Cahyaningtyas, Sri Issundari and AsepSaepudin</i>	206
30. Unilever Strategy Becoming Global Black Tea Main Player. <i>Karlina W Kristiani and Citra Hennida</i>	211
31. A Leadership Factor in Russia's and Indonesia's Resurgence: Comparing the Leadership of President Putin and Yudhoyono. <i>Kholifatus Saadah and Vinsensio Dugis</i>	218
32. Chinese Foreign Policy on North Korea's Nuclear Issue: Reflecting National Self-Image for being Responsible Major Power. <i>Mahrta and Citra Hennida</i>	223
33. Indonesia's Cooperation in Developing Green Economy with the Pacific Islands. <i>Moch. Arief Setiawan and Baiq Wardhani</i>	231
34. Global Governance and Sport Sovereignty. <i>Indra Kusumawardhana and Muhammad Badaruddin</i>	237

35. Achieving Ideal Peace. <i>Lilik Salamah</i>	247
36. Indonesia Involvement in UNIFIL as Commitment in Managing International Conflict and Sustaining Human Security. <i>Sartika Soesilowati, MA., Ph.D. and Rany Purnama, S.IP</i>	251
37. The Perils of Neoliberal Free Trade; The Case of Fisheries Free Trade Agreement between PNG and EU. <i>Quinette E. Mursau & Vinsensio Dugis</i>	260
38. Explaining the Ineffectiveness of Indonesian's Foreign Policy toward the Papuan Issue in a South Pacific Region. <i>Hipolitus Yolisandry Ringgi Wangge</i>	266
39. The Contestation of Discourses on Sustainable Development in the Controversy of Benoa Bay Reclamation. <i>I Made Anom Wiranata, Sjafiatul Mardiyah, Zainal Abidin Achmad</i>	274

CHAPTER 4. DEMOCRACY, CIRIZENSHIP AND SECURITY

40. The Power of Powerless (Study Role of Women's Group on Disaster Management). <i>Baiq Lily Handayani</i>	287
41. Protecting Human Rights and Countering Terrorism in Indonesia: Debate, Policy Implication, and Solution. <i>I Gede Wahyu Wicaksana</i>	295
42. Quo Vadis Student Movement in Indonesia: Lesson Learned in Universitas Sebelas Maret. <i>Faizatul Ansoriyah & Tiyas Nur Haryani</i>	302
43. Alternative Agriculture Policy to Confront Village Autonomy in Tabanan. <i>I Putu Dharmanu Yudartha</i>	307
44. The Impact of the Government-stated Objectives and Policies Changes for the State Owned Enterprises (SOEs): Astudy of Indonesian SOEsStructure and Objectives. <i>Andriati Fitriningrum</i>	317
45. Women and Political Contestation: Learning from The 2014 Legislative Elections in Indonesia. <i>Dr. DwiWindyastuti Budi Hendrarti</i>	332
46. Primordial Conflict and the Role Of Community Policing. <i>Bambang Budiono</i>	343
47. Elite Personalism Reinforcement in the Open List System Era. <i>Kris Nugroho</i>	350
48. The Urgency of Villagers' Social Capital in Implementing Village Acts (UU Desa) No. 6/2014. <i>Raudlatul Jannah</i>	355

49. The Development of Village Consultative Agency as the Attempt to Create a Development on the Strength of Family as the Implementation of the Village Act. <i>Santi Isnaini & Laurentius Dyson P</i>	362
50. E-KTP as the Formal Identity in Election. <i>Anieq Fardah</i>	373
51. Implementation Policy on UKM Cluster Development in East Java. <i>Budi Prasetyo & Rizca Yunike Putri</i>	378
52. Community Participation in Tourism Planning: A Study in Sumenep, Madura. <i>Dian Yulie Reindrawati, SantiIsnaini, and Nur Emma Suriani</i>	390
53. Performance of Village-Owned Enterprises (BUM Desa) of Kemiri Village Jember Regency Based on Balanced Scorecard Approach. <i>Faris Widiyatmoko and Rahma Amelia W N</i>	396

CHAPTER 5. INFORMATION, DIGITAL SOCIETY AND CULTURE

54. The Enhancement of Telecenter Service Quality: Based on "Perception-Expectation Gap". <i>Erna Setijaningrum</i>	411
55. Is It an Illusion or Reality of Communication in Mayor Election Debate? <i>Nevrettia Christantyawati</i>	418
56. Virtual Community and Local Civil Society Empowerment (Study on Virtual Community in Sikka District, East Nusa Tenggara). <i>RiniKartini and SulihIndraDewi</i>	427
57. Teenagers are Subjected to Cyber Bullying in Social Media Ask.fm <i>Zainal Abidin Ahmad, Agustina Sari Iryanto, and Syifa Syarifah Alamiyah</i>	435
58. Community Empowerment Through Developing Media Broadcasting Community. <i>Yayan Sakti Suryandaru</i>	442
59. Imposed Information Seeking on Street Children at UPTD "Kampung Anak Negeri" Institutions Surabaya City. <i>Fitri Mutia</i>	450
60. The Role Of Higher Education Library To Optimize Scholarly Communication Through Google Scholar. <i>Dewi Puspitasari</i>	458



SEIICHIRO SHIMAMOTO

Kyoto CSR Study Forum, Kyoto Bunkyo University

GOVERNANCE IN THE CHANGING WORLD VIS-À-VIS CSR IN DEVELOPMENT

1. GOVERNANCE AND MARKET ECONOMY

The world is changing fast. The used system becomes obsolete and sometimes hamper the development of new and better quality of life. Therefore it is time that we pause and look at what actually is the problem that we have with the governance if it interferes with the sound development of market economy. We may have forgotten the intrinsic nature of governance and almost being used to cope with it without much thinking. Especially the time is imminent because of the de-facto bi-polarization of the globe into haves and have-nots. In this paper, I will start by delving into the definition of governance from the stand point of the market economy. In other words, the role of governance is to rectify and compensate the demerits or failures of free market economic system, enabling it to be a viable system for the happiness of everyone on earth, including our future generation. Likewise, the global governance by institutions like UN, WB, IMF, and other international institutions are facing squarely the existing global issues of poverty, environment and other social development issues but have recently resorted to more collaborative approach by joining hands with the private sector.

They have come to recognize that global governance for development cannot stand more effective than the case of partnership with the private sector. We have to be especially careful when we look at the traditional governance of public offices, which in many cases seem to have backfired risking chances for better QOL. I will exemplify the 1998 economic crisis case in Indonesia and of the 2011 earthquake case in Japan. Both cases indicate that the coerced governance of the overarching public institutions do no good than harm. Hence self-governance should be an alternative and here will be the place for CSR management in development.

2. CSR

The CSR has its origin in the geopolitical strategic idea of the western countries especially after the 1990s unification of the bipolar world, market wise at least, that is. The globalization of the economy accelerated both volume wise and area wise, thus detrimental havoc being brought to the have nots of the world, who otherwise could have made their way out though on much gradual pace and in sound shape. It is not only the TNC that are the causes of it, but the total battalion of economic forces who have with the information technology usurped the global market without much consideration about the possible negative influence brought to the people or the areas related. Doubtlessly, the limitless profit monger-ism that they think as legitimate can never be a humane way of conducting business anywhere. It will be rationale for them to come to terms with the needs of public sphere of business domain, and do whatever they can if they are needed and constructively start capitalizing their professional state of art to the solving of imminent socio-economic issues.

The winner takes all and the remaining lest will be left at the mercy of the economic quagmire is certainly a phenomenon that cannot be condoned. It is not a true business. Consequently, dissatisfaction arises, here and there in different shapes. It is therefore evident that the current world regardless of advanced or developing, is under siege of governance which have not worked well for all people and for quite some time since 2000. As we know that the free market economy has been and should be a viable mechanism for everyone's happiness, it is up to the players i.e., the corporations themselves that ought to rethink about their business behavior, and exert their attention globally, sustainably and take down to earth action. Thus, CSR management becomes the key to bring the total free market system to bloom into a mature system of success in the near future.

3. STATUS QUO OF CSR

Then I will dig into the status quo of CSR permeation in the world and in Japan by emulating recent examples of misdeeds demonstrated by some of the very best companies. The CSR management has not advanced reasonably well also because of the global governance that seemed to have brought backlash upon some of the companies that were apparently known as good companies. I will try to extrapolate on some of the unsolved dichotomy that have existed especially when the businesses confront CSR, not to mention about the conflicting choice between private profit vs social profit. And to overcome the dichotomy, it is better to unite together than to fight it alone. The loose form of united front with manifold sectors of society, sharing the common mission but in a differentiated fashion could be the key to success, which is what is meant by 'business partnerships'.

The business partnerships, which came to life formally in the early 2000 by the WB and IFC combined under the aegis of the Private Sector Development Department, proved to be innovative at first but the thrust or the vigor to promote it seems to have waned considerably. The reason behind it could be several but the rationality is there that if we rethink over the mechanism and the governance modality, it could be a Gordian knot cut-

ter for solving global and local social issues. The key again is to rethink governance and modify continuously to the most optimum modality of more equal allocation of works amongst the partners. The comprehensive approach of joining hands sharing the mission and committed to the fulfilment of it, capitalizing on the respective area of comparative advantage, will certainly be a path for the future. As the precedents of such business partnerships increase, the ethos will be born that the life is not at the prey of shrewd money mongering businesses, but the hope for responsible businesses strengthens. The market economy as a public domain will be a much more secure place for every human being to participate, in fact, affording opportunities of self-realization and better environment of QOL for everyone.



MACIEJ
HENNEBERG

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Proceeding Re-examining Governance:
Strengthening Citizenship In The Changing World

MACIEJ HENNEBERG

Wood Jones Chair of Anthropological and Comparative Anatomy, School of Medicine,
The University of Adelaide, Adelaide, Australia Institute of Evolutionary
Medicine, University of Zurich, Switzerland

Maciej.Henneberg@adelaide.edu.au, maciej.henneberg@iem.uzh.ch

INFLUENCE OF SOCIOECONOMIC SITUATION ON BIOLOGICAL WELL-BEING OF PEOPLE

ABSTRACT

Although governance and citizenship issues seem to fall mostly into the area of social sciences and humanities, the biological structure of human populations provides a background for functioning of nations and societies, while government actions influence biological well-being of people. Thus, governance is a part of a system of positive feedbacks between various parts of the human ecological system. The challenges to governance presented by changing biological properties of people result from accumulation of genetic mutations due to increasing population size, relaxed selection increasing the number of heritable diseases and direct environmental impacts on child growth and development. All these challenges must be dealt with by governmental policies and actions.

1. ENERGY FLOW THROUGH THE HUMAN SYSTEM

Human life is a dynamic homeostasis. We are thermodynamically open systems. Thus, our physical existence is a constantly changing balance between energy/matter inputs and outputs (Henneberg and Saniotis 2016). Individual people's bodies succumb to increasing entropy and their existence is limited. It ends in death. Reproduction is necessary to continue human life through time. Progeny carries traits of parents to next generations.

Genes determine structure and function of individual organisms that, during their development are modified by epigenetic processes and physiological adjustments responding to environmental conditions. Through the process of reproduction – new organisms replace those that succumb to death – human populations can continue their collective life forever, provided their needs for energy and materials necessary to sustain life are satisfied. Thus, although individual lives are limited in existence, populations are immortal under certain basic conditions.

These conditions must satisfy the basic principle of the energy/matter provided to a population being sufficient to satisfy all needs of a population to continue its life (Henneberg and Ostoja-Zagórski 1984, Henneberg and Wolański 2009):

$$C \cdot E \geq S$$

where C = environmental conditions, E = exploitative ability, and S = the sum of vital needs.

Environmental conditions include all that surrounds humans: physical configuration of the Earth, the solar energy reaching our planet, life teeming on the Earth's surface and in its waters.

The exploitative ability of a population may be conveniently expressed as a product of two variables:

T - efficiency of technologies available to a population and **W** - labour available in a population. Efficiency of technologies may vary from seemingly simple methods our ancestors used to obtain food from the natural environment – hunting, fishing and gathering implements and basic cooking techniques – to the modern day sophisticated digital networks, while labour available in a population is determined by its demographic composition – numbers of males and females, their age structure – skills in using various technologies and ways in which human work is organised.

For most practical situations it is convenient to divide the sum of needs (S) into the following components:

N - nutritional needs including quantities of nutrients necessary to sustain life of the members of a population,

H - hygienic needs that include protection of the body against the elements – shelters, clothing, heating/cooling, and against the damage by inanimate and living factors – toxins, parasites and predators,

T - implementation of technological processes that includes all rough materials and energy required to transform them into tools, workplaces, weapons, implements and medicines,

O - implementation of organizational processes that includes material supports for social organisation – political institutions, religious worship, educational institutions etc.

Thus, the equation can be rewritten as follows:

$$C . W . T \geq N + H + T + O$$

For different human populations environmental conditions, technologies and labour availability may vary in numerous ways, but they must always supply all the needs of a given population. Otherwise a population cannot exist. This basic principle governing the physical existence of a human population provides a common ground for analysis of any system of governance because all those systems must ensure adequate supply of energy/matter that will satisfy all needs of a population. Although we tend to think about systems of governance and citizenship in terms of humanities and social sciences, their basis is firmly embedded in physical conditions of the world and biological properties of human bodies. Changes in governance systems and social organisation may produce changes in human biological characteristics that eventually will determine human well-being.

2. POSITIVE FEEDBACKS IN THE HUMAN SYSTEM

Since human populations are complex systems in the sense of von Bertalanffy's system theory (Strzałko et al. 19810) numerous qualities of human bodies, minds and their products are interacting with each other in a system of feedbacks. Those feedbacks are of the autocatalytic, self-amplifying nature. This means that improvement in one of the elements of the system causes improvements in all other elements trough the chain of mutual interactions. Figure 1 provides a schematic representation of the system of feedbacks operating in human populations. A change in any of the elements of the system is reflected in changes in all other elements. Although governance influences directly the social organisation (O in Fig. 1) its effects are eventually seen in all other elements of the human system, for example in the child growth, or the language.

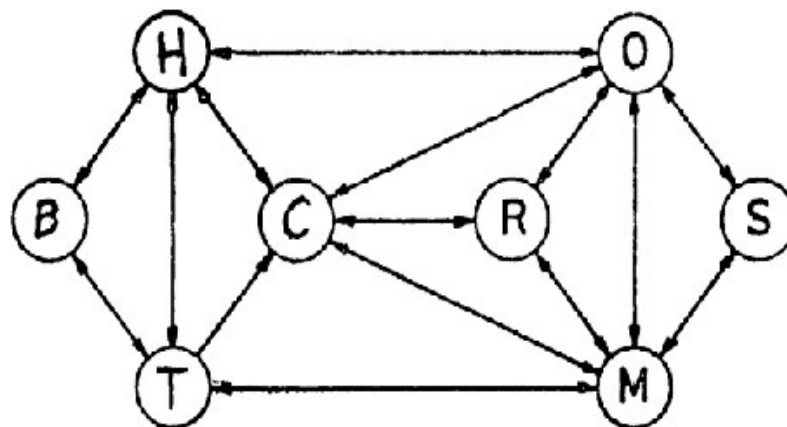


Figure 1. A schematic representation of the system of dynamic feedbacks shaping human life. F – food procurement, B – body structure and size, O - social organization, S - sexual behaviour, M - mental capacities, T - technology, C - communication (language), R – rearing of children. From Strzałko et al. 1981, modified.

3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION AND HUMAN GROWTH

In human biology, it has been very well documented that socio-economic situation of families influences child growth (eg. Bogin 1999, 2001). Children in poorer environments, for instance in rural ones, grow smaller than those in better environments, eg. urban ones. Even in the same rural or urban environment, child growth may differ depending on the socio-economic situation of individual families (Henneberg and LaVelle 1999).

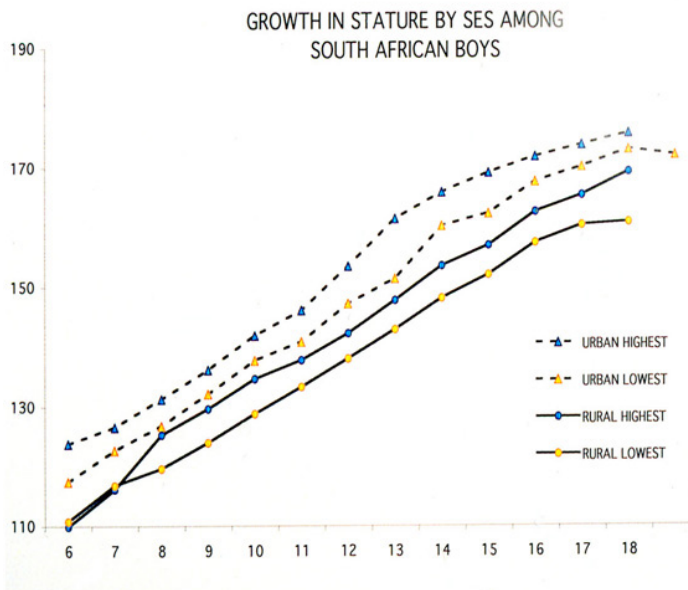


Figure 2. Growth of body height in South African Boys from the mixed “Cape Coloured” community depending on general environment (urban, rural) and on individual family socio-economic status (highest, lowest). Data from Henneberg and LaVelle 1999). Vertical axis – stature in centimetres, horizontal axis – age in years.

CHANGES IN MORTALITY, FERTILITY AND THEIR BIOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES

Since human populations can only survive through continuous process of reproduction, they contain individuals of both sexes and all kinds of age from infants to elders. The way a given population satisfies the basic principle of energy flow, is reflected in the age/sex structure of this population and its reproductive dynamics. The better the energy flow through the population, the more opportunities for extended human life and for reproductive performance are.

This is reflected in changing patterns of mortality and fertility, which in consequence produce changing population size and age structure of populations. During the last, approximately, 50 years world population grew fast due to reduced mortality since efforts of all governments were directed at protecting lives of citizens. There were, of course, differences between various countries depending on their wealth and efficiency of health systems, but overall human life expectancy increased from less

than 50 years in 1950 to more than 65 years in the early 21st century (Fig. 3). This, besides obvious advantages for individual and family life, had biological consequences resulting from the reduction in the opportunity for natural selection (Saniotis and Henneberg 2011). One of the consequences of reduced natural selection through mortality has been the increase in the Type One Diabetes Mellitus (You and Henneberg 2016) that is the kind of diabetes that has strong genetic background. This, however, is not a detrimental development since present-day medicine can easily control the disease and sufferers have normal productive lives and are valuable members of societies. The only disadvantage is the cost of medical care. This cost can be borne by most governments, but must be provided for in health expenditure budgets.

Since genetic mutations, that are a consequence of fragility of the DNA, occur regularly and commonly in human populations (Conrad, et al. 2011, Henn et al. 2015), with less opportunity for natural selection mutations will accumulate in human populations which may produce more genetic disorders. Since some cancers have a genetic background, the incidence of cancers may increase.

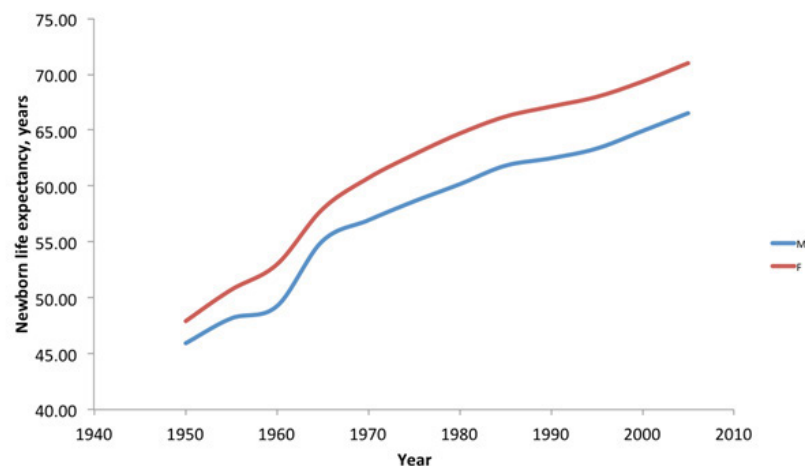


Figure 3. Newborn life expectancy in the world, based on WHO data. Red line – females, blue line – males.

Reduction of mortality and general progress in medical sciences resulted in somewhat delayed in relation to mortality changes, decline in human fertility (Fig. 4). This decline is a result of changing family economies. In traditional, agriculture-based economies children were a part of a household that had an economic role in production of farm goods. Therefore having more children was advantageous for family income. In industrialised economies, parents earn their income working away from home and children have no productive role in family economics. Parents, of course, care for their children and spend a part of their income on supporting and bringing up children. This, however, is limited by parents' earnings. Therefore number of children becomes limited. With wide availability of a number of birth control methods, the fertility becomes limited. There is a clear inverse correlation between the number of children per family (Total Fertility Rate) and the income per capita – more developed countries have lower Total Fertility Rates (Fig. 4).

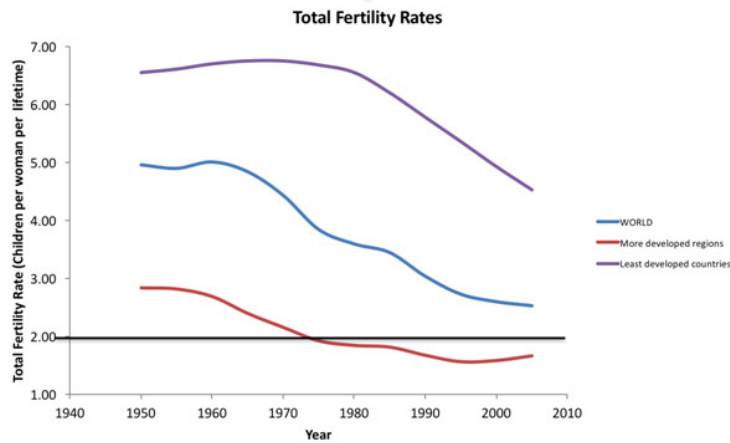


Figure 4. Total Fertility rates in the world and in more developed and least developed countries. Note that values for more developed countries have fallen below 2 that is below the population size replacement. This results in the negative natural increase. Datais from United Nations Population Council.

The relationship between increased wealth and lower fertility recently lead to a disturbing phenomenon of Total Fertility Rates in developed countries falling below 2 children per family, which means that there will be less than one child to replace one parent in the next generation – a net decline in population size. This is a disturbing phenomenon because it changes population age structure towards predominance of elderly people who need to be supported by dwindling number of younger, productive adults and it requires immigration of workers from less developed populations that changes ethnic composition of nations. Economic and social consequences of these demographic changes must be dealt with by governments to ensure economic and social well-being. Various governments of wealthier countries tried to increase fertility of their populations by offering economic incentives to women who bear children. These policies are, at best, partly successful.

Total fertility rate predictions

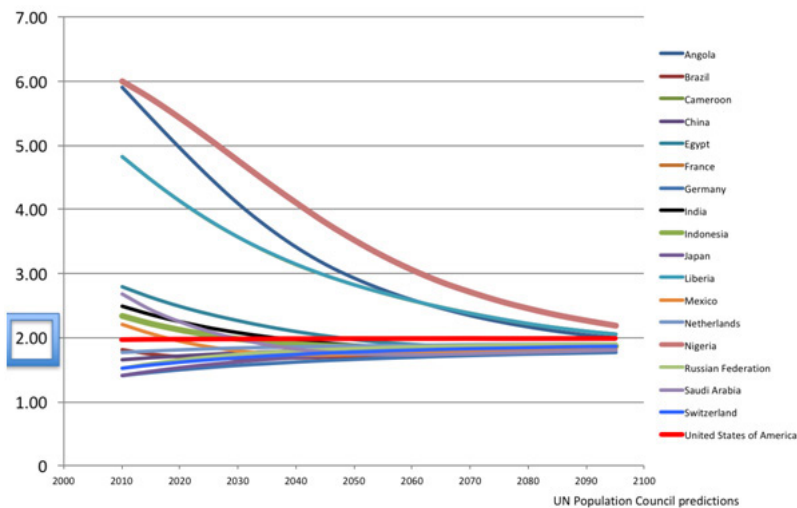


Figure 5. Total fertility rate predictions to the end of this century. Data from the United Nations Population Council.

Population Council of the United Nations predicts that by the end of the 21st century, Total Fertility Rates in practically all countries of the world will approach 2, a simple population size replacement (Fig. 5).

SUMMARY

In summary, the challenges to governance presented by changing biological properties of people result from accumulation of genetic mutations due to increasing population size, relaxed selection increasing the number of heritable diseases and direct environmental impacts on child growth and development. All these challenges must be dealt with by governmental policies and actions.

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CHAPTER 1

**Social Development and
Transformation**

PROCEEDING

**RE-EXAMINING
GOVERNANCE:**

**STRENGTHENING
CITIZENSHIP
IN THE CHANGING WORLD**



Women's Leadership through the Context of Rembang Movement

Penyusun :

(a,1) • **Daniel Susilo**

(b) • **Abdul Kodir**

(c) • **Hafizah Awalia**

(a) Ph.D. Student at Airlangga University and Lecturer at dr.Soetomo University
84 Semolowaru, Surabaya
60119, Indonesia

(b) Lecturer at State University of Malang
5 Semarang Street Lowokwaru
Malang 65141, Indonesia

(c) M.A. Student at Airlangga University
Dharmawangsa Dalam Street
Surabaya 60286, Indonesia

(1) Corresponding author
Tel.: +62-81-333-41555
E-mail : daniel-16@fisip.unair.ac.id

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Abstract

This study aims to explain the strength and leadership of women in order to maintain their living space. In addition, this study aims to portray the concept of nature conservation through water, soil, and earth that fought relentlessly to reject the establishment of the Indonesian Cement factory in the village Tegaldwo and Timbrangan, District Gunem, Rembang. An environmental issue in Rembang is important to be discussed in deep scale. In the deep discuss area, we can look at the exploitation of natural resources massively without seeing the objective conditions around it. Permission for the establishment of a cement factory given by the district government of Rembang to PT. Semen Indonesia did not consider the existence of citizens who depend on the region. Licensing mine will certainly undermine the determination of the mountains of North Kendeng and Cekungan Air Tanah (CAT) Watuputih in the conservation area. This research used a critical research method and analyzed with leadership and ecofeminism theory. Plans to build a cement factory were the beginning of the social problems that existed in rural areas and Tegalombo Krembangan. This caused rejection action undertaken by the majority of women and mothers who worked as peasants. The rejection action was an effort to save the environment in the region of CAT Watuputih.

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INTRODUCTION

Rembang, a small town in the eastern part of Central Java, has a significant natural resource in Kendeng Moun-

tain. Semen Indonesia owned by Portland Cement Company wanted to explore natural resource in this area. In the early of 2016, Kendeng's women made a movement against the Semen Indonesia's plan to explore the Kendeng

Mountain.

Dewi Candraningrum, Editor in Chief Indonesian Feminist Journal (*Jurnal Perempuan*), in her previous research, stated on *Jurnal Perempuan's* website about their experience in Rembang Site. Candraningrum argued that the mining industry in Rembang make women in Rembang become subordinated because all of the mining profession focused on man. (Detail of Candraningrum experience in <http://www.jurnalperempuan.org/blog/dewi-candraningrum-politik-rahim-perempuan-kendeng-menolak-tambang-semen>). In 2014, women in Kendeng made a movement with illegal occupation in Semen Indonesia Rembang site. In other research, Lestariningsih (2015: 168-169) found that the resistance from women movement could be rooted from the history of women national hero, Kartini who was buried near Rembang area.

Women in Kendeng Mountain basically live in the agricultural industry. Women have a significant role as cleaner of weed, grinder the rice, and worker preparing the soil after the harvesting time. In correlation with Candraningrum's experience, the Semen Indonesia destroyed the women's live and took out their husband to move in the mining industry. Goodman, Fields, and Blum (2003) in Klenke (2004:5) found that women usually filled in a lower management position, higher management turnover, and lower average management salary levels, place greater emphasis on development and promotion of employees, and operate in nonmanufacturing industries. However, in Kendeng Movement, women became a leader and significant role against Semen Indonesia.

Since this research article was written, the effort of legal steps through the review of the Supreme Court has ruled in favor of peasants in Kendeng mountainous, Rembang City. The victory cancels an environmental permit issued by the Governor of Central Java to PT Semen Indonesia. This is based on the official website of the Supreme Court, which decided the lawsuit on October 5, 2016 (Ihsanudin: 2016). The verdict was in favor and canceled the object of disputes. In this case, the object of the dispute in question is the environmental permits mining activities and the construction of a cement factory owned by Semen Indonesia Company in the district Gunem, Rembang dated 7 June 2012.

Legal measures taken by Rembang women were not for the first time, but have been repeatedly. Numerous times they attend the hearing of the dispute mining objects with the Semen Indonesia Company and even Governor of Central Java. There are several findings of fact that the women's movement Rembang which then makes them optimistic in making claims, they are:

- (1) Semen Indonesia Company violated Presidential Decree No. 26 of 2011 concerning the restriction of establishment of Basin Groundwater in "Cekungan Air Putih" (CAT) Watuputih. Meanwhile, the Mining Business License (IUP) PT. Semen Indonesia is located in the area of CAT Watuputih;
- (2) Semen Indonesia Company violated Bylaw Spatial Plan (RTRW) Java 6 The year 2010 Article 63 which states Watuputih as "Region Water Additives";

- (3) Semen Indonesia Company violated Bylaw Spatial Plan (RTRW) Rembang No. 14 of 2011 article 19 which states that the area has been designated as 'Geology of Protected Areas';
- (4) According to Rembang's Bylaw Spatial Plan (RTRW) No. 14 of 2011 section 27, the area of forest in the village Kadinowo, District Bulu, Rembang is not intended as a large industrial area;
- (5) Semen Indonesia Company unilaterally set Factory Region as National Vital Objects, but not in accordance with the Decree of the Minister of Industry No. 620 / M-IND / KEP / 12/2012 on national vital objects of industrial sectors;
- (6) The EIA (Environmental Impacts Analysis) (AMDAL) of Semen Indonesia Company has contained an error, untruth even falsification of data information. The article mentioned in the EIA data does not correspond to the real conditions of the field. The falsification is for example: the number of cave which is said to be 9, while actually, there are 64 caves, springs which is said to be 40 while actually, there are 125 springs. Later in the EIA, they do not mention any Ponor but in fact, there are 28 points of Ponor;
- (7) The number of false testimony from the Semen Indonesia Company in Semarang administrative court hearing, such as: a) Two UGM academics saying that Kendeng has no water source including young karst; b) in addition, there are also false testimony of Head Gunem and one of the teachers at the Administrative Court during the hearing Gunem in Semarang, they said that Joko Prianto had followed the socialization, but the fact is not like that;
- (8) Semen Indonesia Company will also make the unemployment rate increase after the construction of the plant. That, when the plant is in operation, according to the EIA, would only require 356 employees. This is contrary to the discourse of the cement plant which will absorb many of the public servants;
- (9) Data from the taps, Rembang relies heavily on CAT Watuputih area that drains hundreds of springs;
- (10) The land that will be a candidate for the mine is not yet fully liberated. (This data were collected from Rembang Movements documentation lawsuit. Data were made for private of movement purpose).

This data are factual data that cannot be ignored even by law enforcement authorities and even Central Java Governor who has the authority in its territory. In addition, legal action undertaken by peasants and Rembang women is directly permitted by the governor. It means that regardless of the outcome of the decision of the court, all parties must be able to respect him. For Rembang women, it was a part of them in a democracy.

RESEARCH METHOD

Critical Research Method was used as a method in this research. Chomstock (1982) argues that "Critical social research begins from the life problems of definite and

particular social agents who may be individuals, groups, or classes that are oppressed by alienated from social processes they maintain or create but do not control. Comstock (1982, 378) argued that the method of critical research starts from the real social problems experienced by individuals, groups, or classes of oppressed and alienated from the social processes that are growing.

Deep interview was used as a tool to reach the data and information about the women leadership in Rembang movement. The researcher used 2 informants, they were an activist of Rembang movement and the leader of the movement. Miller and Glassner (2004: 129) stated research starts from a belief that people create and maintain meaningful worlds. It means that people by their selves create the meaning.

In this research, feminism view was also used as an approach to help researcher explore the data. Critical research method with feminism approach used different point of view in understanding women's issues from a perspective that tended to masculinity (Susilo and Kodir 2016, 320).

“Conducting “research that involves gender is a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micro-political activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine natures” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126) in Klenke (2004, 13)

Saukko (2003,44) stated, “The methodological programme of critical, contextualize studies is, thus, driven by an interest in seriously studying the practices of the subjugated groups, such as misbehavior at school or reading romances, which may appear trivial or foolish.” Saukko made analysis about the study in critical that must concern subjugated groups. That’s the point and concern how critical research strength is. In the context of Rembang movement, subjugated groups are the women who lead the movement against the Semen Indonesia. Women leadership in the context of Rembang movement created a significant issue in national media.

STRENGTH WOMEN TO PRESERVE HER HOMELAND

Efforts to win this time were the fruit of a process of so long resistance trip. Still, very clearly remembered the memory Ms. Murtini as one of the female fighters to reject the cement factory, she stated that the rejection action was undertaken by these mothers since 2012 when the cement plant was about to operate. However, the efforts of their movement were not massive. However, the movement experienced a peak on June 16, 2014. At that time, it was the right moment for them to make substantial resistance. The rejection action was organized by mothers when the first stone was placed symbolically by the Semen Indonesia Company (Interview with Ms. Murtini on August 16th, 2016 at 17.07 pm.).

The rejection action began with the road closure action by women who impede the arrival of the company that is also guarded tightly by security forces soldiers, police and security companies. According to one of their statements, the action takes place in an uproar (Interview with

Ms. Garwani on August 15th at 08.35 am.). It then led to physical violence committed by the data safety. Many women were thrown into the undergrowth, causing bruised part of their body, and some even fainted. But the incident later did not dampen the efforts of their struggle. They then decided to set up "Struggling Tent".

Establishment of the tent became a milestone in their struggle to reject and oppose the establishment of a cement factory in the area of their farm. Until now, the tent is still standing. "I'll leave the tent if the cement plant is also out of our territory" (Interview with Ms. Murtini on August 16th, 2016 at 17.07 pm). The struggle done by the mothers to retain activities in tents were quite unique. They do not abandon their farming activities. So, they agreed to create a rotating system to stay in a tent. At least, there is one woman who struggles daily living in a tent. So, in a week, they served to stay in the tent during the day. They also brought food and worship thing with them. The shift usually starts at 5 pm, when they have finish working. Moreover, when they live in tents, their husbands also accompany them in the evening before returning home the next day to start their farming activities. This is due to the unpleasant experiences like threats or intimidations from unknown parties. Intimidation they get is in the form of destruction of the tent. One of them states that the person suspected is the messengers of the company.

Efforts to fight do not just stop at the tent struggle. There are many ways to go through legal action or resistance symbolically addressed to the state. They repeatedly attended the trial held in the Administrative Court and the Administrative Court Semarang-Surabaya from Rembang; engaged in dialogue with the governor (Rofiudin, 2016) and even with the President; took action to denounce the witness UGM academicians¹ who played role as expert witnesses in the trial of disputes between peasants twilight with Semen Indonesia Company (Edi, 2016); set up a struggling tent in front of the president's palace; do a long march of hundreds of kilometers of Pati - Semarang ; conduct cultural rituals. There was one action taken by the mothers of Kendeng: nine members placed their feet in cement when they were in Jakarta. For them, it was nothing. They will remain consistent and do a variety of ways to cement factories so that they don't do mining in the mountains Kendeng.

On the other hand, it is very interesting that the various mobility actions by the women in Rembang are doing the funding independently. It means that any activities that demand women to travel far are financed by them independently. They hold regular payments for women around 2.000 Rupiahs when they are in the tent. The budget is then

¹ In this case the mothers questioned the neutrality of the expert witness gesture Eko Haryono as a lecturer at the University of Gadjah Mada judged to be siding with the people. "UGM is a campus of the people and financed by the people so it should side with the people. Supposedly lecturer of UGM also siding with the people who are currently struggling to save the environment and defend their rights," said Sukinah. Berita Jogja, "Kecam Pernyataan Saksi Ahli Ratusan Warga Rembang Demo UGM", Beritajogja.id, <http://beritajogja.id/kecam-pernyataan-saksi-ahli-ratusan-warga-rembang-demo-ugm.html> (accessed on October 13th 2016).

to meet every need of their action. However, due to the frequency of activity that was extremely high, it required more funding. They did not hesitate to use their deposits in the form of cash, and sometimes sold some of their crop inventories and even their livestock. However, until now, they still get a stigma that their movement was funded by certain parties. Some even thought that they had something to do related to the communism. It was thought as a propaganda tool of the new order in Suharto regime. The propaganda is the rejection of the model of development policies related to the agrarian sector.

However, many developing discourse question the position of men in the resistance. Many people make criticisms that women were sacrificed. Ms. Asha, as one informant, stated that the insurgency led by the mothers was one of the strategies of resistance (interview with Ms. Asha was on August 14th, 2016 at 15.30 pm). They learned from previous resistance effort led by men that has always led to the forcible dissolution action and led to acts of violence committed by security forces against the peasants. So it was decided collectively that the mothers became the vanguard of the resistance effort. Nowadays, the actions taken by the mothers are considered very effective. The first, when doing demonstrations dealing directly with security forces, violence can be minimized so that the purpose of these actions can be achieved. Moreover, it would be easy to form a public opinion to give effect to the community to have the action of solidarity with Rembang women through social media.

IMPLICATION OF ECOFEMINISM ON REMBANG MOVEMENT

Ecofeminism is part of the third wave feminists who try to explain the relationship of nature and especially women who become the focal point at the destruction of nature which is of direct relevance to the oppression of women. According to Vandana Shiva, Indian Eco-feminist, Third World development experienced childbirth myths are increasingly putting its citizens in the unfair conditions. Developed Western countries always use psychological violence, economic, and physical thing (Khalid, 2008).

According to Shiva (in Khalid, 2008), humans are the cause of the destruction of the earth quality. Human are judged too selfish, regardless of the result of the earth. The environmental damage is caused by mental and anthropocentric reasoning that is not friendly to nature. Anthropocentrism undermines the sanctity precisely ordained by the epistemology of science. Modern science is bad news from western patriarchal ideology.

Ecofeminism perspective stated the earth is the mother who must be saved from the threat of damage done to the corporation-backed international financial institutions and governments. Women are the first hand (first hand) that come into contact with natural resources because that's the women themselves who later became the group more vulnerable to the risks and environmental damage.

Ecofeminism in Khalid's view (Khalid, 2008), is actually the point of view to analyze the environmental problem by using a knife feminist analysis. Feminism is clear

in assessing the root of the problem and the impact, in particular on the specific vulnerable groups include women.

Ecofeminism as a tradition of universal criticism cannot be separated from the capitalist opposition groups and religious fundamentalist groups. Developments in Indonesia put a new study of ecofeminism as the widespread acceptance of feminists and activists environment and censure from religious fundamentalist groups. In the religious fundamentalist view, ecofeminism is part of feminism and is said to be against God's nature. Claims that the earth and nature can be undertaken for the benefit of the people become a justification for the rejection of ecofeminism.

Researcher were tracking and comparing the women leadership in the social movement. In the research of Sarkar (2014: 175-177), the women movement in India against the landlord of paddy field focused on relations about labor and landlord. Women played the significant role as a trigger to keep their nature in this movement. Compared to Rembang movement, they had the same characteristic that was to keep their land and nature. People in Rembang are the owner of their land. CAT Watuputih is their homeland, but the Semen Indonesia wanted to explore their land in the name of capitalism needs. Women in Rembang concern about the environmental conservation. Rumini, one of our informants told us about their worries if the cement factory was built in their land (Interview with Rumini, 15 August 2016). Rumini worried if their environment would change and was destructed after the factory established. Horkheimer in Sindhunata (1982: 109) said the natural instinct of a human is about to self-preservation of their nature and homeland.

In the implication of ecofeminism approach, the researcher took some data and analogy from the informant to look up how the context of the motherland in their mind became the inspiration of this movement. Women in Rembang made a campaign in public sphere (social media) about ideas relations of the motherland, nature, and her movement.

The move becomes easy to remember by the public because the public's understanding also intensified that women have a natural bond that is so strong with the earth. The women in Rembang believe that their presence on earth is to care for nature. Ms. Asha (interview on August 14th, 2016 at 15.30 pm) tried to reflect itself that the earth is like a pregnant woman. She was pregnant. They will keep the baby by maintaining diet and resting and hoping that the baby would be born perfectly. Even when the baby is born, the mother will be solely responsible for caring them.

In addition, Ms. Garwani (interview on August 15th at 08.35 am) assume that the earth and its contents are a gift for them, because until now all the needs of the mothers met by mother earth. Therefore, they realized to thank Mother Earth for providing everything to meet their families' needs from previous generations until now. If there is no land and water, they will not be able to live. Therefore, the fight is one way for them to thank the earth.

There are two things of interest to researchers in view of their initial journey in the struggle to reject the establishment of a cement factory. Among others are the absence of fear and tireless spirit to keep fighting until today.

Initially, both of these become a problem at the beginning of their fight, but now it has been lost. At the very first time, they were often intimidated or threatened by security forces or the agents of the company. Their house were often visited by certain parties to ask them not to continue the action of refusal. However, these issues did not deter them from keeping fighting. The more often they are intimidated, the more the step forward. Ms. Murtini stated that "why should I fear, if this land is my right" (Interview with Ms. Murtini on August 16th, 2016 at 17.07 pm.).

Besides the problems that often arise at the beginning of their struggle, there is tired feeling. Ms. Garwani (interview with Ms. Garwani on August 15th at 08.35 am) stated that, as a man, he considers that feeling tired in the fight was a very human thing. It is also influenced by their considerable physical exertion or cost they spent to keep doing the fight. It's been long enough them to fight (2 years). Then they remembered the fate of their children and grandchildren later when they gave up. When there is no more land to be left for their children and grandchildren.

Not only that, the struggle of the Rembang women's certainly will not succeed if there is any other party that also helped. They no longer think of the land or water is owned by the current. However, they also want to express the solidarity of Kendeng mountainous rescue effort aside in Rembang. So the conception of nature is not only limited by everything they get, but to all humans.

In reality, woman always become dominated side by the capitalist. In this context, women in Rembang got warmed up because of government policy and Semen Indonesia factory that took off their land. The women in Rembang, together with their family and their children used to live and work in the agriculture sector, but it was changed by the industry sector. In the fact, industry destroyed life and their environment. Women who used to work with nature disappeared as a consequence of Semen Indonesia factory that explored Mountain of Kendeng, just for having the benefit of their greed.

In the theory aspect, the state will give the legality of domination practice towards women. State as a manifestation of high capitalist imprisons woman rights that want to survive their nature. Foucault with his theory said that this was a new version of state total institution to marginal women (Neal, 2013: 215). State and its power shut the woman's mouth off with sweet promises. Discourse for protecting, sheltering and saving just become a promise and a dream for a woman in Kendeng. There is no presence of state and women will be isolated from their nature. The woman, in the reality, pulls up with nature, so the intruder comes to destroy their nature. We know the woman become a leader for their family and herself. If nature is destroyed, you will be ready for facing the movement from Rembang's woman.

According to the theory of nature, the woman is really soft, merciful, and comfortable. The basic character of a woman is the same concept with nature. It gives the comfortable thing for human life. If we compare to nurture theory, it says differently. A woman cannot work harder, irrational thinker, and cannot survive in a bad situation. But, in this case of Rembang's, woman will break up the nurture

theory. This discourse will examine with critical thinking theory, Beauvoir explains how the woman is implicated as "the other or second sex" for man needs. The woman can serve herself become "a self (servant)" for their master (state) as the only domination to woman's body (Hutchings, 2013: 93). The state does not regard woman as part of nature cycle where the hard job is done just by man. It is not true, all of us know the woman will serve the nature from her everyday life. The man just do their job in public sector, while the women in domestic sector that do many and more job that is interacted with nature.

The natural environment that destroyed as Consequence Mountain Kendeng's exploitation sure can make the woman stand against that activity. The woman became angry because their nature is destroyed by certain power. They fight for their rights and their nature taken by Semen Indonesia factory that cannot give the responsibility towards nature. It started from mobilizing mass until it brought a lawsuit to the court, but there is no positive response from the state. It is kind of woman's leadership that becomes part of woman's existence from their nature. The woman can take the movement for defending their nature. They are able to strike for their rights that are discriminated by capitalist and state. Who are on the front side? They are women, not man. It is the evidence that woman has the power of herself. If the comfortable from women's life and their nature are disturbed, you have to be ready for the consequences. The women are stronger than the man because they are leaders for their selves and their families.

In the view of Lestariningsih and Wariyantun (2015:171) Rembang's movements, with women as the leader of the resistance, are fully backed up by the support of religious leaders in Rembang and surrounding areas. Islamic Preacher and National Figure like KH Ahmad Mustafa Bisri (Gus Mus) declared why resistance of Rembang's Women became important. He asked us to consider the environmental impact of mining activities, not only in Rembang but also in Indonesia (Lestariningsih and Wariyantun 2015: 171).

NEXT STEP FORWARD: WOMEN LEADERSHIP AS TRIGGER OF MOVEMENT

Human in the reality lived together and made friend with nature. If nature is destroyed and disturbed, human will make the movement for saving the nature. State as master of water, earth, and land should protect the nature and use more of it for citizen prosperity (Indonesian Constitution 1945). However, in fact, state that has the highest power betrays the nature. The state is doing domination towards nature. Adorno with his critical theory explains that domination is channeled through capitalist practices with taking off nature's rights and the recourses on it (Peoples, 2013:15).

The women that lived around Kendeng's mountain used to interact with nature. They did their activity for cooking, washing, and the household job with nature. Semen Indonesia factory does not think the long impact from the exploitation. The women who live with nature need to re-

lease their rights. The women want to show their existence by doing the movement, challenging the state and the power of capitalist for nature survival. The resistance is done with many aspects and methods, like protest movement until law path. However, state and capitalist always break up the women spirit. The indirect state wants to force the women's body to stand against their self and their nature. The elite are examining women's powerlessness to fight the injustice. The frontal movement did not only become the job for man but also become the job for women. They can stand against suppression towards their body.

Those movements are done because the elite and the capitalist manifested in Semen Indonesia factory disturbed their nature. Nature will be said as pregnancy woman. They will give their everyday life for serving and protect nature, the place they life. They are loyal to entrust soul and life for protecting the nature from irresponsibility side. This is one of the movements from Rembang's woman in

Kendeng for surviving the nature as a part of woman's life. No one can predict when the women in Rembang struggle. However, the movement is still alive for nature and the struggling of their lives.

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Deterrent Factors on Woman's Autonomy in Rural Tourism Activities: The Case Study of Pentingsari

Penyusun :

• **Juwita Fitrasari**

• **Aris Chandra
Pradikta**

Master of Policy Studies,
Graduate School

Universitas Gadjah Mada
Yogyakarta, Indonesia

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Gender:*

Abstract

The existence of tourism activities in rural areas enables local residence initiating micro and small enterprises to boost their economic conditions. Recently, several positive evidences were also found related with women engagement from activities of rural tourism. The new emerging of service industries, in some extents, help women in remote areas transform their traditional economic structure that fully depend on men income, then become contributor to family. Such transformation is expected as driving forces to get out from deteriorating conditions and be able to empower women.

In spite of the concept such as women micro enterprise, woman's autonomy and rural tourism have been discussed separately in advance; however, the efforts to find the red-tape among those three are still limited. Based on intentions from government and enacted policy or programs to empower women as having own business, we searched answers for how women in rural areas affected or not in their gender role by the present of tourism.

This research was initially conducted on bigger project, which both authors involved, to look at social mapping in rural tourism activities. Based on survey at the first place, it was found interesting phenomena on women and men role embedded in societies.

Qualitative method was used, with case study from one of the prominent rural tourism destinations in Special Region of Yogyakarta. The case aspect of this research has been obtained from several points. The place or destination of Pentingsari as tourism area is generating high income compared with other existing destinations. In addition, Pentingsari is also regarded as having good managerial that pay attention on gender role, which becomes project model nationally.

Our results showed that woman's autonomy in household are gained from Javanese culture, instead of modern economic that they are now engaged. This discussion also addresses how factors such as

education, patriarchy system, wages mechanism for woman, and reproductive role, need to be considered to shape better empowerment of woman, particularly in rural areas. We also suggest the need to disseminate knowledge as well as structural changes to improve current conditions.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Micro enterprises are believed as a way to empower women with improving their skills as well as to help them supporting family income (Roy and Bhattacharya, 2013). Evidences also have shown if women are given an opportunity to contribute in family revenue, they tend to spend their earning for family needs and manage their finance better (Yunus, 2007). However, their willingness to involve is, sometimes, confronted with uneasy choices. Social barriers made them choosing between engage in a workforce or stay at home to take care of children and do household work (Gallaway and Bernasek, 2002).

The negative impacts of unabsorbing women in the workforce have been narrated by Lister (2004:55) as hidden poverty. Where, uncovered aspects, such as economic dependence and self-sacrifice, are underestimated in many statistical data. Those factors are often affected by measurement bias per household indicator and disparity of possession in assets occurred between males and females. Other study has shown in a country such UK that half of married women were more likely to be at risk in poverty (Lister, 2004). While in the USA, the data were revealed by Pew Research Center showing gap between men and women from various racial background that benefited from certain welfare policy. In their survey report, women more likely received food stamps than men. The data indicated that women are vulnerable in poverty that is caused by unequal distribution of power and income.

Structural efforts to narrow the gap have been initiated using particular policy by many governments. Tourism industry for instance, is seen as one of the solutions of existing conditions. This, particularly, provides opportunities for women having their own businesses and time to take care of family (UNWTO, 2010; and UN Woman, 2010). In addition, growing concern of women engagement in tourism sectors help them to improve participation in areas such as economic, politics as well as social aspects.

Counter argument also fruitful the debate. Research finding showed that discrepancy in professional job of tourism industry between men and women were between 10 and 15 percent, with men having more professional work than women. In addition, problem like unpaid worker-related jobs are still experienced by women from the sector

(Jucan and Jucan, 2013). In particular work area within tourism industries, women mainly are employed and relied on caring, cleaning and catering. The responsibility to take care of children also remains the domain of women (Pettersson and Cassel, 2014). In other words, involving in micro enterprises businesses does not always associate with women's autonomy and gender equality. While others have voiced differently as engagement itself, it has already challenged domination power of males in society. However, it is also acknowledged that their involvement still as secondary job within farmer families in rural area (Brandth and Haugen, 2010).

This paper mainly focuses to reveal on how contribution of female in tourism sector can boost females' autonomy or other existing variable that still has restriction in women's autonomy. In addition, the using of case study approach is intended to understand situation within surrounding environment. Java society particularly, which cultural setting exists in area of our research, is considered as having entrenched value in local lives. Thus, the using of qualitative method is regarded as the best way to open phenomenon.

This research is aimed as mainly to address limitation of interwoven concepts, such as women's autonomy, rural tourism activities as well as women in micro enterprises, though the trend to develop those three deems as potential. Another reason is also affected by government of Indonesia that focuses on giving access to women through participation in economic activities, particularly in rural areas.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Women's Autonomy

Agency theory is believed having effect on social problems such as poverty and became driving forces for social transformation. Problem in developing countries mainly marginalizes women in their development as it has addressed in Millennium Development Goals. Recently, several efforts have been done to translate women engagement to gain national data base. Women agency in Chad for instance, particular survey has measured with regarding decision making in household, involving self-reported income and mobility as important indicators (Vaz et al.,

2016). Based on their report, it also suggested that women's value need to be considered as the critique of existing measurement.

Similar survey was also taken place in Indonesia. Indonesian Life Family Survey 3 involved women's autonomy as indicators to understand the ability to access and control within household. The survey almost widely captured the life of household in several provinces with ample respondents. In the survey, additional concept such as kinship norms and labor force participation were also included. In turn, the ability of women in decision making such as own-clothing and personal autonomy were taking into consideration (Rammohan dan johar, 2009).

The concept of women's autonomy itself can be understood from several aspects. Autonomy is usually associated with possession of power. In power relations, women's position in society is regarded as significant if they could influence and control inter-personal relations (Dixon, 1978). Meanwhile, source of women's power in patriarchy society can be obtained from parent inheritance and marriage with men. However, women are regarded to possess power if they can determine decision-making in their life (Safilios-Rothschild, 1982).

Other arguments in autonomy of women also try to differentiate between power and autonomy. Autonomy is "softer" way in calming direct confrontation in male and female relations than using power notion (Isvan, 1991). Autonomy brings idea of personhood relations, thus, it weighs on gender or social positions between male and female (Susilastuti, 2003).

In this research, women's autonomy is defined as ability in technical, social and psychology, to gain information for decision making (Dyson and Moore, 1983). Farther, we also develop the notion of autonomy as female's control of materials, resources, access for knowledge and information, decision making and having freedom of physical mobility and building relations with family (Jejeebhoy and Sathar, 2001).

2.2. Gender influence in women's autonomy

Autonomy cannot easily be achieved since the existence of expected behavior between men and women that based on social construction is dominating social value. Gender represents aspect of psychology and cultural within individual that is derived from masculinity and femininity trait. The differentiation of masculine and feminine traits has been stable in society for quite some time (Frader, 2004). Therefore, Gender conception has major role in promoting, prohibiting, encouraging or discouraging individual, particularly men and women, for how they should behave and perceived to be normal in particular environment setting.

Within patriarchy system in a family, the role of men almost dominates in many aspects such as having control of their family members, particularly women (Kent, 2004). Conversely, expectation in role of women is associated with domestic works, such as taking care of children and giving birth. In Indonesia, patriarchy system exists along with particular culture that is embedded in society. Java for

instance, the primary population composition has impact on social structure. Based on the culture, social norms and value are dispersed through education institution, politics and local believes, therefore, consciousness is influenced indirectly by the patriarchy system (Kusujiarti, 2003).

Currently, several ways have been done to confront the existence of system, locally and internationally, that prevent women to develop. Logic and education are often used to communicate with the existing patriarchy value for better empowerment (Jejeebhoy, 2002). Evidence also showed if women can get access to education they have more autonomy and enable to participate in decision making (Susilastuti, 2003).

In order to transform from stable status quo of men dominance to better empowerment of women, compromising way such as giving women chance to get access for owning business is considered as effective. Home industry or enterprise is one of the solutions to encourage women, as they are still burden with responsibility to take care of children and domestic works (Suratiyah, 2003).

2.3. Women in small and medium enterprises

Micro, small and medium enterprises are considered as significant in contributing to develop country's economy. World bank (2006) on its report describes, people who live in rural area mainly engage in small and medium scale informal businesses. In addition, women are also absorbed in the sector as it gives flexibility and not necessarily to leave their home (Ministry of cooperative and small enterprises, 2010).

The engagement of women in economic sectors increases their contribution to family. Problem of women, as many have discussed, is caused by low educational attainment, and limited available work for them. Therefore, they tend to accept sort of low income jobs or stay at home to take care of children (Yuarsi, 2003). However, recent trends shown by World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2013) that number of women engagement in tourism industry are relatively significant, particularly in remote or rural areas.

Along with potentials of tourism industry in remote areas, there is also a chance of emerging economic development that can be enjoyed by the local. One of the examples is tourist market from European and America is currently interested to explore places that almost out of reach from industrial environment that is getting rise. Therefore, rural tourism is considered as emerging potential as favorite places (de Almaeda, 2010). Despite, some challenges that are now faced is related to how to empower women through the tourism industry sector and change in gender relations within household and society (Brandth and Haugen, 2010; Indonesia Ministry of cooperative and small, medium enterprises, 2010).

2.4. Rural tourism and women's autonomy

The job of women and their involvement in rural tourism activities are significantly increasing. Possible Factors that might influence such phenomenon are the demand it-

self which requires more workforces. Likewise, the mechanism to access is more flexible that women can engage in home industries and still have time for children and family (Caballe, 1999) than in industrial activities which require them leaving home in working hours. On the contrary, the engagement of women is not always associated with empowerment since available job for them is mainly unpaid or unskilled (Jucan and Jucan, 2013). Furthermore, in order to form autonomy, it has shown their determination of decision in mobility and having access to resources (Jejeebhoy and Sathar, 2001). While mainly family decision making is the domain of men (Caballe, 1999).

3. METHODS

This research was conducted using qualitative method and undertaken in Pentingsari village. Pentingsari is a tourism destination which is located in the north area of Sleman regency and within Special Region of Yogyakarta province. Main reasons in choosing the destination are having achievement as a national winner in rural tourism and receiving high portion of income compared to others. In addition, we have initiated a survey in the province before with sample derived from 33 percent of total population. Based on the survey, evidence showed that women engagement in the tourism area were significant. Therefore, we perceived that further research was needed.

Our subjects are women whose businesses located in rural tourism destination. During observation, we also found there are 7 groups that consist of 9-11 persons engaging in culinary and home industry activity. Informants were chosen using few criterions. First, women must be active in one of the entrepreneurial groups and their minimum membership is two years. With such amount of experience, it can be inferred that their engagement has an impact within everyday life. Second, our informants must have children and already married since women autonomy will better appeal when women having role in parenthood as well as wife. Third, they do not have any formal job outside home but purely engage in rural tourism activities. Those criterions are expected to make control of our research findings.

Data in this research were obtained using in depth interview with semi structured guideline questions. Analysis is mainly based on primary and secondary data to understand the meaning of existing phenomena.

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND RESULTS

4.1. Rural Tourism and women's autonomy

4.1.1. Economic autonomy

Authority to make economy decisions is deemed as important to understand women's autonomy. In order to gain better understanding, cultural factors cannot be dismantled in the analysis. This research shows that women's autonomy has no association with membership of micro businesses of tourism activities. Instead, autonomy within household can be understood from cultural inheritance. Anthropologists have described their findings that in Java-

nese society, women enjoy authority in household decision making (Jay, 1969).

Members of micro enterprises community have no barrier to engage in economic activities outside home. The work backgrounds of informants are various, ranging from merchant, farmer, housewife, factory worker to civil servant pension, and many others. However, authority to decide in economic spending of family is still possessed by women, despite the fact that their roles are mainly giving-birth. In Javanese society, women have main role to manage family budget. Meanwhile, a husband works outside home and trusts his familial budget to the wife.

The rights in making decision to buy wardrobe and jewels are regarded as women's autonomy which family economic ability affects its decision. Women from middle income family have a chance to spend the money for various tertiary goods. On the contrary, limited resources are restricting the others from low income family, thus, most for the allocation for basic needs. However, those decisions are mainly provisioned by wife with no or less husband involvement.

4.1.2. Women's access in household resources

For java society, particularly prevail in rural areas, relation of husband and wife is complementing each other. Furthermore, women's contribution on household economic is a common. Even, sometimes, a wife is deemed to be more responsible in managing family budget than a man (Hull, 1982). The image of better responsibility possession by women then make them having authority in making decision, even without husband intervention.

Giving a present is not an obligation for people in the village. However, a wife also has allocation for special occasion, such as Islamic celebration, marriage of neighbors or particular local traditions, in which, the ability to access is without spouse restrictions. In general, most of the informants have no barrier to allocate and spend money as managerial of family budget is given to women.

4.1.3. Women's access to own resources

Assets possession is regarded as one of the important factors in women's autonomy. A Female, who has assets, is used as a safety net when unintended outcome of marriage occurs. However, not every working female is having access to resources and be able to spend on valuable assets on her own name. Meanwhile, the challenge is to have saving that closely ties to gender concept in society.

In community in which our research was conducted, local people has relations between married male and female and it is perceived, by local, as ideal type of family relations. It is where male is associated with power and authority and female is a periphery. Particular perception prevails within our informant as well (Putranti, 2007). Males or husbands are the official owner of strategic household assets such as home, land, vehicle, and bank accounts. In addition, it has long historical record within society.

The involvement of women in micro enterprises does not directly make them having assets. This is due to low economy contribution with the businesses. However, Traditions that discourage women in having assets exist as

well, when women perceive that strategic assets are better written with husband's name. Since husband is the leader of family and representative of family in public domain. Therefore, there is existing limitation in managing spending, especially for bigger expenses.

Having economic position does not always make women having influence and leading to equality (Keeler, 1990). Types of work in tourism sectors which women engage into are mainly in food producers. In turn, it asserts that domestic area cannot be dismantled. However, still, children and husband are not interesting in family budget affairs. Unless husband need to receive information, in main outline, of family spending. To save particular portions of money, women rely on total income that is given by husband and resulted of their works after being spent for total family cost. In addition, if saving is possible, mainly it is not intended to their pension fund. Instead, they perceive to have spare money that is used for emergency purposes, such as going to hospital or having any special occasion that requires money.

4.1.4. Women's autonomy for physical mobility

Javanese women have been known for its flexibility to move, such as working and visiting neighbors, without being accompanied by men (Jay, 1969). In modern day of Indonesia society, most women are able to ride motorbike. Even though, there are particular places that husband still gives restriction to the wife. Medical center and family who live further for instance, are places that men prefer accompanying his spouse as those are regarded being risky destination for people who live in remote area. Therefore, wife still needs permission from her husband as having those destinations that are regarded for being too risky.

We see there is no association for the women's autonomy with their engagement in rural tourism business activities. Instead, the autonomy is passed, again, by cultural factors in society. In addition, the current technology that reaches rural area enables women ride their own two wheels' transportation

4.2. Deterrent factors on women's autonomy in rural tourism activities

In the previous explanation, the relevance of micro enterprises businesses with women's autonomy is not significantly associated. This subchapter is describing how emerging factors erode women's autonomy. In addition, it also becomes intervening variables that slows empowerment of women when they run businesses. There are four elements that we perceive as important to pay attentions such as cultural, educational, work sectors as well as reproductive role of women.

4.2.1. Cultural factors

We have mentioned that many of the factors, which help women in gaining their autonomy, are derived from cultural root of society. However, there are several challenges, embedded in cultural and preventing women's autonomy to step in the next levels as well. First, the men's role in Ja-

vanese society is regarded as leader of family, thus, it takes control of all family members (Kent, 2004). In addition, the patriarchy views also have effects on women's equality in having same role as men (Kusujarti, 2003). Likewise, women who have no formal occupation are obliged to take domestic responsibility, such as taking care of children, cleaning house and contributing as additional income if necessary.

Women's job in rural tourism activities does not always directly influence gender relations within family. Male are the dominant actors in strategic and managerial positions. Meanwhile, along with historical role of female, they are only involved in immediate income effect and absorbed in domestic works as additional earning contributors (Caballe, 1999).

The future challenges of women's autonomy are in area such as access in their own resources and of course, possession of assets. Currently male are perceived as having more control in those domain. Main reasons are men or husbands is a leader of family. Then, the position of women in local culture are no more than pride of male that possession of wealth or vehicle and various things to support their respect in society (Darwin, 1999).

4.2.2. Educational factors

Education is an important factor either for men or women. International Conference on Population Development state that education is rights for everyone and fundamental design of freedom. Informant in this research has various educational backgrounds from only primary graduate to university graduate. Special case is for one of our informant with university educational attainment. She does not only possess better individual autonomy but also social power. Where, social power is the ability to influence outside domestic or family affairs (Stoler, 1977). Being outside family matter, an individual can influence the decision making for communal.

The shifting from struggle for individual access and to affluence other can be achieved through better education. The importance of value resources that is written with women's name is one of the goals to empower women through consciousness. In addition, self-esteem also can be formed through the help of formal learning and social engagement. Ability to influence others outside domestic, somehow, is important to participate in building community around.

Others have also stressed the statement that is derived from empirical findings. To increase women's access and control of resources, they need to be involved in education. Education makes possible of someone to learn skills and logic. Therefore, traditional gender relations in society, which oppress women, can be reconstructed through new dialogue (Jejeebhoy, 2002). In addition, education significantly influences the women's autonomy through determining their economic and health care area (Susilastuti, 2003).

4.2.3. Occupational area factors

Causational relations between educational attainment

and workforce are mainly intersecting and connecting each other. Unfortunately, females, sometimes, are not prioritized choices among low income family. The outcome is facing difficulties to land in decent job. The shortcoming of education has made women less valued in workforce, and if engaged, they tend to be paid as unskilled workers (Sutiyah, 2003). Thus, it creates discrimination that is mostly experienced by women who work in informal sectors, such as promotion rights or limitation in work opportunities.

Low paid job sectors of women are not only caused by failure in fulfilling educational requirements, but also perception of women who have role as additional income for family. Thus, sometimes, company is not necessarily giving them promotion in managerial jobs or having equal payment system as men (Yuarsi, 2003).

As a member of particular micro enterprise in local area, women cannot determine their work types and even do not possess power to manage the work, such as pricing and sharing of its benefit. Most of our informants who are engaged have worked that is based on order from destination management. Job descriptions and responsibilities are matter of given from top to down. However, the main benefit of their work is having no ties to work hours. Therefore, among members are free to come or go or engage actively or passively

The involvement of women in micro enterprises cannot lead to higher autonomy. First, since the payment are not significantly contributed to household economy. For household enterprise group, who runs culinary and snack business, their income contributions ranges from 100,000 rupiahs to 200,000 rupiahs per person. Additional contribution usually gains by working as a trainer of local attraction. Performing dancing or supervising or on-sheet drawing contributes up to 50,000 rupiahs to 100,000 rupiahs. Approximately, women who work in the sectors can perform once or three times a month. Those total amounts of the earning, however, are not sufficient for fulfilling basis daily lives. Therefore, on the income base, they are still relying on spouse. Likewise, valuable assets in household are paid with husband earning and regarded as men's goods.

More extensive discussion is provided to understand women in the workforce. There are several types of dimensions that prevail in society. At the first place, it all includes the type of work (paid or unpaid labor). Second, remuneration ways that involve direct payment or indirect payment. Third, working employer types include working for others, for family or running own business. Those three dimensions of jobs affect women's autonomy. In which, direct payment of paid workers and running own business are considered having higher impact on autonomy (Susilastuti, 2003)

4.2.4. Women's reproductive roles

Reproductive role consists of responsibility to take care of children and exercise domestic work. The roles are not only for biological reproduction but also paying attention on the need of labor force (husband and working children if any). Further, it also covers responsibility for future gen-

erations, baby and school age children, for their nutrition, clothes, and miscellaneous needs. Those types of works mostly are unpaid works and almost solely women's responsibility (Moser, 1993). Meanwhile, men involvement is considered as additional when they possess leisure times.

Our informants are mainly included in those areas of responsibilities. The role as a mother and wife cannot be avoided. Besides, they also give contribution in family revenue. Sometimes, female has to make priority decisions in which area is at the top level. In addition, the domestic roles are deemed to be the most important, thus, they have to leave career outside home. Fortunately, with the existence of rural tourism activities they do not need to leave home and still have flexible schedule. However, problems emerge as the job itself still cannot effectively influence autonomy.

We found that the reproductive roles made women disregard their individual interests. Prioritizing children and husband are among the main goals, particularly in spending capital, rather than investing in their own wealth. In Javanese society, women are shameful of their hungry children scream to be heard by others (Lont, 2000). All of the informants have experience in spending their revenue for the sake of familial affairs, such as paying installment. They do not even pay attention on not having assets post retirement.

Beyond the household roles, there are also women's engaging in the committee team of the destination management. We noticed the positional division within structural line, closely related with gender concepts. Treasure management position for instance was chosen based on common perception of women's rigorous and precision in calculating money. Furthermore, the leaders of particular areas, such as manager and destination attraction chief, were mainly managed by men. In addition, culinary and merchandise department is commanded by women.

In conclusion, women hardly ever have chances in roles outside domestic areas. Those assertions are more explicitly enhancing reproductive roles. Work areas, such as cooking, serving, and cleaning, are the main domain of women in rural tourism activities within research locus. The imbalance portions more or less affect women's autonomy, particularly in individual resource control.

5. CONCLUSION

Emerging tourism market in rural area has taking effects on local economy. Rural tourism is seen be able to absorb labor forces, men or women, youths and elders, through micro enterprises. Various factors that influence micro businesses is due to high degree of local involvement and have specialties in local brand and attraction, in which, urban destination might not have. Those phenomena, in turn, expect to have bigger effect on rural livelihood with social interaction dynamics and entrepreneurial experience.

In Pentingsari village particularly, emerging local industry along with tourism attraction are available in sort of kinds. Those are small merchant, home industry, culinary, and cultural attraction such as traditional dance, and

drawing sheet with traditional pattern. The women's small enterprises are expressed by local as providing flexibility working hours, less workload, and not necessarily requiring specialties.

However, as this research are seeking to answer of women's autonomy in rural tourism activities, we concluded that there are no significant contributions of micro enterprises, which are exercised by women, with autonomy, particularly in area of individual access in own resources. Furthermore, we found the root causes of autonomy can be found as inheritance from cultural aspects. In addition, factors such as educational, cultural, reproductive roles as well as occupational areas are the main deterrents of autonomy. Thus, we asserted to improve such areas for better empowerment of women. It does need strategic planning and long process as the areas are considered to be essentials.

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Gender Perspective in Divorce Phenomenon in Purbalingga District

Penyusun :

- Dyah Retna Puspita
- Pawrtha Dharma
- Rukna Idanati

Faculty of Social and Political
Sciences

Soedirman University
Purwokerto

Email:
dyahrpuspita@yahoo.com

Keywords :

*gender need, divorce,
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Purbalingga.*

Abstract

One goal of establishing family is to make a qualified family which can be seen from their family resilience from physical, economical, and social aspects. Unfortunately, in reality, the family resilience in Indonesia today tends to decrease. It can be seen from the high divorce rate which is likely to increase in almost all regions in Indonesia. The other interesting fact here is that the majority of cases are filed by wives called "ceraigugat". Central Java Province is the province with the third highest number of divorces after East Java and West Java. One city in this province which has high divorce cases is Purbalingga district which is also dominated by "ceraigugat". It is possible that this is related to the fact that the unemployment rate of men is higher than the unemployment of women. It happens because there are many hair companies that make wig and eyelashes in Purbalingga which absorb thousands of female workers. It makes men worker difficult to find job. Several studies have shown the extent of the impact of divorce which hurts not only the divorced families, especially children, but also the community and local government. On the other side, local government should apply gender perspective in their development process so that they can create programs according to the gender need of each men and women group. So, it is interesting to know deeply about the phenomenon of divorce in Purbalingga district which is seen from the causal factors and profile of the couples which consist of age, education, kind of job dan marriage age. This is a qualitative research which utilizes secondary data derived from the web of Purbalingga Religious Court and Purbalingga Center Bureau of Statistic 2015. The data are then analyzed by descriptive qualitative method. The results show that divorce cases dominate cases received by Purbalingga Religious Court. Most of them are "Ceraigugat" case. Divorce cases happen in all sub districts, especially in the village area. The three causal factors are: no responsibility of couple, economic problem, and no harmonious relationship between couples. Most of divorce plaintiff / applicant

and respondent / defendant are in productive age ranging from 20 - 40 years old. Both ex husband and wife are only elementary school educated. Most of the divorce plaintiff work as a labor, small trader and private employees, but there is no information about the respondent's job. Most of the cases happen in young couple when they enter their marriage life in 1-5 years. It can be concluded that the divorce phenomenon in Purbalingga happens especially in the couple with low status both in income and education. From this phenomenon, it is suggested that Local Government assest gender need of couple more specifically where the nowadays condition force them to create jobs for men (especially husband) so that they can work in this area without going outside the city and having enough income to meet the needs of their family. Local governments also need to implement family extension program especially training program for the bride more agressively so that each party can determine their rights and obligations.

A. INTRODUCTION

The development carried out in Indonesia has spacious dimensions, including family development as emphasized in Law Number 53 Year 2009 on Population Development and Family Development. The goal is to create qualified family who live in a healthy environment. Qualified family is a family that is formed based on a legal marriage and is characterized with prosperity, health, advance, independence, ideal number of children, forward-looking, responsibility, harmony, and feeling of fear of God.

One indicator of qualified family is that there is a close bond and harmony among family members, especially between husband and wife. This happens when each party can carry out their duties and functions so well that the family truly be a place coveted by all family members.

Unfortunately, the numbers of a harmonious family in Indonesia in recent years have increasingly reduced. This condition is seen from the number of divorce cases which continues to rise, from 57 114 cases (in 2010) to 98 154 cases (in 2011). Sharper increase occurred in 2012 with 403 001 cases. Each year, most cases (over 60 percent) are in the form of contested divorce, which means that applicants divorce are the wives (<http://www.badilag.net/rekap-perkara-diterima-dan-diputus>).

The province with the third highest number of cases is Central Java after the province of East Java and West Java. The sharp increase occurred in 2012 to 90 607 cases which was originally only 17 464 cases (in 2011). In 2014, the number reached 99 639 cases in which the majority of applicants were also wives (<http://www.badilag.net/rekap-perkara-diterima-dan-diputus>).

Purbalingga is one of the districts with many divorce cases and it is increasing. The increase occurred from 136 cases (in 2009) to 1855 cases (in 2010). In 2013 the total of 2,999 cases in 2013 and slightly decreased to 2,832 cases in 2014. About 70 percents are contested divorce (<http://>

www.pa-purbalinggga.go.id).

These facts are interesting to pursue in: (1) how is the phenomenon of divorce in Purbalingga from a gender perspective? and (2) how does the Head of Neighbourhood attempt to prevent it? The objectives are: (1) to describe the profile of the plaintiff / applicant and respondent / defendant divorce in Purbalingga in 2015 according to: causes, age, education, marriage age, occupation and region of residence, (2) to assess the extent to which the Chairman / Board RT played a role in the prevention and handling of divorce cases in Purbalingga. The results of this study is that the Local Government is expected to make a grand design which will become a guide from many institutions related to improving family resilience. It also wants to increase awareness to the Head of Neighbourhood to optimize their strategic role in keeping the harmonious family. Theoretically, this research is useful to reinforce the gender perspective in developing society.

Theoretical Framework

Family is the core of society which has many important functions. In every society, the family becomes a social institution which is very important for social life. The family is a place that early community members are conditioned and prepared to be able to perform the roles in the adult world someday. The most important family case Ihromi (1999) found that only because of family we become a human. The family becomes the most powerful institution durability. The proper functioning of families is an absolute prerequisite for the survival of a society, because in that family a new generation acquires the values and norms that correspond to society's expectations (in Ihromi Mead, 1999).

The family becomes the most important source in creating social capital which is a prerequisite for the creation of civil society (Fukuyama, 1999). According to de Toc-

queville (Fukuyama, 1999), without social capital, there will be no civil society and with no civil society there will be no democracy (Fukuyama, 1999). According to Slamet (Pambudy and Andriyono, 2001), civil society is characterized by a sovereign, modern, communicative, adaptive to change life. The family also should have a self-sufficiency that is high, accept diversity, constantly develop themselves, know the things that are needed and how to get it, dare to take decisions, and others.

Rich (1997) and Popov et al., (1997) state that the family should be a vehicle for the development of superior skills (mega skills) and moral virtues (virtues). Failure to develop superior skills of these families can not be solved by other social institutions, including schools. Despite of the importance of this institution, the United Nations (UN) has designed a program that makes the family a vehicle for human resource development (Myers, 1992). Bennett (RatnaMegawangi, 2000) says that the family is the ministry of health, education, and welfare of the most original and effective way. The inability of these institutions to develop positive values and skills will not be able to be replaced by other institutions.

BKKBN (1992) formulated the concept of "8 family function" i.e.: the function of religious, social, cultural, love, protection, reproduction, socialization and education, economic, and environmental development. The function of other families (United Nations, 1993) are: strengthening the bond of husband and wife, procreation and sexual relationships, socialization and education of children, giving the name and status, basic care of children, the protection of family members, recreational and care emotions, and exchange of goods and services.

Because of those strategic functions of family, family development is important and must be concerned by all parties, especially the government. This commitment is stated in Act No. 52 of 2009 on Population Development and Family Development. It is mentioned that the resilience and well-being of the family is a family condition which has ductility and toughness as well as having the capability to physical-material in order to live independently and develop themselves and their families to live in harmony in improving the welfare of happiness inner and outer.

According to Sunarti (2001), family resilience is a family condition which has ductility and toughness, both physically and psychologically mental and spiritual, to live independently and be able to develop themselves and their family members to live in harmony, physical and spiritual prosperity. The valid indicators of family resilience are shown from the capacity of families to meet physical endurance, psychological resilience and social resilience.

Physical endurance is reached when the needs of food, clothing, housing, education and health is enough. Social resilience is reached when there are value-oriented religion, effective communication, high family commitments (division of labor, support for advanced and time of family togetherness, foster social relationships and mechanisms of overcoming the problem. Resilience of psychological family can be reached when families are able to cope with the problem of non-physical, control positive emotions, and have a positive self-concept (including the expecta-

tions and satisfaction) and concern the relationship from husband to wife (Sunarti in Puspitawati, 2006). Meanwhile, Black & Lobo (2008) mention that family resilience is a family member's success in overcoming the difficulties which enables them to develop warmth, support, and cohesion among them.

Several studies have shown the contribution of family support, among others are Kartono (1986), Puspitawati (2006), Sugiharto (2007). All of them expressed the family influence on adolescent behavior. To maintain the resilience of the family, parents should have the knowledge and skills in running a noble role. This is the strategic position of family extension functions.

One form of the low of family resistance is a domestic violence and divorce. Act No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Violence in the Household (<http://www.depkop.go.id/attachments/article/1465/03.%20UU-23th2004-penghapusan%20kekerasan%20dalam%20rumah%20tangga.pdf>) states that domestic violence is any acts against someone, especially women, causing misery or physical, sexual, psychological suffering, and / or negligence of household including threat to commit acts, coercion, or deprivation of liberty unlawfully within the domestic sphere. Thus, the definition of domestic violence is not only in the form of physical violence as understood by many people.

Domestic violence is strongly associated with divorce. Act No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage article 38 states that a marriage can break up because of three things: (1) death, (2) divorce, and (3) the decision of the Court (<http://www.kemenag.go.id/file/dokumen/UUPerkawinan.pdf>). In more detail, the factors described in the explanation of Article 39 paragraph 2 of the Act and also in Article 19 of Government Regulation No. 9 of 1975 (file:///C:/docume~1/user/locals~1/Temp/PP_NO_9_1975.htm) as follows:

1. Either party commits adultery or become drunkards, compactor, gamblers, and other refractory;
2. One party left the other party for two (2) consecutive years without the consent of other party and without valid reason or because of other things beyond their ability;
3. One party received jail terms of five (5) years or a more severe punishment after the marriage took place;
4. One third of cruelty or maltreatment of serious harm to the other party.
5. One party gets disability or disease by not being able to perform its obligations as a husband / wife.
6. Between husband and wife constantly disputes and quarrels and no hope of living in harmony again in the household.

Of the factors mentioned in item d and f above, we see that the two things that can lead to divorce is the presence of domestic violence (domestic violence).

Gender is a "mental and cultural interpretation of the sex differences in the male and female". Gender is usually used to indicate the division of labor that is considered appropriate for men and women "(Umar, 1999). It could be argued that gender is "sex (determined by) social" (Fakih,

1995; Mosse, 1996).

The gender difference often leads to gender inequality (gender inequalities), especially against women, both in a domestic environment, work community, culture, and the State that is manifested in the form of marginalization, subordination, stereotyping, violence (violence) and load double (double burden) (Fakih, 2001: 75-76). For this reason, it is necessary to use gender perspective to understand and analysis every social phenomenon in all aspects

Family is one of the agents of internalization of gender values. In the family, there is division of labor in which the husband generally acts as head of household and primary breadwinner, while wife is a housewife and care taker of their children. If the wife works, the income helps them meet the needs of families.

In fact, the gender division of labor cannot always work as expected by society. That is, in a society, there can be a shift in gender roles in which one more instrumental in the economy is the wife. This is because the wife has a steady job with sufficient income, while the husband's work is not fixed and has lower incomes. Purbalingga is one of many districts where this phenomenon occurs. This is because the unemployment rate for the husband is higher than the wife. The limited employment opportunities for men is the cause. Jobs for wives / women are widely available here with many hair companies that prefer women workers. This makes them prone to disharmony, including divorce

(Puspita, et al., 2014). Puspita, et al. (2016) found 50 pairs of family in Purbalingga who switch on their gender roles. The wives are hair company workers, while the husbands are mostly casual / not fixed laborers. Although they seem harmonious, they are prone to disharmony. Some of their friends who had similar cases existed and ended in divorce.

Setiansah, et.al. (2011) also explored the causes of high male unemployment in Purbalingga from a gender perspective. The conclusion of study is that the limited employment opportunities for men is because there is no / limited employment by various parties (public, government and corporate employment providers) considered suitable for men. Type of work for men is the work that needs physical strength, while jobs available (ie, in the hair industry) require more persistence / patience, so it is not suitable for male.

Divorce can also occur due to cultural factors (Ambert, 2009) as found in Canada. Other causes include demographic factors and personal character pairs (drunkard, abusive and so forth).

B. RESEARCH METHODS

This research was conducted in Purbalingga, Central Java. This research used mixed method between quantitative and qualitative methods by combining two types of data that were secondary and primary data. Secondary data were data about divorce cases in 2015. They were usually taken from the web of Purbalingga Religious Courts and Board of Religious Courts of Indonesia Supreme Court. Some data were also taken from Ministry of Religious of Purbalingga District. The primary data were data tak-

en from some Judges and staffs of Purbalingga Religious Court and some lawyers who assisted the process of several wives who filed divorce in Purbalingga Religious Court. The secondary data were then analyzed using simple statistics with the form a frequency tables, while the primary data were used as a validity technique.

C, FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Description of Purbalingga District

Purbalingga was part of Central Java province, located in the southwest Java. Its area includes 77764.122 ha or 2.39 per cent of the area of Central Java (3.254 million ha). This district is divided into 239 villages which spread over 18 districts. Of the 239 villages, most of them are rural regions, while only 15 is the "kelurahan" area. The area is subdivided into 5,069 Neighborhood (RT) and 1,546 RukunWarga (RW). In 2015 the number of population in Purbalingga is 903 181 people with 50,59 percent females. Thus, the sex ratio is 0.98. The average number of household members is 4.01. The population growth rate in 2014-2015 was 1.02. Most districts had growth rates above the district. The population density in 2015 was as much as 1,363 people / km².

Overall, the education level of Purbalingga population is still in elementary school (36.30 persen) and junior high school (19.49 percent). When viewed from the gender perspective, data show that the higher the education level, the smaller the percentage of women than men.

According to the labor force survey in August 2016, the majorities (68.05 percent) of the population aged 15 years and over in Purbalingga were labors. The rest (31.95 percent) were student, housekeeping, etc. Most of them (60.10 percent) were male workforce. Among the workers, most of them (male and female) were workers. Labor force participation rated much higher in men than in women, ie 83.81 per cent, whereas women only 53.02 percent. However, the male unemployment rate is higher. Male unemployment rate was 6.86 percent, while the female is 1.79 percent (Central Bureau of Statistics/CBS of Purbalingga District, 2016).

Overall, the majority of the working population (both male and female) aged from 35-44 years (22.46 percent), followed by 45-54 years (20.56 percent). In the age group of 15-24 years and 23-30 years, the number of working men and women are relatively balanced. However, in the age group of 31-34 years and beyond, the number of male workers are always more (CBS, 2016). Among working women and men, most of them (29.66 percent) carry out the processing industry, followed by agriculture (23.96 percent) and trade (22.06 percent). In industry, the vast majority (nearly 70 percent) are female workers. Meanwhile, men are more dominant in the field of agriculture, trade and construction. Those who aged 15 years and over who worked can be distinguished based on their employment status. Overall, both the majority of women and men are workers / employees (39.73 percent), followed by: self-employed (23.96 percent) and trying with unpaid workers (20, 55 percent).

Among male workers, besides as laborers, most of them are workers who are assisted by temporary workers / unpaid laborers. While among women, besides as laborers, many of them are assisted by temporary/unpaid workers. The vast number of women working as laborers / employees in the processing industry is related to the existence of a number of hair companies in Purbalingga which absorb thousands of women workers. Data in 2016 showed that there are 48 hair company that absorbs 32 386 workers in which 83 percent (27 032 people) are women workers. The male workers are only 17 percent (5,354 people), 58 of those workers are foreigners (DinsosnakertransPurbalingga, 2016).

From the explanation above, it can be summarized that most of population in Purbalingga District are still less educated. Most of the workers are employees, most of men are working in agricultural and trade field, while women are dominant in processing industry (especially in hair company).

Gender Perspective of Divorce phenomenon in Purbalingga

1. The Number of Divorce

The numbers of divorce cases in 2015 received by Purbalingga Religious Courts were 2569 cases. This amount was the majority of the total cases received by this institution (87.71 percent). Quite a lot of other cases were "isbatnikah", dispensation of married and permits polygamy (7 cases). From this number, most of them (64.48 percent) were "contested divorce" (divorce which was filed by wives) and the remains came from husband ("talaq divorce").

Tabel 1.
Type of Cases Accepted by Purbalingga Religious Courts 2015

Type of Cases	Number	%
Contested divorce ("CeraiGugat")	1674	64,48
Talaqdivorce ("CeraiTalak")	603	23,23
"IsbatNikah"	158	6,09
Dispensation of married	124	4,78
Permission of "poligami"	7	0,27
Others	30	1,16
Total	2596	100

Source : http://www.pa-purbalingga.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=400&Itemid=187&lang=en

A large number of divorces received by Purbalingga Religious Court happened in 2010 were 1855 cases while in 2019 were 136 cases. The number continued to increase

until 2,999 cases in 2013 and slightly decreased to 2,278 cases in 2015. Every year the cases are dominated by contested divorce, the percentage is even exceeding the provincial average.

Tabel 2.
Number of divorce cases received by Purbalingga Religious Court in 2009-2015

Year	Total Cases	Divorce Cases				
		Contested divorce	Talaq divorce	Total	% of Contested divorce	% Contested divorce from total cases
2009	139	74	62	136	54,41	97,84
2010	1901	1303	552	1855	70,24	97,58
2011	2167	1506	594	2100	71,71	96,91
2012	2468	1784	567	2351	75,88	95,26
2013	2428	1680	629	2309	72,76	95,10
2014	2382	1602	635	2237	71,61	93,91
2015	2596	1674	603	2277	73,52	87,71

Source: http://www.pa-purbalingga.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=400&Itemid=187&lang=en

Data about divorce can also be taken from an Advisory Board of Marriage, and Divorce Dispute (BP4) through the Ministry of Islamic Guidance Section Head of Religious Purbalingga district. According to this source, in 2015 there were 1,435 divorce cases consisting of 354 divorce filed by husbands and 1,081 cases came from wives. By comparing the number of divorce and marriage (include reconciliation), it can be seen that the divorce rate in 2015 was 15.87 percent. This was the smallest percentage since 2012. The highest percentage was in 2013, 23.19 percent (Purbalingga Religious Department, 2016).

2. Causes of Divorce

Many factors contribute to the divorce. In 2015, there were three dominant factors in national level, they were: no responsibility from the couple, economical problem, and unharmonious factor. The same conditions occurred in Central Java. In Purbalingga, the condition was similar. Lack of responsibility was the first factor (36.24 percent), followed by economic factors (35.05 percent) and lack of harmony (17.62 percent). Another considerable factor is third party interference (5.54 percent) and moral crisis (2.51 percent) (http://www.pa-purbalingga.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=404&Itemid=192&lang=en).

According to data since 2011, the irresponsibility of couple was the dominant factor during the years 2011 through 2015, although the numbers started to decline in 2013. The second factor (the lack of harmony) continued to rise, from 11.8 percent in 2011 and increased to 23.6 percent in 2014 though then fell to 17 percent in 2015. Eco-

conomic factors were also likely to continue to increase every year, especially from 2014 which were only 8 percent to 25 percent in 2015. Another factor quite prominent and likely to increase was because of the third person. By 2015, the number raised steadily up to 82 cases, which was originally only 8 cases in 2012.

The odd thing is that the number of divorce caused by physical and mental abuse by the partner is very small. It is interesting to know more because usually divorce is preceded by squabbles that often lead to psychological violence (for example: insulting and offensive), verbal violence (for example: swearing and angry) and physical violence which is more easily seen such as slapping, pushing the body to the wall and so on. Although these actions can be done by the wife, in general, most of the perpetrator is the husband.

From interviews with some judges and lawyers who used to help the process of divorce, it is showed that in general, the plaintiff would have difficulty to show the equipment of evidence (including visum from doctor) when they say that the cause factor is violence. That is why they prefer to mention that the reason is incompatibility, there is no responsibility from pairs or economical problem as the cause. It causes third reason become the highest cause of divorce in Purbalingga as well as in almost all regions in Indonesia.

Tabel 3.

Causes of Divorce in Purbalingga District
Tahun 2011-2015

No	Reasons of divorce	YEAR				
		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
1	Unfair Poligami	1	3	0	1	0
2	Moral crisis	13	5	24	9	37
3	Jelouse	3	0	0	0	4
4	Mating force	7	2	9	5	11
5	Economic	185	193	207	160	490
6	Unresponsibility	1.510	1.518	1.656	1.343	990
7	Married underage	0	0	0	0	0
8	Physical Cruelty	10	1	1	0	9
9	Mental Cruelty	0	0	0	0	1
10	Imprisoned	4	0	0	1	0
11	Biological defect	5	4	1	1	8
12	Politis	0	0	0	0	0
13	The third person	29	8	14	16	82
14	Disharmonious	237	271	297	475	333
15	Others	2	3	9	1	0
Total		2.006	2.008	2.218	2.012	1.965

Source: www.pa-purbalingga

3. Place of residence divorce litigants

Recording of divorce case is based on subdistricts where the plaintiff resides. In 2016 divorce cases occurred in all subdistrict in Purbalingga District with varying amounts. It happened since some years ago. Mrebet was the subdistrict with the highest cases (100 cases or 11,13 percent), followed by Rembang (100 cases or 9.04 percent), Kutasari (86 cases or 7,78 percent), and Kaligondang (74 cases or 6,69 percent). All these subdistricts (especially Rembang) were relatively far from the city/ the capital of district. Although the transportation is easier now, most of the plaintiff divorces live in villages far from the capital of subdistrict. Meanwhile, the number of cases of Purbalingga Subdistrict as urban areas as well as a district capital amount only 59 cases (5.33 percent). This condition needs more attention from the local district government.

Tabel 4.

Divorce Cases According to the Location
in Purbalingga 2015

No.	Subdistrict	Number	%
1	Bobotsari	44	3,98
2	Bojongsari	34	3,07
3	Bukateja	85	7,69
4	Kaligondang	74	6,69
5	Kalimanah	55	4,97
6	Karanganyar	37	3,35
7	Karangjambu	38	3,44
8	Karangmoncol 1	17	1,54
9	Karangmoncol 2	19	1,72
10	Karangreja	57	5,15
11	Kejobong	73	6,60
12	Kemangkon	73	6,60
13	Kertanegara	24	2,17
14	Kutasari	86	7,78
15	Mrebet 1	74	6,69
16	Mrebet 2	38	3,44
17	Padamara	53	4,79
18	Pengadegan	66	5,97
19	Purbalingga	59	5,33
20	Rembang	100	9,04
Total		1106	100

Source: Purbalingga Religious Department, 2015

4. Age

Most of the plaintiff and defendant of divorce in Purbalingga in 2015 were between the age of 21-30 years (36.34 per cent) and 31-40 years (35.21 per cent). This meant that

they were still in productive age. There were even couples aging less than 21 years (5.20 per cent) who were mostly women. On the other hand, there were also those who had already entered the elderly (over 60 years) which amounted to 2.43 years. This occurred both among the plaintiff and defendant. Meanwhile, among those aging 40 years and over were men.

Tabel 5.
Age of Plaintiff and Defendant Divorce Cases in Purbalingga 2015

Age (year)	Plaintiff divorce		Defendant divorce		Total	
	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%
0-20	5	1,50	55	6,72	60	5,20
21-30	101	30,24	318	38,83	419	36,34
31-40	111	33,23	295	36,02	406	35,21
41-60	97	29,04	143	17,46	240	20,82
> 60	20	5,99	8	0,98	28	2,43
Total	334	100	819	100	1153	100

Source: http://perkaraset.ppta-surabaya.go.id/v1/?c_pa=pa.pbg#

The phenomena of many of the litigants' divorces who were still in productive age (21-40 years) had occurred since the last five years, both among the plaintiffs and defendants. Among the plaintiffs, the total percentage of those aging 20 years and under during the period 2010-2015 amounted 2.67 percent. There were also those aging over 70 years during that period with percentage 0.67 percent. Similar phenomenon also occurred among the parties of defendant since 2010-2015. The percentage of those in productive age (21-40 years) amounted 69.92 percent, while the old age (over 70 years) was 0.45 years. For those who were younger (less than 20 years) was 1.13 percent (http://www.pa-purbalingga.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=403&Itemid=190&lang=en).

5. The age of marriage

It has been shown that those divorce litigants in general were teens, and even some who were still younger. This corresponds to a period / age of their marriage. BP4 data indicate that the majority of them were young marriage age, which ranged between 1-10 years, especially 1- <5 years, which amounted to 36.28 percent. In fact, there were still 3.52 percent which was as young as 1 year.

Tabel 6.
Age Marriage Divorced litigants in Purbalingga District 2015

Category (year)	Amount	%
< 1	51	3,52
1-5	526	36,28
5- 10	437	30,14
>10	436	30,07
Total	1450	00

Source: Purbalingga Religious Department, 2015

6. Job

Jobs data litigant parties divorce were taken from BP4 Kab.Purbalingga through Section Community Guidance (Guidance) Ministry of Religious Affairs Purbalingga district. In this case, there were five types of work from the party who filed the divorce. They were farmers / fishermen, employee / employees, the military, traders / businessmen and others. In 2015, most of them were included in miscellaneous category (44.64 per cent), it was followed by work as a farmer / fisherman (26.55 percent), employee (18.84 per cent) and the trader / businessman (9.56 percent). The Armed Forces was only 0.41 percent. This happened every month during 2015.

Tabel 7.
Kind of job of the litigants divorce person in Purbalingga 2015

Kind of job	Amount	%
Farmer/ fisherman	386	26,55
Employee	274	18,84
Armed forces	6	0,41
Trader/businessman	139	0,56
Others	649	44,64
Total	1454	100

Source: Purbalingga Religious Department, 2015

7. Education

Based on data from the Purbalingga Religious Department, it appeared that the persons who were litigants divorce in general (83.20 percent) had low education (primary school). The rest were those who had high school education (13.77 percent) and Academic (3.03 percent). This happened every month during 2015. Unfortunately, there was no information about education background in the defendant.

Tabel 8.
Level of Education of the Plaintiff Divorce in Purbalingga District in 2015

Level of education	Amount	%
Illiterate	27	1,86
Primary school	281	53,79
Secondary school	400	26,55
High school	200	13,77
Academic	44	3,03
Total	1452	100

Source: Purbalingga Religious Department, 2015

DISCUSSION

Why it is women who filed divorce in Purbalingga –and also in many city in Indonesia nowadays- is interesting to

be discussed. It also happens in some countries such as the US. According to Brinig and Allen (2000), the proportion of wife-filed cases had ranged from around 60 percent for most of the 19th centuries (Chased, 1994; Friedman and Percival, 1976) to, immediately after the introduction of nofault divorce (Gunter and Johnson, 1987), more than 70 percent in some states (Gunter and Johnson, 1976). Today, with some variation among states, it remains slightly above two-thirds.

Another thing to be discussed more is about the causes of divorce. According to Brinig and Allen (2000) too, the standard explanations for this behaviour include the following: women file because of tradition (Brinig, 1993; Brinig and Buckley, 1986); women file to assure their innocence in the underlying proceeding; women file to secure right to custody, support and attorney's fee (Friedman and Percival, 1976; Brinig & Buckley, 1998b, Vernier and Hurlbut, 1939) or women file simply because it is more convenient for them to do so.

SUMMARY

From the description of profile of gender cases in Purbalingga district, it can be summarized that the unsuccessful implementation of division of gender relationship in family can become a cause of divorce. Husband can not do their responsibility to give money routinely to their family. On the other side, wife—who actually has no obligation to earn money—nowadays has bigger chance to get money by becoming an employee in many hair companies spread in Purbalingga.

It can start the economical and educational gap between the couple.

Because family is the core of society, Local government should give serious attention to solve and prevent this problem. One effort can be done is creating more job opportunities for men.

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The Partnership of Zakah Organizing Institution in Zakah Collection in Sragen Regency

Penyusun :

- **Kristina Setyowati**
- **Lungid Wicaksana**

Public Administration
Department

Social and Political
Sciences Faculty of
Sebelas Maret University

E-mail:
kristina@staff.uns.ac.id

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full collaboration.*

Abstract

The importance of zakah is as one of the Five Pillars of Islam (Rukun Islam), which is obliged to do by those who are able to fulfill the requirement of paying zakah by setting aside about 2.5% of the total income. Collecting zakah is optimally based on the potential zakah in a certain area. Badan Amil Zakah Nasional (BAZNAS = Islamic Board for the collection of zakah) of Sragen has established a partnership with Lembaga Amil Zakah (LAZ) to intensify the collection of zakah and to improve the people's awareness of paying zakah. This study employed the aspects of partnership process including (1) Relationship, (2) Resources, (3) Networking, (4) Organization. In addition, Partnership Rank analysis was carried out to determine the extent of partnership process in Collecting Zakah in Sragen Regency involving Network, Alliance, Partnership, Coalition, Full Collaboration. This research employed a qualitative descriptive method. The data was collected by interviewing the informants purposively, by observation and documentation study. This research used an interactive model of data analysis. The result of research showed that partnership process established by Badan Amil Zakah Nasional (BAZNAS) of Sragen and Lembaga Amil Zakah (LAZ) of Sragen included four criteria one of which is Relationship, in which there was a synergic relationship in Forum Organisasi Zakah (FOZ), the involvement of relations inside in the decision making, and it also a same vision. Thus, the partnership process of collecting zakah was a Full Collaboration partnership that was shown in written pact, collective vision, collective decision, and formal tasks. But, there were some lacks: the outcome side was just number, SIMBA had not operated well yet, and there was no information system in zakah collecting.

INTRODUCTION

For a Muslim, *zakah* is one of the Five Pillars of Islam (*Rukun Islam*) that is obliged to do by those who are

able to fulfill the requirement of paying *zakah* by setting aside about 2.5% of the total income. In Indonesia, based on a study conducted by *Badan Amil Zakah Nasional (BAZNAS)* and Bogor Agricultural Institute from January to

April 2011, the potential *zakah* reached IDR 217 trillion, but its distribution realization through BAZNAS and other *Lembaga Amil Zakah* reached only IDR 1.5 trillion in 2010, or less than 1% of the existing potential zakah (bazsragen.org. accessed on October 5, 2015). Meanwhile, in 2014, the distribution of zakah fund reached IDR 2.5 trillion out of the potential estimation of IDR 270 trillion (Laut, Viva.co.id). Despite some increase, the realization of zakah has not reached 5% of the potential one.

The collection of zakah in Sragen Regency reached only IDR 1.8 billion per year out of the potential one of IDR 7 billion; overall, Sragen area can absorb only 9% of the existing potential (Respati, mysharing.co., accessed on November 9, 2015). There are some factors affecting the realization of the potential zakah: the people's poor understanding and awareness of the benefit of zakah obligation as the five pillars of Islam, the people's poor understanding on the implementation of *zakah* as the attempt of distributing prosperity evenly, and the less coordinated management (RI's Religion Ministry, 2011: 2). PEBS-FEUI (in Mubarok, 2014: 14) concluded that there are at least three factors affecting the low *zakah* revenue: (1) the awareness of paying zakah, low trust in LPX and the charitable behavior of *muzaki* (the one obliged to pay zakah); (2) the base of zakah still focuses on certain zakah, *fitrah* and profession; and (3) the low incentive for zakah payers.

The organization of *zakah* through BAZNAS is one form of public service (particularly the process of collecting Zakah). The development and reform of the public service organization are directed to the attempt of building governance. There are some Governance practitioners: Rhodes (1996), Stoker (1998), and Kareem (2003). Governance paradigm essentially presupposes the need for government to involve many stakeholders in the policy making process pertaining to the public interest. Frederickson and Smith (2003) mentioned that the governance focuses on the need for the changing relationship between government and society, in which this relation changes continuously as the result of the dynamic condition of society.

Governance process is not only monopolized by the state, but it also involves the private and the society's important role. As suggested by LAN-RI (2000), "the Government (state) is required to interact harmoniously with the civil society and the private sector and to cooperate with their own function. While the state creates the political and legal conducive environments, the private sector creates the job opportunity and the income for society, and the society participates in the social, political, and economic interactions".

The collection of zakah will be successful when it is supported by the society and the partnership among all of stakeholders. In Sragen Regency, zakah organizer is *Badan Amil Zakat Nasional* (BAZNAS) as the only agency under Religion Ministry. Meanwhile, there are six *Lembaga Amil Zakat* (LAZ) that are operating in the private sector, *Lembaga Amil Zakat Infaq dan Sodaqoh Nahdatul Ulama* (LAZIS NU), *Lembaga Amil Zakat Infaq dan Sodaqoh Muhammadiyah* (LAZIS MU), *Lembaga Amil Zakat Kesejahteraan Umat* (LAZ KU), *LAZ Baitul Misbah*, *LAZ Baitul Mall Hidayatullah*. For those reasons, building a

partnership between the government (BAZNAS) and LAZ will optimally realize the absorption/collection of the potential zakah.

This study's state of the art is that "The partnership is the solution to organize/to collect zakah". From this study, the collection of zakah can be done optimally from the existing potential. Therefore, the problem statement in this study is: How is the form of Zakah Organizing Institution Partnership in Zakah collection?

LITERATURE STUDY

The concept of partnership is basically the partnership in the argument about the role and position of state in the relation between state and society. The concept of partnership, according to Broadbent (2003: 332-341), is the extension of "New Public Management" agenda in the attempt of changing the public service providing by government. The partnership here involves the organization of cooperation between public and private sectors. Denhardt (2003: 98) cited OECD's opinion: "in the relationship building on partnership with the society in which the state actively defines the process and content of policy making. In this case, there are recognitions of the equal position of the citizens in determining the agenda and proposition over the policy choices and creating the policy dialogues. Nevertheless, the final responsibility in the decision making and the policy making is still on the government's hand".

In Nigeria, the implementation of Private Government Partnership is an appropriate alternative to cope with the infrastructure deficit, but more reform should be conducted in terms of training, understanding on Public Private Partnership and Nigerian's orientation to the application of Public Private Partnership (Oluwasanmi, 2014: 138). In Indonesia, according to Vestikowati (2012: 69), cooperation or partnership model becomes an alternative solution for the local government with limited abilities particularly in the terms of capital source, human resource, and management, so that the role of investment, private business, and society becomes vital in developing the economic development in the local area as the implication of the local autonomy in requiring every region's independency in conducting development based on the local development policy and strategy.

The partnership in zakah area is considered necessary, because the organization of zakah cannot be done by the government alone, but there should be participation from the private sector or the society. Considering the Instructions of Zakah Organization Partnership Implementation (RI's Religion Ministry, 2011: 1), it can be explained that the partnership between Zakah Organizer Institution (*Lembaga Pengelola Zakat*) aims to improve the collection of zakah, *infaq* and *shodaqah* (alms), either at the local or national scale. From this explanation, it can be found that the partnership in zakah management is expected to improve the collection of zakah fund through a partnership.

In collecting this zakah fund, it is important to implement a partnership as a way of avoiding the double data of *muzakis* (those obliged to pay zakah) by sharing any information and data of *muzaki*, thereby not resulting in

confusion of muzaki data. Additionally, based on the result of pre-survey, the partnership established is one solution for the government, in this case BAZNAS of Sragen, to avoid the overlapping collection of zakah fund. It is important because the collection of large zakah fund deriving from the society will be transparent when it is managed through a partnership involving the private sector and society, thereby avoiding the fund corruption and misuse.

To describe the partnership process, there are five aspects: relationship, resources, network, organization, and partnership rank. Even, according to Uhlik, to describe the partnership, there are at least four criteria: relationship, resources, network, and organization so that an analysis can be carried out later to find out to what extent the partnership process belongs.

In the implementation of partnership, there are some aspects used to describe it. Regarding this, the partnership has some aspects to be the parameter. Uhlik's theory (in Gupitasari, 2015: 30-31) explained that there are some aspects used in partnership:

1. Relationship refers to the process of interaction occurring between the organizations in the partnership. The element of relationship explains why a partnership should be established, what the partnership form is, and what objective to be achieved and how the participation of each party is in implementing the partnership.
2. Resources is the availability of resource that the individual organizations in partnership have, including human resource, financial resource, and etc, which are required to achieve the objective of partnership.
3. Network refers to the networks of stakeholders involved in partnership process (out of those involved in the partnership).
4. Organization in this case includes the role and responsibility of those involving in partnership, coordination, and consensus.

In describing the partnership, in addition to the aspects used as the parameter, there is a rank or level of partnership. The partnership established will be analyzed to find out to which level it belongs. Heidenim in Kiswidanti

(2008) stated that the rank or level of partnership includes network, alliance, partnership, coalition, and full collaboration, corresponding to some criteria existing in each level. The level or rank of partnership is illustrated below (Figure 1).

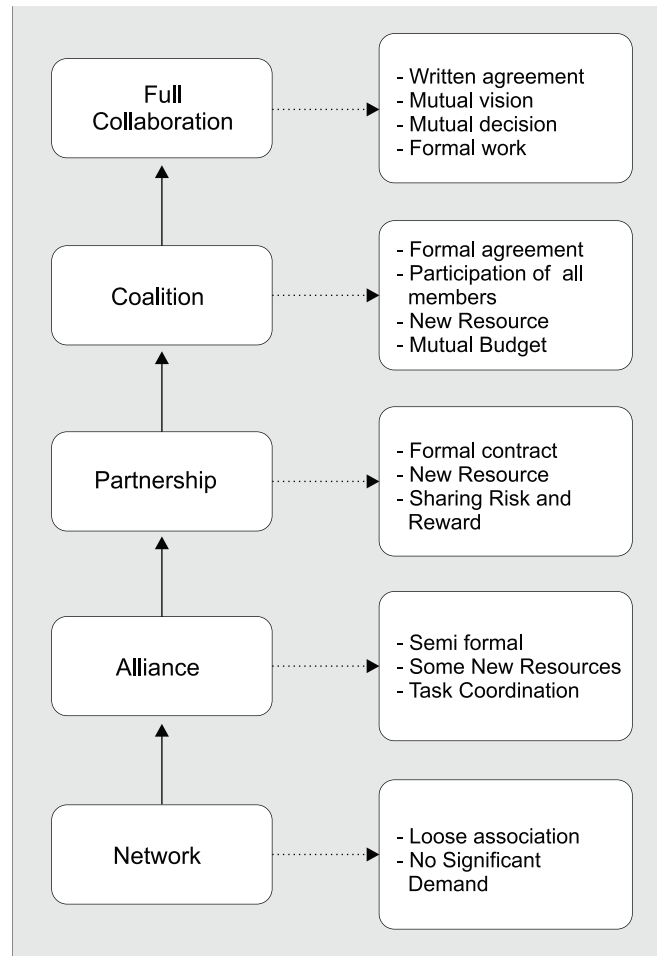


Figure 1.
Rank or Level of Partnership

METHOD

The method used in this study was the qualitative one, according to Lincoln (1985) and Loflan (1984). The techniques of collecting data used were interview and documentation, while the data validation was carried out using the triangulation method. Regarding the data analysis, Mc.Nabb (2002) stated that **A Procedure for Data Analysis consists of (1) Organize the data, (2) Generate Categories, Themes, and Pattern, (3) Code the Data, (4) Apply the ideas, themes, and categories, (5) Search for alternative explanation, (6) Write and present the report.**

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The partnership in organizing/collecting zakah in Sragen Regency is conducted by BAZNAZ along with two LAZs, Lembaga Amil Zakat

Muhammadiyah (LAZISMU) and Baitul Misba, considering that LAZISMU has a good reputation in the administrative and zakat fund collection aspect in BAZNAS's perspective, while Baitul Misbah is the new one. The partnership still emphasizes on Coordination and Reporting Function. This partnership is conducted by signing the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between *Badan Amil Zakat* (BAZNAZ) of Sragen Regency and *Lembaga Amil Zakat* (LAZ) about Coordination and Reporting No. 451.7. /04/BAZNAZ KAB//2015.

The results of study are as follows. (1) Relationship aspect includes objective, vision, and mission of partnership and the participation of individual stakeholders in implementing the partnership. Although the individual stakeholders play their own role in the term of main duty and zakah fund collection, it does not disconnect their synergic relationship. One example is the relationship established through *Forum Organisasi Zakat* (FOZ = Zakah Organization Forum) involving the partners and society in growing and developing the positive synergy in certain decision making. (2) Resource aspect in this case includes the availability of resources, whether human, financial, or others

required in achieving the objective of partnership.

The partnership of zakah collection itself requires the contribution of human resource in terms of administration, fund raising training, or zakah collecting volunteer initiated by BAZNAS of Sragen, training on *fiqih* initiated in the form of *Forum Organisasi Zakat*. This training and building are intended to improve the quality of human resource in both administration and *fiqih* aspect concerning zakah. (3) Networking aspect; in this aspect, BAZNAS of Sragen establishes networking with sharia-based banks and conventional bank. Through providing zakah fund collecting accounts, networking also involves the related services and *takmir masjid* (a group of individuals in charge of organizing the masjid/mosque) in the form of UPZ (Zakah Collecting Unit).

The networking established by BAZNAS of Sragen with Sharia-based bank and with society and related institution is one of the service facility given by BAZNAS of Sragen to muzaki. (4) Organization aspect includes the role and responsibility of the partners and the presence of written agreement in the partnership.

In this case, the partnership established is included into Memorandum of Understanding approved by BAZNAS of Sragen and all of LAZs existing in Sragen Regency. Every partner in this partnership plays its own role and responsibility. *First*, BAZNAS of Sragen serves as the main coordinator, as the guidelines or to which all of LAZs existing in Sragen Regency refer. *Second*, *Lembaga Amil Zakat* in Sragen Regency serves as the partner helping in routine reporting, coordination meeting, large events such as *Program Sadar Zakat* (Zakat-Conscious Program), and in charge of collecting zakah among the public. *Third*, the society, in this case UPZ, serves as the administrator or the manager of UPZ, as the extension of institution to deliver everything related to zakah, both *fiqih* and rules prevailing, and the collector of zakat fund in its environment. The partnership of zakat fund collection is included in the form of Memorandum of Understanding agreed by BAZNAS of Sragen and the six LAZ existing in Sragen Regency. It exerts positive effect on the implementation of *zakah* fund collection activity in Sragen Regency.

In the analysis on partnership rank or level to find out whether it is on network, alliance, partnership, coalition or full collaboration level, it can be seen from the criteria of partnership implementation, as follows:

First, in terms of agreement, the partnership between BAZNAS of Sragen, LAZ and society is included in the ratification of Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between *Badan Amil Zakat Nasional* (BAZNAS) of Sragen Regency and *Lembaga Amil Zakat* (LAZ) about Coordination Report and Reporting No.451.7./04/BAZNAS KAB//2015. It includes authority, obligation and right of the parties in partnership. The MoU contains monthly routine report, coordination meeting once in three months, annually large event organization, and *zakah* collection area division. This MoU has been agreed and signed by the six LAZs existing in Sragen Regency.

Second, the vision and mission of partnering parties tends to be similar, "to make the society aware of the importance of paying *zakah*", the difference lies on the im-

plementation only.

Third, in the partnership of *zakah* collection, a Decree was released, "The Decree of BAZNAS of Sragen Regency's Chairperson No. 450.2/15/BAZNAS-KAB/XII/2014 about *Unit Pengumpul Zakat* (UPZ = Zakah Collecting Unit) of Sragen Regency's BAZNAS. The mutual decision initiated is realized into some policies including: involving LAZ in making decision, evaluating program implementation, giving the UPZ the opportunity of participating in contributing aspiration and thinking to the decision.

Fourth, the formal duty is included in the MoU and mutual agreement, authority, obligation and right for *Lembaga Amil Zakat* existing in Sragen Regency. BAZNAS of Sragen, as the party representing the government, serves as the main coordinator and facilitator in the implementation of joint program concerning *zakah*.

The manifestation of coordination can be routine reporting, coordination meeting, and annual large program. Then, LAZ, as the party in partnership, serves to arrange and to collect the result of monthly *zakah* revenue report, and the mapping and division of zakah collection area, while BAZNAS of Sragen serves to collect *zakah* fund existing among the government, including Civil Servant, RI's Police Officer, Army. Meanwhile, LAZ serves to collect *zakah* fund existing among the public, and UPZ serves to collect *zakah* fund in its environment.

CONCLUSION

Considering the elaboration about the implementation and rank analysis, it can be concluded that the partnership level in the Partnership of *Zakah* Organizing Institution in Zakah Collection in Sragen Regency belongs to Full Collaboration as indicated with (1) written agreement (the presence of MoU and Decree about Unit Pengumpul Zakat (UPZ), (2) shared vision, mission, and objective, (3) mutual decision involving LAZ and society, and (4) formal work division between BAZNAS of Sragen with *Lembaga Amil Zakat* (LAZ) and *Unit Pengumpul Zakat* (UPZ). However, Full Collaboration had run less optimally, because the implementation of reporting system still has some weaknesses: (1) the report from various LAZs has not included the identity of muzaki completely, but just number; (2) SIMBA has not been operated optimally as the central reporting system, and (3) there has been no special intranet system in collecting zakah involving all LAZs.

RECOMMENDATION

(1) In reporting the data of zakah collection, there should be a detailed and completed data of *muzaki* including name, address and detailed data. It can be done by briefing all of LAZs to provide the form of complete self identity for *muzaki* and special facilitation and it can be conducted as the form of administration and the validity of zakah collection reporting data. (2) The optimization of *Badan Amil Zakat's* Management Information System (SIMBA) as the responsibility of BAZNAS of Sragen to realize the accountability of centralized *zakah* management data reporting with

BAZNAS. It can be carried out by holding routine skill training in the term of internet softskill for the staffs, as the manifestation of easy access to *zakat* fund collection information, building and strengthening inter-institution trust, and *zakah* collection data transparency.

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Growth and Development of Girls in an Elementary School in Malang City: Menarcheal Age and Body Mass Index of Lower and Upper Socio-economic Status

Penyusun :

(a) • **Ofti A.S.B.
Amalliaha**

(b)(1) • **Myrtati D.
Artaria**

(a) Program Studi Antropologi
Universitas Brawijaya
Malang, Indonesia

(b) Departemen Antropologi
Universitas Airlangga
Surabaya, Indonesia

(1) Corresponding author:

Myrtati D. Artaria.

Tel.: +62-31-5011744

fax: +62-31-5012442

E-mail address:

myrtati.artaria@fisip.unair.ac.id

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Abstract

Growth and development of children are very important things to be monitored because children are the future generation. When most children are not growing well, it means that the country is not doing well. Measurement of height and weight as well as calculating the Body Mass Index (BMI) is one way of assessing a person's nutritional status, and some studies suspected BMI to be closely related to the onset of menarche. The process of children growth and development depends not only on the socio-economic condition, but also—especially—sufficient amount of nutrition. A research on growth and development including menarche is important to know because when there is a delay at the onset of menarche, the society and the government may be able to quickly look for the cause and solution. This research analyzed the growth and development of girls in three primary schools in Malang to see the age of menarche and their body mass index. The method used in this research is quantitative method in which the data were obtained from questionnaires and anthropometry. We distinguished the three schools into two categories—the high socio-economic and the low socio-economic status (SES). There were 51 students from low SES, studying in SDN Ciptomulyo 1 Malang and SDN Tanjungrejo 1 Malang; and 55 students from high SES, studying in SDN Model Malang. This study involves the completion of a questionnaire regarding birthdate, parents' ownership of land, houses, and vehicles, salaries of parents, and the latest education providing information of their SES. The subjects were also asked to provide information about whether they had begun menstruation. The measurements were body height and weight, then BMI was calculated. This study concluded that the onset of menarche may not necessarily be related to BMI. However, we need a bigger sample to confirm this conclusion.

1. INTRODUCTION

Growth and development of children is a very important thing to be monitored, because children are the future generation. Measurement of height and weight as well as calculating the Body Mass Index (BMI) is one way of a person's assessment of nutritional status, and it is closely related to the coming of age of menarche. Many factors affect the incidence of menarche, but the biological state of a girl is the one that is closely related to menarche. The process of child growth and development depends not only on the socio-economic condition, but also—especially—sufficient amount of nutrition. Research on the trend of growth and development and its relation to menarche is important to know, because when there is a negative trend, the society and the government may be able to quickly look for the cause and solution. The decrease of the trend of growth and development indicates that something is necessary to be taken into account. The decrease of trend will draw the attention of the government.

One of the factors that affects the growth and development of children is internal factor that consists of differences in race, family, age, and gender (Strauss & Knight, 1999; Rohan and Siyoto, 2013; Wang & Beydoun, 2007; Surkan et al., 2012). Growth and development occur throughout the life of individuals, however, this study focused on the growth and development during adolescence. Physical changes in adolescence begin with a very rapid growth during puberty (Notoatmodjo, 2007; Tanner, 1990), and almost the end of that rapid growth is the timing of menarche (Tanner, 1990).

There are variation of age at the beginning of puberty and the attainment of growth spurt in each individual. Similarly, growth spurt is driven by a variety of surrounding circumstances and factors. Physical changes can be detected during the growth and development. On the other hand, in puberty, their psychological and physical maturity is regarded as the pinnacle of moment that is very important in the development of the individual phases of life. Basic Health Research (Riskasdas, 2010) showed that 37.5% of women started menstruation at the age of 13-14 years, 0.1% at age 6-8 years, 19.8% at the age of 15-16 years, and 4.5% at the age of 17 years.

Meanwhile, the Body Mass Index (BMI) is one of the practices for assessing the nutritional status (Michaelsen' 2015). BMI is determined by weight and height. BMI seemed to be closely related to menarche (Tu et al., 2015). This research analyzed the age of menarche, and calculate the BMI as a control, whether the late bloomer is related to the low BMI, or caused by other reason.

Menarche is influenced by adaptive response to environmental factors such as family conflicts, the absence of fathers, education status of parents, nutritional status, psychological aspect, and social-economy status (Amir et al., 2016; Bereczkei & Csanaky, 2001; Wierson et al., 1993). These factors are closely linked to body weight and height of a child. Therefore, we assess the Body Mass Index as well.

Research on menarche in Malang was conducted in 1990s (Artaria, 2000). Therefore, it is now necessary to

study menarche in this area, to see the latest trend. In summary, this study will examine the mean of menarcheal age, and the BMI status of these girls in two categories, high and low socio-economic status.

2. METHODS

The method used in this research is quantitative method in which the data is obtained from the questionnaire and measurements. There are two categories of schools distinguished by the social-economy status (SES). We measured 51 girls from low SES in Ciptomulyo 1 Elementary School and Tanjungrejo 1 Elementary School, and 55 girls from high SES in Model Elementary School. The girls measured were fifth graders who we thought would suit the purpose of getting data of girls who were just starting their period around this time in Indonesia (Artaria, 2000).

This study involved the completion of a questionnaire regarding the place of birth of the participant, birthdate, parents' ownership of land, houses, and vehicles, salaries of parents, and the latest education. This provides information regarding the socio-economic status. The subjects were also asked to provide information whether they had begun menstruation in order to find the average age at which the girls in these samples reached puberty.

The measurements collected are associated with body mass index, such as body height and weight. The methods of measurement are consistent with international standards as originally outlined by Martin and Saller (1957).

Steps in the data collection are as follows:

- Researchers submitted a written permission of research to Malang City Department of Education. Then, after getting the permission from the Principal of the Primary School, we met the respondents and provided explanations about the research to be conducted and the rights of the respondents.
- Researchers distributed the questionnaire and provided guidance on how to fill in the questionnaire.
- Respondents were given the time to fill out the questionnaire.
- Researchers took measurements of weight and height using anthropometric equipment.
- Respondents who had been measured were allowed to immediately fill the questions while being accompanied by the researchers.

The completed questionnaires were returned to the researchers; the data entry was performed and then analyzed. During the process, we conducted coding and data cleaning. The two types of data were then entered to the spread sheet. The data from questionnaires were coded to be entered to the spread sheet. The measurements data were carefully entered to avoid mistyping.

The measurement of weight was done carefully to avoid error in weighing the girls. Researchers used a digital scale that was regularly calibrated to ensure it was reading zero. The participant was directed to stand in center of the scale with their weight spread evenly between both feet

and the eyes looking forward. Measurements were taken to the nearest one kg. This is done on the consideration of the level of accuracy in the reading. Procedures of weight measurement:

- Respondents wore minimal clothing, meaning that the respondents did not wear jacket and footwear.
- The researchers were sure that the scales were showing at 0.0 before the respondent stood on the scales.
- Respondents were standing on the scales with the weight evenly distributed on both feet, straight head position, and remained steady.

Measurements of height were made from the floor to an anatomical landmarks called vertex (Martin and Saller, 1957). During the height measurement, the participant was directed to stand with the heels together, arms relaxed by the side, and the head in the Frankfurt horizontal plane. The participants did not wear any heavy clothing or footwear. The data were recorded to the nearest 0.1 cm.

Data processing procedures covered several stages: editing, coding, scoring, and entering on the spreadsheets, and then cleaning—double-checking the data and correcting errors of data entry. The coding involved when we tried to separate the two SES. Scoring was useful for grouping the SES.

The average of menarcheal age was calculated using probit analysis. The probit analysis was conducted to the whole sample, not to each SES group.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Malang is one of the cities in East Java province that is famous for its cool air. It is located at an altitude from 440 to 667 meter above the sea level. Geographically Malang is located between 07 ° 46'48 "- 08 ° 46'42" south latitude and 112 ° 31'42 "- 112 ° 48'48" east longitude. The area of Malang is around 110 km². The population is around one million people.

Malang area is suitable for agriculture and plantations. However, recently many of the plantations are changed into industrial and residential areas, business and educational buildings. Migrants in Malang are mostly traders, workers, and students. Their blend of indigenous peoples and migrants from different ethnic groups, religion, race, various language, and culture; is what makes Malang to become a bustling city.

SDN Model Malang is located in Jalan Raya No 3 Kedungkandang Tlogowaru Malang. SDN Model Malang as a modern school is majestic, and is the largest in the province of East Java, making it one of the most favored schools for the high SES families. It creates high expectations in the quality of education. SDN Model is a public school that is selected as a model for other schools in the city. The international standard was set by the support of the National Ministry to gradually improve the quality of education. Although the location is very far from the center of the city, the students do not have any difficulties in reaching the school from home. Most of the families of

those students are from high SES who will take their children by cars, motorcycles, or school bus provided by the school.

However, the situation was different for the students attending the other two schools. The majority of children who attend school in SDN Ciptomulyo 1 are those who reside in Ciptomulyo area. Ciptomulyo is located on the brink of the city, which makes it suitable for industrial areas. There are a leather factory, and a cigarette factory nearby. Ciptomulyo and Tanjungrejo are categorized as slum areas in Malang (Putra, 2015). Many of the residents previously were the homeless people, which later are localized by the government to live in shelters in those areas. This area is called "penampungan" that means 'shelter', which means to accommodate the homeless people in Malang. Later they resided permanently in these areas until these days.

Table 1.
The Age of Respondents within the Two
Social-economic Status (SES)

Age (years)	High SES		Low SES	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
10	6	10.9	8	15.7
11	36	65.4	39	76.5
12	9	16.4	4	7.8
13	4	7.3	0	0.0
Total	55	100.0	51	100.0

Based on Table 1, it can be seen that that the fifth graders were mostly girls aged 11 years old. We wanted to target school-age girls when there were some who already had menarche and some others who had not experienced menstruation. We could not approach the sixth graders because the Principal did not agree that they were to be disturbed from their studying activities, as they were preparing for the National Final Examinations.

Table 2 showed that girls who had experienced menarche were found in each category of age group in the high socio-economic status. However, not all the girls in low SES have experienced menarche. Overall, using probit analysis, the mean of menarcheal age is 13.04 years. This is in accordance with what Riskesdas found (Riskesdas, 2010). This mean of menarche is older than previous study (Artaria, 2000), and older than Indonesian data of menarcheal age in the 90s (Batubara, 2010). Unfortunately, we could not calculate the mean of menarcheal age in each group, because we needed bigger samples from each socio-economic status group.

A research by Ardana (2012) found that there is a correlation between BMI and the coming of age of menarche. Fat tissue produces leptin that helps the process of maturation of the reproductive function. Leptin works as an intermediary (Speroff, 2005). Leptin is produced by fat tissue and work at the hypothalamus to help the release of GnRH

Tabel 2.
Menarche in High and Low Socio-economic Status Girls

Range of Age (Years)	High SES			Low SES			Total sample
	No Menarche	Menarche	Total HSES	No Menarche	Menarche	Total LSES	
09.50-10.49	3	3	6	8	0	8	14
10.50-11.49	35	1	36	39	0	39	75
11.50-12.99	8	1	9	4	0	4	13
13.00-13.99	2	2	4	0	0	0	4
Total			55			51	106

(Gonadotropin-releasing hormone) and cause maturation in the ovaries (Frisch, 1994). Logically, higher body fat will affect the weight, which is then associated with a person's Body Mass Index.

Table 3 showed us that although all students from High SES had a family that could afford sufficient food and good nutrition, but we could find girls who were thin. In fact, we found four girls (7 percents) from HSES whose BMI fell below the 3rd percentile. On the other hand, although most of girls in the low SES were living in a family that were having difficulties to make ends meet, we found 15 girls

did not and who already did experience menarche according to the status of their BMI. It was true that none of the low SES girls had experienced menarche, even the normal and the above 85th percentile. Meanwhile, we also found one girl from HSES group who experienced menarche, whose BMI fell at the 15th percentile. Although most of the LSES were having normal to above average BMI, none of them had experienced menstruation. Therefore, it seems that the normality of BMI is not necessarily related to the onset of menarche. There must be something else that postponed their onset of menarche.

Table 3.
Frequency of Girls categorized into percentiles of Body Mass Index in High and Low Socio-economic Status (SES)

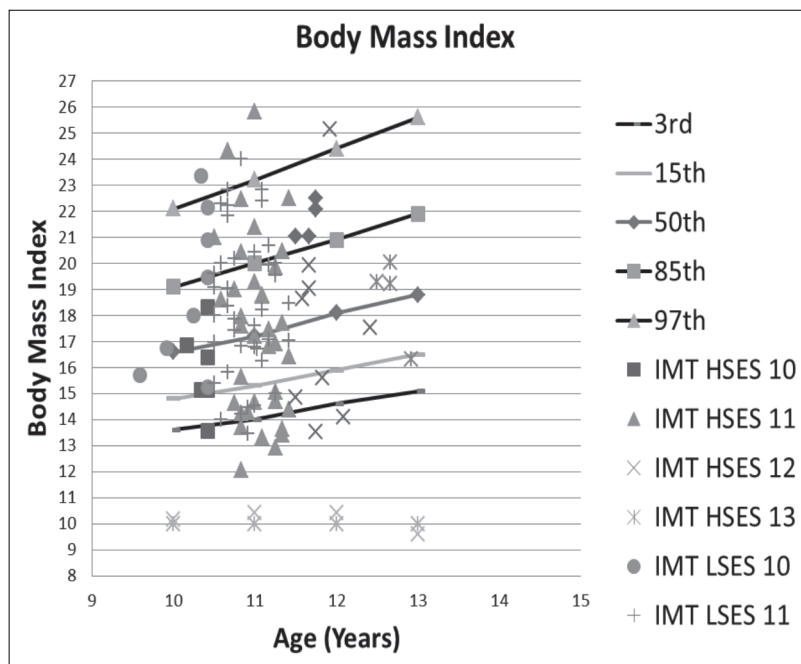
HSES	have not experienced menarche					have experienced menarche					Total
	3rd	15th	50th	85th	97th	3rd	15th	50th	85th	97th	
Age (Years)											
09.50-10.49	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	6
10.50-11.49	9	6	7	9	4	0	0	0	1	0	36
11.50-12.99	3	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	9
13.00-13.99	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	4
LSES	have not experienced menarche					have experienced menarche					Total
Age (Years)	3rd	15th	50th	85th	97th	3rd	15th	50th	85th	97th	
09.50-10.49	0	1	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	8
10.50-11.49	4	5	13	10	7	0	0	0	0	0	39
11.50-12.99	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
13.00-13.99	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

(29 percents) were having normal BMI, and 26 girls (51 percents) were 85th and above of BMI percentiles. It is worth to mention that among the 11 years old, there were seven girls who had BMI fell on the 97th percentile, and one of them even had BMI beyond the 97th. Therefore, we needed to look more specifically, who were the girls who

When plotted into a chart (Figure 1), we found the BMI scattered from low to high percentiles in all age groups. The very different socio-economic background did not guarantee to create differences in the distribution of BMI. However, this is relatively a small number of samples; therefore, it would be interesting to know the result of a

Figure 1.

The plot of individual Body Mass Index of Malang girls from High and Low Socio-economic Status (SES) compared to the cut off points percentiles recommended by WHO



bigger data on this menarcheal age study.

Gibson (2005) stated that Body Mass Index is an indicator to determine the nutritional status and obesity in children and adolescents because there is a relationship between Body Mass Index with body fat. We suspect that the onset of menarche may relate to something else, not necessarily depends on the amount of fat that could be indicated by BMI.

Some studies showed strong association between BMI and percent body fat (Gallagher et al., 2000; Shah

& Braverman, 2012). However, a person with a body weight or body mass index higher does not necessarily have greater fat percentage, such as in athletes. Some other people may even have a normal body mass index but at the same time having high percentage of body fat compared to others who have the same BMI. Weight and height as the components of the formula of Body Mass Index, do not reflect the actual fat percentage. BMI may even underestimate obesity prevalence (Shah & Braverman, 2012).

4. CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that the low BMI were found in HSES too, and vice versa, BMI above 85 percentile were found in LSES too. We found girls with low BMI who experienced menarche, and girls with high BMI who had not experience menarche. There is a need of more thorough study to correlate BMI and the onset of menarche.

The age of menarche of the girls in the study sample is 3.04 years. This seems to be a normal age of menarche, but it is older than the previous study conducted 16 years ago.

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Policies and Empowerment of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (UMKM) of Industri Tas dan Koper (INTAKO) at Tanggulangin Sidoarjo Regency to Facing The Asean Economic Community (AEC)

Penyusun :

• **Berliana
Mustika Rani**

Program Master in
Public Policy

Faculty of Social and
Political Sciences

Universitas Airlangga

email: berliana.rani@gmail.com

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Abstract

Since the implementation of the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) on 1 January 2010 and the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in 2015, many products are imported into Indonesia and the influence of goods from China entered Tanggulangin. The purpose of this research is to describe, identify, and analyze the policies and empowerment of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (UMKM) INTAKO Tanggulangin Sidoarjo regency to facing the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). This research used descriptive qualitative. The focus of this research was guided by the Acts No. 20 of 2008 about the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises. In this case, there are two focuses on the government policy in an effort to empower UMKM and the empowerment through enterprise development.

The result of this research is that the policy on empowerment that includes the funding aspect strongly supports the growth of the business climate so it is ready to facing the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). While the regulatory aspects related to infrastructure, business information, partnerships, business licensing, business opportunities, and trade promotion are not enough to support the growth of the business climate. And the related regulations do not support yet the growth of the institutional aspects of the business climate. Empowerment in the form of business development in the field of production and processing, marketing, human resources and design and technology support in business development is expected to be ready to facing ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

A. THE BACKGROUND

ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) was implemented on 1 January 2010 using the principle of free trade. ACFTA made the products from China flooding in Indonesian market. Chinese goods have far cheaper price and the quality is not bad. Moreover, the majority of Indonesian people are lower middle income people who prefer the goods at a cheap price. It is certainly worrying, especially for Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (UMKM) that will be unable to compete with the Chinese products that have lower prices and the quality is not bad, thus, there is a fear that the small and medium enterprises will experience a decline in income.

A cooperation agreement must be a negative or positive impact, not much different from the ACFTA that has positive and negative impacts on all areas in Indonesia, whether fields of economy, industry and trade. Sidoarjo Regency is one of the districts affected by the negative impact of the implementation of ACFTA, especially in the existence of UMKM in Sidoarjo. The implementation of ACFTA makes many products from China entered into Sidoarjo, which causes a lot of people prefer the cheap products from China rather than buy the products from Sidoarjo, thus, it made a decline in income for the UMKM in Sidoarjo.

The following is the impact of the ACFTA on UMKM in Sidoarjo:

“Our products are increasingly marginalized,” complained Soliqah, craftsmen of slipper in Wedoro. by the effective of free trade China-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (ACFTA) in 2010, it also gave an impact on traders of slippers. Look, now many traders prefer to sell slippers imported from Tiongkok rather than the products of craftsmen from Wedoro. Reduction in number sale of the craftsmen gave impact on decline in income. (Source: Humas DPRD Sidoarjo, www.dprd-sidoarjo.jokab.go.id, 9 March 2012).

The products from China such as bags, shoes and more now also penetrate the stores in Sidoarjo,” said Ary Pasnari, one of the leather craftsmen who open a showroom in Jalan Kartini, Sidoarjo, Thursday (13/10/2011). Ary added that now jacket leather products from China start to enter Indonesia, although not as much as the product of bags, shoes, slippers and other products. However, gradually the products of leather jackets will also flood in Indonesia. (Source: Rouf, okezone.com, 13 October 2011).

The free market Asean-China (Asean-China Free Trade Area / ACFTA), which was implemented in 2010, has given a great impact on Indonesia, especially many products from China coming into Indonesia have made UMKM become less competitive. Now, Indonesia must come back to face the implementation of free trade in the ASEAN region that is ASEAN Economy Community (AEC).

ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is a system of free trade among the ASEAN member countries. Thus, this system eliminates the custom duty and other countries are free to enter the goods trades. ASEAN Economic

Community (AEC) in 2015 is an ASEAN economic integration in the face of free trade among the ASEAN countries. All ASEAN countries have agreed this agreement. AEC is designed to create the ASEAN insight 2020. The Economic Cooperation leads to the formation of the ASEAN Economic Community as a regional economic integration of ASEAN that is stable, prosperous and highly competitive. AEC will be implemented in December 2015, which aims to accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development. (Source: Ahmad Shodiqin, www.ilmuekonomi.net, 25 December 2015).

The preparation of Indonesia to facing the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is still less and needs a lot to be improved, whether in terms of Human Resources, facilities and infrastructure, and the mindset of Indonesian society that needs to be fixed. The government also continues its effort to facing all these problems, but there are still a lot that needs to be fixed. Not only the role of central government and a society that is needed but also the role of Local Government has a big contribution in Indonesia's preparation to facing the ASEAN Free Market.

The Government of Sidoarjo Regency through the Department of Cooperatives, SME, Perindag, and ESDM Sidoarjo Regency have empowerment in one of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises in Sidoarjo Regency that is INTAKO (Industri Tas dan Koper) at Tanggulangin Sidoarjo as one of the efforts to be prepared in the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). Because there are various constraints like the lack of variety models of bags in related with losing competition with China, so it needs to improve the quality of its human resources as well as the high cost of basic commodities in the manufacture of bags that are imported from other countries.

Some problems, such as to lose competition with similar products imitation from China as well as the difficulty of finding cheap labor, make the businessman or shopkeeper increase the supply by buying a bag from outside of area Tanggulangin. In fact, some are selling imitation bags imported from China. For example, fashion bags imitation or call KW brand of Gucci, Hermes, YSL, Prada have to believe in the original one from China. It is not because the people of Tanggulangin cannot produce the imitation goods, but because the Chinese products may cost about 50 percent less than the cost of production of the same bag made in Tanggulangin. Similar phenomenon actually occurs in almost all tourist markets, such as Sukawati in Bali or Jepara, Central Java. (Source: www.otda.kemendagri.go.id, 2013)

Based on the explanation above, a statement of the problem discussed are the policy and empowerment of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (UMKM) of Industri Tas dan Koper (INTAKO) Tanggulangin of Sidoarjo Regency in facing the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

The purpose of this research was to describe, identify and analyze the policy and empowerment of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (UMKM) of Industri Tas dan Koper (INTAKO) Tanggulangin of Sidoarjo Regency in facing the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

B. BASIC THEORY

1. Public policy

According to Anderson in Anggara (2014: 35), public policy is a policy developed by agencies and government officials.

According to Aminullah in Anggara (2014: 37), policy or action is an attempt to influence the system to meet the desired objectives. Effort and such measures are strategic, ie long-term and thorough.

According to Abidin in Anggara (2014: 37), public policy is not specific and narrow, but spacious and located at a strategic level. Therefore, public policy serves as a general guideline for the policies and decisions of its goal.

2. Empowerment

According to Sumodiningrat in Mardikanto and Soebiato (2015: 52), the community empowerment is an effort for the community's independence through the embodiment of their potential abilities. The community development always involves two interrelated groups those are the public as the party empowered and those who put their interest as the party that empowers.

Swanson and Clear in Mardikanto and Soebiato (2015: 165), summarized the six empowerment approach as follows:

- a. Conventional approach to community development;
- b. Approach to training and visits;
- c. Empowerment organized community college;
- d. Approach to the development of commodity and production systems;
- e. Integrated community development approach;
- f. Integrated rural development approach

According to Ismawan in Mardikanto and Soebiato (2015:170), establishing the existence of five empowerment strategy programs consist of:

- a. Human Resource Development;
- b. Institutional development group;
- c. Public capital formation (private);
- d. The development of productive enterprises;
- e. The provision of appropriate information-order.

3. Training

According to Rival (2009: 211), training is a part of education that involves learning to acquire and improve skills outside of the education system in force in a relatively short time with the method more emphasizing on practice than on theory.

The explanation about the training techniques according to Handoko (2001: 112-116) is as follows:a) On The Job Training Method. Employees are trained about the new job with the direct supervision of an experienced "coach" (usually other employees).b) Off The Job Training Method, Information, Presentation Techniques and Simulation

Methods.

C. METHOD OF RESEARCH

This research used descriptive qualitative. The focus of research was guided bythe Acts No 20 of 2008 onMicro, Small and Medium Enterprises. In this case, there are two focuson the government policy in an effort to empower UMKM and the empowerment through enterprise development.

D. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In keeping with the focus of research guided by the Acts No 20 of 2008 on Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises in this case, there are two focus on the government policy in an effort to empower UMKM and the empowerment through enterprise development.

1. Local Government Policy in the Effort of UMKM Empowerment

Local Government Policy in the Effort of UMKM Empowerment cover the following aspects:

a. Funding

In details, the researchers viewed that Legislation are set by the local governments in regulating the aspects of the financing as follows:

- 1) The Regulation of Sidoarjo Regent No 07 of 2009 on The Revolving Fund Management Sourced From Local Budget Revenue and Expenditure at The Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and Mineral Resource Energy (ESDM) of Sidoarjo Regency.

In this rule, it is stated in article1 to improve the ability of capital of Cooperative, Micro, Small and Medium, Cooperative Agency, SME,Industry andTrade, andMineral Resource Energyof Sidoarjo Regency,it manages Revolving Fund in the form of a revolving loan fund.

In article 2, the Revolving Fund Loan Program is referred to in article 1 that is intended for Cooperatives and the Micro, Small, Medium Enterprises that are still conducting the business.

In article 6 the Cooperative Agency, SME,Industry andTrade, and Mineral Resource Energy (ESDM) of Sidoarjo Regency mustprovide guidance, monitoring and supervision of implementation of program management of revolving fund.

In accordance with the rules described above, in enhancing the ability of UKM, a revolving fund needs to be given. In this case, coaching, monitoring, and supervision of the implementation of the revolving fund management program is conducted by the Cooperative Agency, SME,Industry andTrade, andESDMof Sidoarjo Regency.

- 2) Regulation of Sidoarjo Regent No. 8 of 2016 on the Amendment of the decree No. 29 of 2011 on General Guidelines for the Management of Revolving Fund Sidoarjo.

The regulation explained that the revolving fund referred to in article 3 paragraph (1) shall be divided into three groups: general, special and for other businesses.

With the above regulations, the Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and ESDM of Sidoarjo Regency use the revolving funds to UMKM to foster a business climate that is ready to face the implementation of the ASEAN Economic Community at the end of 2015. This revolving fund is also given to UMKM Bags and Luggage Tanggulangin.

b. Facilities and infrastructure

The Government Regulation No. 32 of 1998 on Direction and Development of Small Business. Article 6 states that the government should facilitate the provision of facilities and infrastructure for the production and processing of raw materials, auxiliary materials, and packaging.

With the enactment of the rules above, Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and ESDM of Sidoarjo Regency, the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) provides assistance related to aspects of the infrastructure that is the provision of machinery / equipment production in enhancing the growth of the business climate so as to increase the productivity of UMKM in growing their business climate so it is ready to face the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

c Business Information

In detail, the researchers viewed the Regulation of the local governments in regulating the aspects of Business Information as follows:

The Regulation of Sidoarjo Regent No. 45 of 2008 on the Details of Tasks, Functions and Working Procedure of Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and Mineral Resource Energy of Sidoarjo Regency.

Article 32 Paragraph 4 presents information and means of trade development agencies, including the absorption of the investment and trading sector employment. Paragraph 6 presents the pricing information and market opportunities.

In relation to the regulation of business information on the Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and Mineral Resource Energy of Sidoarjo Regency in order to provide business information to UMKM via its official website, it makes easier and faster in delivering information. With more and more in the provision of such information, it is expected to grow the business climate so that UMKM becomes better prepared to face the ASEAN Economic Com-

munity (AEC).

d. Partnerships

In detail, the researchers observed the Regulation of the local governments in regulating the aspects of the Partnership as follows:

The Regulation of Sidoarjo Regent No. 45 of 2008 on the Details of Tasks, Functions and Working Procedure of Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and Mineral Resource Energy of Sidoarjo Regency.

Article 32, paragraph 7 facilitates the partnerships between small and medium trade enterprises with large employers.

The form of partnerships is undertaken by the Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and Mineral Resource Energy of Sidoarjo Regency for growth in the business climate of Bags and Luggage UMKM, Tanggulangin is the one with the University of Ciputra Surabaya. It is the workshops where the University of Ciputra takes the role of speaker in the event as an examiner and assessor of the pattern of making bags.

e. Business Licensing

The Regulation of the local government in regulating the aspects of the Business Licensing in this case is on the following certifications:

The Regulation of Sidoarjo Regent No. 45 of 2008 on the Details of Tasks, Functions and Working Procedure of Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and Mineral Resource Energy of Sidoarjo Regency.

Article 32, paragraph 8 is striving for the quality certification and registration of trademarks and patents as a guarantee of the continuity of the marketing of goods production of the cooperatives and also the small and medium enterprises.

In accordance with the regulations stipulated in the face of competition with products from ASEAN after the enactment AEC, Sidoarjo Regency government creates a new policy that is free entrepreneurship of certification test. Sidoarjo Regency government urged that Small and Medium Enterprises (UKM) and the Cooperatives in Sidoarjo have the certification of competence in order to compete the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

f. Trying Opportunities

The Regulation of the local government in regulating aspects of trying the opportunities:

The Regulation of Sidoarjo Regent No. 45 of 2008 on the Details of Tasks, Functions and Working Procedure of Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and Mineral Resource Energy of Sidoarjo Regency.

In Article 30, paragraph 2-11 of the following:

- 1) Provision of input materials, dissemination, facilitation, coordination, monitoring and reporting, provision of information on import export potential areas for the consideration of policy formulation;
- 2) The development of small and medium traders;
- 3) Guidance and supervision of the implementation of the license / registration of business services and distribution services;
- 4) Guidance and supervision, monitoring and evaluation as well as the granting of trade in goods categories in supervision;
- 5) Monitoring, reporting on the implementation and operation as well as the presentation of information on the implementation of company registration;
- 6) Support the implementation, guidance and supervision, monitoring and evaluation of trading activities.

In accordance with current regulations, business opportunities provided by the Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and Mineral Resource Energy of Sidoarjo Regency is to improve the readiness of UKM Tanggulangin in the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), by improving the quality of products as well as sales. Efforts are made to increase knowledge about the latest fashion, then also better sales methods to improve the competitiveness of the product sales.

g. Trade Promotion

The Regulation of the government in regulating aspects of the Trade Promotion as follows:

The Government Regulation No 32 of 1998 on Fostering and Development of Small Enterprises. Article 7 explained that the government should provide infrastructure and support promotion and market trials; develop marketing agencies and distribution networks; small business marketing products; provide the professional consultants in the field of marketing; provide a trading house and the promotion of small businesses; provide market opportunities.

As a form of the implementation of the regulation on the promotion of trade, the Cooperative Agency of Sidoarjo makes an effort in increasing the sales of products produced by UMKM Bags and Luggage Tanggulangin Government of Sidoarjo Regency to conduct the trade promotion by holding Tanggulangin Fair 2015 that will be held on October 30, 2015 until Nov. 22 2015. Hopefully these programs can foster SME business climate so it is ready to face the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

h. Institutional Support

The Regulation of the local government in regulating aspects of Institutional Support is as follows:

The Regulation of Sidoarjo Regent No. 45 of 2008 on the Details of Tasks, Functions and Working Procedure of Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and Mineral Resource Energy of Sidoarjo Regency. Article 16 explains that one of the Cooperative Agency sets up the programming and coordinates the development of cooperative institutions; prepares the material guidance and technical guidance of cooperative institution building; analyzes, evaluates, and reports the institutional activities of the cooperative; implements the personnel development in cooperative institutions; facilitates the settlement of the institutional issues in accordance with the statutes and bylaws of cooperatives and the provisions of the regulation; carries out the cooperative awareness of correctional movement and socialization of cooperative legislation; facilitates the development of cooperative business unit;

2. EMPOWERMENT THROUGH BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

The local government facilitates empowerment that is done through the development of business in the following field:

a. Production and Processing

Empowerment in improving production and processing in the UMKM Bags and Luggage Tanggulangin to develop the business by Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and Mineral Resource Energy of Sidoarjo Regency in the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) makes efforts as follows:

1) Workshop

Workshop was held on November 17 to November 19; the opening of the show was held at Sun City Hotel Sidoarjo, attended by 20 representatives of UMKM Bags and Luggage Tanggulangin. In this workshop, the participants were invited around a number of the source for the material to a plaza in the city of Surabaya. To view and compare the products, it sold the leather products produced by Tanggulangin UMKM.

In this case, the material or the resource provider in the UMKM Workshop Bags and Luggage is awarded by the University of Ciputra that is Dr. David S. Nature, MM, CPM. With material Trend Bags Design 2016, Design Development, Marketing Strategy Bag.

2) Provision of Machinery / Equipment Production

Empowerment is conducted by the Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and Mineral Resource Energy of Sidoarjo Regency in the development of SME in the aspects of production and processing by providing assistance machinery / equipment. Giving machines also support the workshop so that it is then continued with the

machine that is so supportive in making the design / the latest model of the bag. The provision of machinery / equipment is also to improve the product quality, increase the production capacity, reduce production costs, and increase the revenue, so it is ready to face the AEC.

b. Marketing

In this case, empowerment through business development in the field of marketing are:

- 1) Marketing through Website from Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and ESDM of Sidoarjo Regency

Empowerment of Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and ESDM of Sidoarjo Regency facilitates the business development in the field of marketing, which is by doing the marketing of UKM products through a website that has been provided that is www.ukm.koperindag-sidoarjo.org. In the website, all can see the products of UMKM that is located in Sidoarjo. So it is easier for the consumers to choose the desired product without having to come into the place immediately so that it can save time and transportation costs. With online media, it can be accessed via a mobile phone to make it faster and easier to access the products of UMKM.

- 2) Marketing through Website from Telkom

In this case, the Sidoarjo government is collaborating with telecoms to create a new innovation that is by making use of the Kampung UKM digital that facilitates the UKM in marketing their products as well as the best promotional tools through the online media.

c. Human Resources

In an effort to improve the quality of human resources of UMKM, the Cooperative Agency of Sidoarjo Regency held the training in UMKM Bags and Luggage Tanggulangin. The training was held on the 20th until October 24th 2015 in cooperation with Balai Besar Kulit, Karet dan Plastik (BBKPP).

The Cooperative Agency of Sidoarjo Regency in cooperation with Balai Besar Kulit, Karet dan Plastik (BBKPP) empowers the form of training to SMEs in Sidoarjo for five days that was attended by 15 participants. In this case, the provider or instructor of the material training is from the Laboratory of Leather Goods and Garment BBKPP who is competent in the field of manufacturing the leather goods. The methods consist of theory and practice. The materials are as follows: knowledge of materials, tools and machinery knowledge, knowledge of leather goods, as well as leather goods manufacturing technology, and also the practice of design and pattern of making the leather goods and cutting the material (leather).

Empowerment was conducted by the Cooperative Agency, SME, Industry and Trade, and ESDM of Si-

doarjo Regency in cooperation with Balai Besar Kulit, Karet dan Plastik (BBKPP) that aims to improve the skills in the manufacture of leather goods, especially souvenirs, in the form of a key chain model of fish and shrimp, as well as improving the quality of human resources of UMKM to be more innovative in making innovation. Therefore, by increasing the quality of human resources, it is expected that UMKM can compete in the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

d. Design And Technology

Increase the capability of the design through a workshop in collaboration with the University of Ciputra Surabaya with the making of the latest design in 2016 and the addition of new products in addition to variations of bags and suitcases through a training by BBKPP. To increase the technological enhancements to the technology marketing can be through the internet or online media. There has been a regular marketing in general to do the marketing through the internet or online media so that the UMKM is easier and faster to market the product to develop the business.

UMKM is trying to upgrade the technology to improve the way of marketing through internet technology. Internet can make UMKM know how to market the products via the Internet.

E. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Conclusions

Based on the analysis in the discussion of the research of Policy and Empowerment of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (UMKM) of Industri Tas dan Koper (INTA-KO) at Tanggulangin Sidoarjo Regency in Facing ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), it can be summarized as follows:

- a. The lack of full support and commitment of the local government in making policies or regulations related to the empowerment of the lack of legislation regarding two aspects: aspects of infrastructure and trade promotion.
- b. Government policy in an effort to empower UMKM through establishing various regulations covering aspects of funding supports the growth of business climate in their program providing the revolving funds so that they can grow and develop and are expected to be ready in facing the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).
- c. Regulatory aspects related to infrastructure, business information, partnerships, business licensing, business opportunities, trade promotion are not enough to support the growth of the business climate. And related regulations do not support yet the growth of the institutional aspects of the business climate

- d. Empowerment in the form of business development of UMKMINTAKO Tanggulangin forms the processing and production aspects of the program of workshops in collaboration with the University of Ciputra Surabaya and help of machinery / equipment production is able to empower UMKM to make products with designs following the latest trend in 2016. But there is no monitoring of the Cooperative Agency and University of Ciputra Surabaya in the implementation of the business activities.
- e. Empowerment in the form of business development of UMKMINTAKO Tanggulangin forms the marketing aspect in online marketing program created by the Cooperative Agency of Sidoarjo and Telkom is able to empower UMKM and beyond ASEAN network coverage because it can be accessed worldwide. And it is expected to be ready in facing the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).
- f. Empowerment in the form of business development of UMKMINTAKO Tanggulangin such aspects of human resources in the training program with BBK-KP about the increased variety of products so as to increase the variety of products that are expected to be ready in the face of the AEC.
- g. Empowerment in the form of business development of UMKMINTAKO Tanggulangin forms the aspects of design and technology in the design aspect with the workshop program that increases knowledge about the latest design in 2016 and additional training in various forms of new products in addition to bags and suitcases that can be made of leather. And in this aspect of the technology through a diversion program, it has been a marketing in general using online media that are expected to be ready in facing the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

2. Recommendations

Based on the above conclusions, there are some suggestions from the author as follows:

1. Perform the cooperation with other universities, not only the University of Ciputra Surabaya, in the empowerment of UMKM INTAKO Tanggulangin.
2. Monitor the implementation of the results of the workshop.
3. Perform the cooperation with BUMN, not only by telkom but with other BUMN.

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The Cement Company and the Non-farm Economic Activities of Women in Rural Areas: A Case Study at the Ring 1 Villages in Tuban, East Java, Indonesia

Penyusun :

• **Rustinsyah**

Department of Anthropology

Faculty of Social and
Political Sciences

Airlangga University
Indonesia

Corresponding author

Tel.:62-031-5034015

fax:62-031-5012442

E-mail address:

rustinsyah58@yahoo.com

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Abstract

In 2009, since the start of a cement plant construction project in Tuban, its surrounding or Ring 1 villages are experiencing social, cultural and economic changes. The income of the villagers had grown because most of them were employed in the project. They had a stable income at the Regional Minimum Wage, i.e. Rp1,800,000 (US\$130). The area was no longer isolated because village roads had been repaired and a number of workers from outside the villages also worked in the project. In 2015, the construction of the plant had been completed, so the construction workers were discharged. The cement production was then started and the company used subcontractors, so there were many workers from outside the Ring 1 villages. In line with its social responsibility, the company made an education program for the villagers residing in Ring 1 area. One of the impacts of the presence of this company and its CSR program is the dynamic economic activities of women in this rural area, especially the non-farm activities. To analyze this impact, research with qualitative data collection method was conducted in 2015/2016 in the Ring 1 villages. The Ring 1 villages are the areas directly influenced by the company's activities. Therefore, this paper aims at discussing the impact of the presence of this cement company to the non-farm economic activities of women in the Ring 1 villages. These activities include: a) running small industries, b) opening food stalls, c) renting accommodations, d) trading in the traditional market, e) running kiosks and stores that provide the basic necessities, f) opening retail gasoline kiosks, and others. The non-farm economic activities of women are examples of the efforts to improve family incomes in response to the increase in the consumption patterns and the uncertainty of farm incomes.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The presence of cement companies in rural areas by exploiting natural resources and implementing CSR program certainly have an impact on changes in the socio-cultural, economic for the surrounding population. Companies have a social responsibility towards the local community poured in CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility). CSR is a process in the form of economic measures to communicate the social impact of the activities of an enterprise environment to the groups of the general public (Gray et al, 1987). In that regard, Richardson et al. (2000) reported that between 1992 and 1996, more than 1000 companies worldwide reported their social and environmental performance. Lately, a number of companies in Indonesia have also reported their CSR. Obligations of companies to provide CSR are reinforced by Act No. 40 of 2007 on Limited Liability Company, which requires all companies to engage in extractive industries or natural resource-based to implement Corporate Social Responsibility (Jaya, 2005).

Similarly, one company in Tuban has made an education program for local communities. According to the Regional Planning Board Level II of Tuban, that from January to December 2014, one of the company's CSR programs in Tuban, East Java for local communities was valued at approximately Rp 2,656,846,200. One impact of the company's presence in the construction of the plant and its CSR program is providing women's non-farm employment opportunities in the rural area. Therefore, this study describes the impact of the company's presence on the chances of non-farm female workers in the rural Ring I of the cement company.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Cement Company and CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility)

The cement company is one of the companies which uses raw materials that exploit natural resources. Therefore, it is an obligation to make CSR programs, especially for villagers affected directly or who are in Ring I region. The role of CSR is seen as an effort to achieve good corporate governance, good corporate citizenship and good business ethics of a business entity. It was said by Susanto (2007) that the company is not enough to just think about the interests of shareholders (owners of capital) but also the interests of all stakeholders. Hence, the presence of the company with all the activities and CSR programs has an impact on social, economic, and local communities including rural women.

According to Schermerhon (1993), CSR is a concern for the business organization to act in ways of their own to serve the interests of the external public. Valor (2005) defines that CSR is a business commitment to behave ethically and contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of its workforce, their families and local communities. Meanwhile, according to Nuryana (2005) CSR is an approach whereby companies integrate social concerns in their business operations and interaction

with stakeholders based on the principle of voluntary and partnership. According to the World Bank (2004), CSR or corporate social responsibility consists of several main components of environmental protection, job security, human rights, interaction and engagement with the communities, markets, economic development and enterprise, health protection, leadership and education, and humanitarian disaster relief. In this study, CSR is seen as a social responsibility, caring, and an approach of the company which exploit limestone to local communities, safeguarding the environment and sustainable development specifically in the area of Ring I.

The company can carry out its social responsibility by focusing on three things: profit, environment, and rural development. It is intended as an integration to maintain harmony and to prevent conflict and social tensions. Strategies to implement the CSR have been amended from time to time. Based on the annual report, more and more companies are now reporting CSR as a sustainability report (KPMG, 2005). For Asia, Japan has made significant strides and taken the initiative to make the reporting of corporate social responsibility. However, other countries such as India, China and others have very limited number of CSR reporting (KPMG, 2005).

There are four CSR programs disclosed: community involvement, human resources, physical resources and the environment, as well as the contribution of the service product (Keller, 1974). Organizations such as the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD), a coalition of 120 international companies, have identified that key components of social responsibility are human rights, employee rights, protection environment, community involvement and relationships with suppliers (WBCSD --- World Business Council for Sustainable Development, 1998). Similarly, the CSR programs in Ring I villages of a cement company in Tuban, East Java, cover environment, infrastructure development, education and religious empowerment, economics, human resources, and others. 'Others' means programs that are urgent for a village needs, or religious festivities (Rustinsyah, 2016).

The form of a corporate success in its community activities is not only the acceptance of the relevant company for the move but also participation and fully functionality on the lives of the general public as a whole social, economic, politic, and technology. Indicators of success is the work of community living with all the social and environmental changes that can be accepted and regulated by the existing social institutions and process from the culture of the people concerned (Budimanta, 2008). The participation of each stakeholder plays role in the development of society and to provide business advantages for companies and communities. The participation is a process of empowerment as individuals, groups, male, and female.

In the last century, the role of women has changed in the labor market as well as in their families (Swedbery, 2004). Generally, most of the labor force of women in developing countries is in the agricultural sector. It similarly happens in the area of mining environment, before there are any firms in that place, the area is isolated and its inhabitants rely on agricultural sector. Employment in the

agriculture sector involves many women. According to Anne and Mary (1998) in their first study, they noted that women are productive partners in agriculture, as a farmer, a wife, and professional workers in agriculture; there are even success stories of women in the agricultural sector. Apart from a reality in almost every community that domestic tasks are closely related to women, now more and more of them engage in productive activities that generate wages. In these circumstances, women have double burdens as wage laborers and domestic workers.

The presence of the company and CSR programs in Ring I area of cement companies has an impact on non-farm women's employment opportunities in the rural area. Plant construction project employs many people from the village and outside the village. It would require the service to the needs of food, shelter and others. Empowerment of women in capturing non-farm employment opportunities in rural areas is supported by the company's CSR program and changes in society. Here are the conditions that lead to non-farm employment opportunities in rural areas. First is the construction of infrastructure such as the construction of rural roads that facilitate the mobility of people out of the village or vice versa, markets, and others. Secondly is the increase or change in consumption pattern which thus increase the need for cash. Therefore, women have an important role as a great economic resource (Jayawardhana, 1992) in capturing non-farm employment opportunities in rural areas.

2.2. Non-Farm Activities in Rural Areas

Some definitions of non-farm activities have been raised by a number of social scientists. Non-farm activities are activities related to increasing off-farm income, efforts to generate revenue in order to face the risks in agriculture. Non-farm activities consist of trading, manufacturing and services related directly or indirectly to local agriculture and economic activities in urban areas (Readon, 1997). According Mukopadhyay and Lim (1985), the activities of non-farm covering all economic activities (cottage industry, agricultural product processing industry, rural transportation, trade and all commercial activities outside the countryside. Factors driving and towing activities of non-farm in the countryside are among others: a) lack of agricultural land which cause insufficient need for life and a lot of leisure time; b) as a reaction to the economic crisis during a famine; c) high transaction costs of goods and services to meet the needs of households and individuals; d) the rural population which is faced with the weak economic conditions, uncertainty because of the climate, the weather, the selling price of agricultural products and others.

Non-farm activities are generally able to provide a decent living. As said by Readon (1997), the income of non-farm activities in Africa ranges from 22% to 93%. Non-farm activities as rural economic activities are more dynamic (and Canagarajah Newman, 1999). Non-farm economic activities in rural areas are done by men and women. In fact, there are successful women in running the non-farm economic activities in the countryside. The ex-

amples are traders of agricultural products called '*bakul*' in Javanese language generally done by women (Rustinsyah, 2009). As well as the female in the villages of Ring I area, the cement company's presence gives impacts to non-farm economic activity opportunities for rural women.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

This research was conducted in the villages of Ring I area in one of multinational cement plants in Turban. Before the company's presence, residents of the villages in Ring I are generally farmers. Ring I area is the area directly affected by the activities of the company. Most farmland is bought by the company to be exploited as raw materials and the location of the establishment of cement factories. The presence of these companies would bring change impacts on women's social and economic activities of the village. This study is part of a study entitled "symbiosis between mining companies and local communities." The research was conducted in April 2015 until August 2016 by using a qualitative research method and data collection through interviews, observation and search for documents related to the issue. Once the data were collected, they were analyzed by categorizing their themes then interpreting them to answer the question in this study.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Research Sites

The villages in Ring I area the cement company's consists of Kedungrejo village, Mliwang, Sawir, Merkawang, GlondongGede, and KarangAsem. For Kedungrejo village, despite its location is in Ring I area but there is no resource exploitation of natural resources so that the villagers still use agricultural land for agricultural activities. Mliwang village is one of the villages which gets clean water program. Merkawang village and Sawir village are the villages within two kilometers of the company in which part of their agricultural land is set up for factories and its natural resources are exploited as raw material for cement.

The streets of the villages in the area of Ring I are paved so they are easily drivable. They facilitate the mobility of people from inside to outside the village. Educational facilities from elementary schools already exist in the villages. Going to secondary school is no trouble because the distance is not far away, transportation is easy and almost every family in the village has a vehicle. Most residents in the village have a motor vehicle and mobile phone.

Agricultural systems produce rice during the rainy season and produce corn, beans in the dry season. For Mliwang village, the farm only produces corn and beans in the rainy season. In the dry season, agricultural land can not be planted because of the drought. Nevertheless, the life of the villagers are dynamics, even the lives of the Mliwang villagers have improved with their clean water programs and the construction of rural roads so that the transport out of the village is smooth. Agricultural system in Sawir, Merkawang, Glondonggede and KarangAsem village is a combination of rice crops, corn and peanuts. Rice plants

are usually grown in the rainy season, while maize and beans are in the dry season.

The consumption patterns of the villagers has changed since the construction of the cement plant for almost all male workers can be employed in plant development projects thus they can increase family income. Labor also came from outside the village so that it requires food services, housing and others. The selling price of the food in the villages' stalls is not much different from the city. Changes in consumption patterns of the villagers would bring in an impact on cash needs. The increasing amount of money needs and the business opportunities drive women to perform non-farm jobs in the village.

4.2. Some non-farm activities for women in the villages of Ring I Cement Company

One of the impacts of the presence of cement companies is the emergence of non-farm activity opportunities for women in rural areas. The table below illustrates one of several cases of non-farm activities in rural areas as a direct and indirect impact of the presence of a cement factory.

Table 1.
Types of Non-farm activities in the village

No	Women's Non-Farm Types of Work
1	Small Industrial Business
2	Boarding House Business
3	Food Stall Business
4	Traditional Market Traders
5	Others

Source: Research Data, 2015/2016

4.2.1. The development of small businesses

4.2.1.1. Food business of Glondong Gede's Sea Essence

GlondongGede village is one of the villages in Ring I of the cement company which is located on the seafront. The mean of support of the population is usually fishermen, farmers and other non-farm activities. One of the CSR programs which is implemented in this village is the empowerment of women in small business of sea food made from raw fish. As a coordinator of this effort is Siti (50 years old), a high school educated as well as a fishmonger in the market. The idea to make processed food industry is originated from the company's CSR program of seafood processing training for coastal area in 2013.

The abundant sea fish catch is a potential thing that must be managed properly. During this time, the fishermen sell fresh fish catches, making salted fish and shrimp paste. During the training, the company provides escort brought from the Faculty of Fisheries, University of Gadjah Mada. For that occasion, some housewives of GlondongGede vil-

lage, approximately 30 people, were trained to process and make food of sea fish processing. The initial production of processed products was in the form of shredded meat and fish jerky. After training, the company provided grants in the form of a set of cookware for seafood processing. The company also provided other grants such as a jerky oven, spinner, siker, fish grinder, pot, fitter tool, and some other cooking utensils. Assistance was done until 2016. The 30 trainees were divided into 3 groups: a) a group to process one type of processed fish such as beef jerky, b) a group to make shredded meat, and c) another group to make fish crackers. But in its development, because of equipment limitations and to simplify the processing, the three groups were merged into one group.

In addition to the equipment support, the company provides a capital of Rp 200,000 (US\$15) for each group. However, because the equipment is only one then they have trouble in producing, so the capital is merged again. With the financial capital of Rp. 600,000,00 (US\$45) they make fish sticks that were sold in the bazaar and was sold for Rp. 1,000,000,00(US\$75). This capital continues to be developed. Revenues obtained from the product of Sari Laut is currently around Rp. 5,000,000.00 (US\$375) to Rp. 8,000,000,00 (US\$600) per month. The gross income is deducted from the cost of wages, raw materials, and then taken a 20% net profit for Glodong Gede village's cash budget, and the rest are made for additional capital for raw materials and other purposes.

At this time, the production of fish processed food is still running with the raw materials of fish ranging from 15 to 20 kilograms per week. The type of fish to produce include barracuda at Rp. 25,000,00 (US\$1.8) per kilogram. Mackerel range from Rp. 35,000,00 (US\$2.7) to Rp. 40,000.00(US\$3) per kilogram, sword fish Rp 20,000(US\$1.5) per kilogram. Other materials needed to proceed fish are oil, flour, sugar and other flavorings.

Sales of "Sari Laut" fish production are still limited in Tuban such as in Eni store, Ara shop, Taman Sari, Simpang Raya, Hospital cooperative, and PKM cooperative. The sales are conducted with an advance payment of 25% of the sales price, and the rest if the goods had been sold. It had also been sold out of the city but the payment was long enough for until one month. Assistance was still done today in 2016. Some of the obstacles in developing this business are marketing, and sometimes disagreements between the board members. However, these efforts continue to run and are able to employ housewives in GlondongGede village.

4.2.1.2. Small Business of Fermented Soybean Cake (Tempe') from KarangAsem

Small business of making *tempe* was done in KarangAsem village, one of the villages in Ring I of two cement companies in this area. An example of *tempe* business was done by Is (34 years old), a junior high school educated. This effort did not get help from the company, but the company's presence gave impact the to the business of making *tempe*.

Tempe business began in 2003; initially the business of making *tempe* was run with her husband, as sales selling

tempe around the village. Their business reached its fame when there was a cement plant construction projects and raw materials for soybean reached one ton per week. The project ran for approximately four years. But in 2015, the mill construction was completed so that production was only 70-80 kilograms, with soybean prices Rp. 6,200,00 (US\$0,5) per kilogram and they employed two workers. The production process was in the morning and afternoon. The production of semi-finished *tempe* were then delivered to customers such as food stalls and mobile vegetable sellers.

The existence of the cement company resulted in the villages in the Ring I area became crowded. Some villagers could be working in the company, people from outside worked in the company so that the economic conditions improved and soybean production was still quite good. Karang Asem is also an area of Ring I of Indonesia cement company where now there is a cement bag factory, so that few of young people from Karang Asem work in the factory. One of programs CSR Indonesian cement provides training (---management, business, marketing and so on) for small businesses in the villages of Ring I.

4.2.2. Food Stall Business

The emergence of food stalls as the impact of the company's presence in the village is to serve the employees working in the company. There was a woman named Mar (37 years old) who came from Nganjuk and was married to a man from Sawir village. She lives with her two daughters in a house for shelter and built a stall to sell food to serve the workers and local residents. The food served is quite various, from vegetables, fish, chicken, *tempe*, and so on. To eat at the food stall, people just spend roughly Rp.15,000,00 (US\$1.3) to be able to eat well and drink tea.

This food stall business was started when there was a cement plant construction project in 2010s. At that time, thousands of people were working in the project so that some other food stalls stand along the road to the factory. When there was a plant development projects, Mar's food stall could spend 70 kilograms of rice per day. For more than three years of plant development projects, her food-stall was crowded by customers. Therefore, she opened her stall for 24 hours. She was helped by some employees to cook and her husband as a cashier.

After the factory stands and starts producing, the development projects laid off many workers. But there are still employees of outside the village who works to contractors and in the company that eat breakfast and lunch at the food stall. Contractor companies that bring employees generally come from big cities (Jakarta, Bogor and others). For that reason, Mar's food stall is still visited by the employees despite declining turn over. Currently, the food stall opens at 6 am to 10 pm and spends only 10-15 kilograms of rice. But the family is very grateful for the presence of the plant because by selling rice they could send their children to vocational high school and state junior high school, have homes and boarding places which are now occupied by three people. Other food stall business had to close down because the project had been completed. Generally, those who were are selling near Mar's were the wives whose

husbands work in the project.

Nevertheless, food stalls along Merkawang village and GlondongGede village are still crowded by customers. There are food stalls which sell Javanese vegetable salad ('*gado-gado*'), *cingur* (=cartilage and meat of the nostrils and ears of cattle) salad, shops that provide goods of daily needs, and stalls of gasoline that are pretty much along the way. Even the fried rice sellers who sells\ fried rice in the evening are also visited by many people. Food stalls and shops that provide goods of daily needs are businesses managed by women together with his family.

The same thing happens to Cokro's food stall (42 years old) who is a junior high school educated. The business is a legacy of her parents. When there was a project of cement company development, many employees were eating in her stall. But after the project was finished, the number of customers decreased. This stall location is far from the cement company but strategically located on the highway. Currently, the sales turnover of these food stalls range from Rp. 500,000 (US\$40,00) to Rp.1,000,000 (US\$80,00) per day. The motorbike-wash business can serve 35 motorbikes per day at a price of Rp.10,000 (US\$ 0.9) per motorbike.

4.2.3. Trading in the Traditional Market of Merkawang Village

The traditional market traders in Merkawang village are generally dominated by women who are originated from the surrounding area. The village's market has developed, as told by Mbah Soleh who is 74 years old and has worked there as a market guard for 40 years,

"The market was founded in 1975; it used to be just a collection of merchants who sold things for temporary time of the day or 'krempyeng' market which had no permanent building. It occupied a vacant land owned by the village that is located in front of Merkawang Village Hall. At that time, the traders only sold fish and vegetables. The market seemed sober. There were two sheds without interior walls ('los') divided into six rooms and in each room there were about four traders facing west and east, face-to-face to each other. The numbers of merchants were around 24 people from Merkawang village and its surrounding. The goods sold in the market were only vegetables and fish."

In 2009, the market was built with funds from the village and had about nine 'los', every 'los' consisted of four rooms where each room was filled with two traders. So there were about 72 places for traders. However, some traders who did not have a room, sold their merchandise in any space available. These rooms were sometimes empty, but on Sunday, they were full of traders.

Merkawang market now has 17 stores with a permanent building. The stores are located on the outside of the market, facing the street. Meanwhile, inside the market building there are approximately 45 to 50 merchants. Sometimes, on Sunday, it could reach 60 to 80 merchants. Currently, types of the merchandise are increasingly diverse, ranging from vegetables, snacks, ice, fish, sliced chicken, fruit, clothing, fabric pieces, kitchen utensils of plastic and clay, as well as some services offered such as makeover clothes (sewing), and grocery stores. Traders

come from the surrounding area and there are some from outside Jatirogo, Bancar and others.

The market traders are not taxable, but the requested money for cleaning service is Rp. 1.000(US\$0,75) per merchant who owns regular 'los', and Rp. 2.000 (US\$ 0.15) for merchants who have a permanent 'los' which means that they have a wall that separates the 'los' between traders. Every day the average money collected for cleaning service range from Rp 60.000 (US\$5) to Rp. 70.000 (US\$6). But on holidays (Sunday or public holiday) it can reach Rp 85.000. The money then is deposited into the village cash budget for about Rp 750,000 (US\$ 51) per month. If there is excess money, it is used as the salary for the market's janitors.

Merkawang market opens at 5 am and is closed just before noon at around 12.00 pm. The market officer has been employed for 40 years, and is now assisted by his grandson. Despite advanced age, his spirit to perform his duties and obligations is still high. At night he guards the market's security, at 1 am he checks the condition of the market. Just before dawn, he returns home doing the dawn prayer and returns to the market to open the market door around 5 am and close at 12.00 pm. Visitors crowd the market from 7 am until 8 am. At 10.00 am the market is already empty. When it is deserted, he will clean up trash, sweep and burn the waste collected.

Other income from the village market comes from the parking lot. Two people are hired to manage the parking area around the market. Every day there are more than 100 motorcycles parked in the market. Parking fee for a motorcycle is Rp 1.000 (US\$0,7). Thus the income from parking service is around Rp 100.000.(US\$8). The revenue is then deposited into the village's cash budget for about Rp 20,000(US\$1.5) per day, and the remaining Rp 80.000 (US\$6.3) is divided for paying the two parking attendants. Income from parking service is not always the same, sometimes it is less than Rp 100.000 (US\$ 7.5) or occasionally more. If the parking income is more than Rp 100.000, (US\$7.5), then more money can be paid to a parking attendant. However, if the income is less than Rp. 100.000 (US\$7.5) per day, then each parking attendant will get less than Rp 40.000 (US\$3).

Merkawang market, although only a village market which is open from 05.00 to 12.00, there are about 10 mortgagee who peddle loans to the traders. The mortgagees itinerant are commonly called "Bang titil". The loan interest is certainly quite high. Here is an example:

"If someone borrows money of Rp 100,000, (US\$7.5) he will receive Rp 90.000. (US\$7) Then the loan that must be returned is Rp. 5.000 (US\$0.6) per day for 24 days. Thus the loan interest could reach 20% per month."

4.2.4. The boarding house businesses managed by women

The company's presence increases the chances for boarding houses in the surrounding villages. When there is a plant development project, it has sprung up boarding houses because it hares a lot of employees from outside the village. As said by Warti (44 years old) who came from

Merkawang and has a primary school education; she is a manager of a boarding house. She also provides food for the inhabitants of the boarding house. The boarding house which has 18 rooms and was built in 2013 is owned by her relative who lives in Jakarta. When there was a plant construction project, the house is always full by the tenant, but now after the construction project is completed, it is empty and there are only two person selling meatballs and a garbage man. The boarding cost is Rp. 200.000 (US\$15) per person, one room can be occupied by three or four person. In Merkawang village, there are about three boarding houses, all of them are now empty. Warti's mother does not get paid from keeping the house, but she does not have to pay the electricity, because it is included in the house's bill. However, in Mrs. Reza's boarding house, which is located on the roadside of the village, it is still filled with tenants who are the contractor's workers that generally come from the cement company, and students who are doing a field training from outside the area and others.

4.2.5. Others

Because of the existence of a cement company, part of the farm in the village is exploited, so it contributes taxes to the government. Village roads in Ring I area have generally been paved and easily passable. It encourages the mobility of the population outside the village and opens up employment opportunities for women there. Non-farm employment opportunities open for women to serve villagers and employees who work at the company. Non-farm activities by women in the village are a) opening a business of a retail petrol kiosk in houses which lie on the edge of the village road. These kiosks are managed by the family, including the wives. Usually, in addition to selling retail gasoline they also sell daily necessities; b) opening food stalls and small shops providing daily necessities. Therefore, the villagers have no trouble in getting necessities of life such as household appliances, school supplies, and other foods. At 9 pm, stalls and shops are closed so the streets are deserted. Several women in the village take charge in implementing the company's CSR program. They are employed at PKM (Community Activity Center), cooperatives and others. They also get a salary from the company.

5. CONCLUSION

The presence of the company in the countryside with its activities and CSR program gives impact to the emergence of non-farm employment opportunities in rural areas for women. Employment opportunities for women who serve the needs of the villagers as well as newcomers like small businesses, food stalls, and boarding houses, increase the bustle of the traditional market traders in the village, retail kiosks, and others. Non-farm activities in rural areas are dominated by women, though in operation they are assisted by the family. The sales turnover rises when there is a plant development projects because thousands of workers from the village and outside the village are employed in the project.

In 2015, the factory started operating, and involved only a few of the local labors, but there were still a lot

of people working in the contracting company. The condition of the villages in Ring I area especially Sawir Village, Merkawang, Glondonggede, and Mliwang Village looked more lively and dynamic than before the cement company was built. The non-farm economic activities by women and their family still continue to run even though the turnover has decreased. Kinds of non-farm activities for women include a) developing a small business with basic ingredients of sea fish, *tempe* and others, b) opening food stalls; c) managing a boarding house, d) trading in traditional markets, e) opening the kiosk to provide basic needs and selling retail gasoline and others. Non-farm activities in rural areas for women can increase family income, so it

is one of the contributions to overcome the issue of uncertain farm income and one of the solutions to overcome the problem of poverty in the countryside.

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Halal Tourism in Indonesia: Capturing the Properness of Halal Tourism in West Nusa Tenggara

Penyusun :

(a) • **Nurul Hidayah**

(b) • **Marvy Ferdian A.S**

(c) • **Binaridha
Kusuma Nc**

(a) Public Administration,
Universitas Gadjah Mada
Jl. Buhu No 145, Sleman,
Yogyakarta, Indonesia

(b) Public Administration,
Universitas Gadjah Mada,
Jl. Kusumanegara Timur Gg.
Manukberi No. 56 D.
Yogyakarta, Indonesia

(c) Political Science,
Airlangga University,
Jl. Gubeng Jaya 8, No.37,
Surabaya, Indonesia

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Abstract

Sharia-based tourism has been developed by the tourism actors who consider about the increasing number of Muslim travellers. Seeing this trend, Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy begins the manoeuver to maximize Halal tourism potency in Indonesia. West Nusa Tenggara Province has been appointed as a pilot project for the development of Halal tourism in Indonesia. The development of Halal tourism in West Nusa Tenggara will be centred in the island of Lombok and Sumbawa due to the unique tourism destinations and Islamic royal history known as Islamic empire. This study aimed to capture the properness of Halal Tourism by describing the existing situation compared with the some ideal concepts. The research finding indicates that the main encountered obstacles are many hotels and restaurants which have not been halal certified. This manoeuver is also constrained by the concepts that have not been clearly defined. This study used a literature review method with descriptive exploratory type of research to explore in depth information and data related to the obstacles encountered in the development of Sharia-based tourism destinations. The result of this research is expected to enrich the world tourism information related to Halal tourism.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is undeniable that Islam is growing rapidly around the world and it has a very high population. Various sources say that the Muslim population in the world is in the range of 1.6 billion or 23% of the global population. High population of Muslim spreads in most countries of the world.

Based on Pew Research Center (2009), about 60% of the total muslim population live in Asia and about 20% are Muslim in Middle East and North Africa. Furthermore, the Pew Research Center predicts that the Muslim population growth will be twice increasing when it is compared with Christian population growth. Alan Cooperman, president of the Pew Research Center, says that the rapid growth of

the Muslim population is strongly influenced by where they live. "Muslim Populations are concentrated in some of the fastest-growing parts of the world" (www.npr.org). As the second highest population in the world, it is not surprising that Muslims is considered as a potential orientation for market actors. Islam values have entered and it obviously gives Muslim preferences in their daily life, one of which related to conviction to choose everything that meets the criteria of 'halal'. It is inevitable that to accommodate the needs of Muslim, halal standards will then begin to shift several players in the industry to apply the concept of sharia. If we observe, many businesses are found adding the halal label, such as the hijab fashion, halal makeup, sharia financial and one very interesting is halal tourism. In addition to accommodate the needs of Muslims by means, industry players also use halal business as a competitive advantage- a property or circumstance that puts a company in a favorable business position over its competitors.

As the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, it seems quite unfortunate if Indonesia does not become the advanced halal tourism destination, on the contrary, data from the Global Muslim Traveler rating indicates that the Indonesian Muslim country is in the top 10 of the most widely travelled. Seeing this trend, the government through the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy begins the maneuver to maximize the tourism potential of Indonesia based on sharia. Designated as the host of the World Islamic Tourism Mart (WITM) 2015, West Nusa Tenggara Province has also been selected as a pilot project for regional development of sharia tourism destinations by the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, along with two other provinces; Nangro Aceh Darussalam and West Sumatra.

Selected as the pilot project of halal tourism destination, West Nusa Tenggara is an exotic province with a huge potency. This island is also rich in culture and the values of Islam in which more than 95% of the population are Muslims. The Development of Halal tourism destinations in NTB is centered on the island of Lombok and Sumbawa. Lombok Island is not only famous for its beautiful beach tourism which is very popular, but it is also known as the island of thousand mosques. Sumbawa Island is famous for its royal history with the term Islamic empire. Taking those considerations, it is reasonable if NTB has been established as one of the pilot project for the development of halal tourism in Indonesia. The government's manoeuver to accelerate tourism sector is not independent from the various obstacles and challenges. This study aimed to capture and describe the development of Halal tourism destinations in West Nusa Tenggara and found the holes and gaps between the management of halal travel and the ideal concept of halal tourism.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Islamic tourism has changed the paradigm that it is not just a tour of religious tourism and visiting the holy places of Islam. Islamic tourism is related to the permitted rules and appropriateness of other Islamic facilities when doing

tours (Asad Mohsid, Noriah Ramli, et al, 2016). The word Islam in Islamic tourism terminology is often considered as one of the tours that describe Muslim tourists who travel to Islamic countries and the aim is to carry out religious activities (Organization of Islamic Conference, 2008). Islamic tourism is an alternative tour that combines the values of Islam and tourism (Henderson, 2009).

Halal tourism considers sharia law as the basis to provide services and tourism facilities according to the needs of Muslims, for example sharia compliant hotel, halal resorts, and halal trips. The kind of tourism destinations is not limited to Muslim countries, but rather to facilitate specifically Muslims need (Frishman and Khan, 2002). Some literatures also say that the definition between Islamic tourism and halal tourism are same or equivalent. According to Battour (2016), concept is more suitable as halal tourism rather than Islamic tourism. Battour also cites Carboni, et al (2014) that Islam tourism involves people of the Muslim faith who are interested in keeping with their personal religious habits while travelling. In the end, Battour and Ismail conclude that halal tourism is a tourism that complies Islam law and involves Muslim in the tourism industry (Battour and Ismail, 2016).

There are many qualifications for accelerating Halal tourism. Meanwhile, according to Chukaew (2015), the presence of halal tourism is expected with the following standards:

- Services in accordance with the rules of Islam
- Travel agency or travel that uses principles of sharia
- All tourism activities that do not contradict with Islamic norms
- Standardization of halal restaurant
- Certainty in the security of the transportation system
- Availability to facilitate the prayer
- No contradiction between tourism destination and Islamic law

In the Islamic sharia context, cognitive and affective aspects are not quite, so Islamic values in fulfilling the needs of Muslim travellers are added. Muslim Tourist Perceived Valued (MTPV) classification based on the study Riyan Eid and Hatem El- Ghohary (2015) is shown in the following table:

Table 1.
Muslim Tourist Perceived Value

Value	Constructs
Cognitive Value	Quality Price
Affective Value	Emotional Social
Islamic Value	Physical Attributes Nonphysical Attributes

Source: Riyad Eid dan Hatem El- Gohary, 2014

To accommodate the Muslim faith to the products and services, the two main constructions above should be included. They are the physical attributes and the non-physical attributes. Physical attributes include prayer facilities, halal food, the availability of scripture, and sharia-compatible toilets. While non-physical attributes include the segregated services, the availability of Islamic television channel, and the work of art which is not contrary to the sharia.

Based on predefined research purposes, descriptive qualitative research method is deemed. This method is more interpretative of the research focus. Descriptive qualitative methods focused on the overall depiction of form, function, and meaning (Moleong, 2006). The descriptive method aimed to describe the instruments in force, in which it attempts to describe, record, analyze and interpret the phenomena (Mardalis, 1999). By using qualitative methods, it is expected to get and explore new findings related to halal tourism fact found in West Nusa Tenggara, so it can be explained the relationships among the realities happened. This study uses secondary data which are generally found in the form of reports and studies that have been published.

3. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Sharia tourism practice in the world

In this section, researchers have observed experiences of some main destinations of Muslim travelers. Countries are listed based on data in Global Muslim Travel Index (GMTI) 2015 which is released by CrescentRating. Based on the data, the destinations of Muslim travellers are divided into two parts: Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) countries and non-OIC countries.

The first is Malaysia. This Country has already been the main destination choice of Muslim travelers for 5 years from 2011 (GMTI, 2015). In 2014 there are about 4 million of Muslim travelers who visit Malaysia and contribute roughly USD 3.5 billion to the national revenue. That successful story of Malaysia also occurs as the result of endless promotion by their government. There are many tourist destinations which are offered by Malaysia. The most famous one is Port Dickson. Port Dickson is a district on the edge of a sea which offers beautiful beaches for more than 10 miles long. In Port Dickson, Muslim travelers can easily find Muslim-friendly facilities such as Mosque and halal restaurant. Port Dickson also provides international-class hotels that have been halal-standardized (www.halaltrip.com). Other attractions of halal traveling in Malaysia are various options of outdoor traveling which certainly have been packaged in halal values.

Regarding to the facilities and accommodations, there are not any doubt of Malaysia's commitment in providing the best halal services. The Malaysian government even divides the certified-Halal hotels into three levels: Basic, Intermediate, and Extensive. For the Basic level, services include providing halal food, non-alcohol, Qibla direction, prayer mats and bidet. For the Intermediate level, tourists will be given facilities such as separated recreation facil-

ities (male and female), praying room, no adult entertainment, schedule of prayer time and location of the mosque. For the Extensive level, they provide a zakat booth, brochures which are related to Islam, Adzan (praying call), and Islamic traveling packages (Salleh, 2014).

Malaysian Government is very aware of its importance and intensively encourages hotels to obtain halal certification for their restaurants (Hamid, 2010). For the other facilities, Malaysian Government requires every shopping center to provide a mosque along side with ablution facility and restaurants with halal menu (Samori, Salleh, Khalid, 2016). Tourists from the Middle East become the main target of Malaysian Government. This is due to their luxury and royal travel habit which give more benefit for Malaysia's revenue. Therefore, Malaysia even initiates "Feel-at-home" campaign to indulge their main target. Malaysia also takes advantage of communications and technology development to promote halal tourism. Travelers only have to access www.itc.gov.my and then all information of halal tourism will appear. Meanwhile in www.malaysia.travel.com, we can obtain other relevant informations including a schedule of festival, transportations and travel packages.

From the researchers point of view, infrastructures in Malaysia such as airports, highways, ports, the other transportations are already in the advanced level. It is not surprising, considering Malaysia has begun to build and prepare the infrastructures to support tourism in the 1970s. Malaysian Government also provides credit assistance through the Tourism Development Infrastructure Fund. The purpose of this credit is to provide assistance for the tourism businessmen who want to develop and expand their business. The government's seriousness to build the tourism industry makes Malaysia becomes the country with the best tourism infrastructure compared to other Southeast Asian countries (Jusoh & Mohamed, 2006).

The second is Thailand. Halal tourism development in this monarchy country has attracted the researchers to observe further although based on the data in GMTI 2015, Thailand is ranked on the second place after Singapore in the list of non-OIC countries. Halal tourism in Thailand is initiated by the awareness of the government to extend the main purpose of tourism. It becomes a tool to construct an inclusive society, prevent ethnic and religious conflicts, as well as contribute as a primary pillar of ASEAN integration (www.tatnews.org).

There are many tourism destinations with qualified infrastructures. The researchers takes four cities that are part of a tour package offered by the www.thaihalaltour.com: Bangkok, Phuket, Pattaya and Chiang Mai. In those four cities, Muslim travelers also can easily find halal food, halal hotel and other supporting facilities of halal tourism. Talking about halal food, in order to encourage the growth of halal tourism, Thai government assumes the availability of halal food issue seriously. Thai government very aggressively encourages food products to obtain halal certification. Until 2014, halal certification already covers 4000 factories with 120,000 products (Pakorn, 2015).

Thailand realizes potentiality of travelers from the Middle East. Therefore, they are planning to develop Phuket region and Andaman coasts to meet the luxury traveling

typical of the Middle East. Thailand is also seeking a cooperation with Malaysia for the border area between southern Thailand and northern Malaysia. That area also has potential to attract upper-middle class travelers. Furthermore on the Middle East market, Thailand conducts a campaign called "Quality Leisure Destination Through Thainess" and "Amazing Thailand Luxury" which involve a series of high class travel choices. Thailand also provides an easy access to all informations about tourism via internet. In www.tourismthailand.org, tourists can get any information about hotels, restaurants, attractions, transportations, and etc. This site also accommodates Muslim travelers by providing a selection of Halal keyword in the search field. Furthermore, Thailand has also launched an application called Thailand's Muslim Friendly which can be operated on a mobile device. By this application Muslim travelers can access the halal restaurants and hotels, nearest Mosques, prayer time and other supporting informations for Muslim.

The last but not least is Japan. Education and jobs are the two reasons of why Muslim population increase there. There are a lot of students who come from Muslim countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Turkey, and Egypt to study in Japan. Meanwhile, as one of the leading industrial countries in the world, Japan also hires many foreign workers, including those are from Muslim countries. It is not a surprise if Muslim population in Japan is roughly 70,000 to 100,000. From that estimation, 90% are foreigners and the rest are locals who convert to Islam (Penn, 2007).

This country's awareness about the number of students from Muslim countries makes many universities in Japan whether it is public and/or private are starting to provide halal food in their cafeterias. Osaka University is the first campus that provides halal food for students in 1995, then it is followed by other universities such as Kyushu University (2005), Nagoya University (2006), Tokyo University (2007), the Kyoto University (2009) and Waseda University (2012) (Yusof & Shutto, 2014). Even the cafeteria at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University has been appointed as the largest halal-certified food facility in the country (www.japantimes.co.jp). From simple things such as providing halal food and the availability of praying facilities due to Muslim population who continues to grow, tourists from Muslim countries are starting to come to Japan. In 2015 international tourist arrivals has increased, especially travelers from Muslim countries in Southeast Asia such as Indonesia and Malaysia. Tourists from Indonesia has also increased, data shows that from 80,632 people in 2010 to 205,100 people in 2015 (Japan National Tourism Organization, 2015).

Those things above make Japan take Halal Tourism more seriously. In addition to upgrade halal food, Japan also begins to develop other facilities that can sustain Halal Tourism (www.japantoday.com). Hotels in Japan have started providing Mosque and Qibla direction for every room, while at Kansai International Airport there is a prayer room which is completed with ablution facility (Takumi, 2014). Japan also applies a visa-free entry for Southeast Asia countries as the result of potentials that have been mentioned earlier (www.japantimes.co.jp).

In short, researchers take some experiences from those three countries above in managing Halal tourism:

- Halal products are the primary issue;
- Praying facilities are the next important thing;
- Middle East travelers are a gold mine while South East Asian is an assurance
- Technology makes tourism promotion more efficient;
- It is their government's initiative.

3.2 Defining Indonesia halal tourism: commercial interest or value interest?

The implementation of halal tourism concept can not be separated from the long debate. The debate that appears is generally associated with a limitation of concept, which is still considered biased. Value, as everything believed to be true for certain groups, certainly is very subjective. Riyad Eid and Hatem El- Gohary (2014) states: *perceived value is a subjective and dynamic construct that varies among different customer and culture*. While Customer Perceived Value-the universal consumer value, based on Bigne et al (2005); Oh (2003); Sanchez et al (2006) involves two dimensions of consumer behavior, the benefits received (economic, social, and relationships) and the sacrifices made by consumers (price, time, effort, risk and convenience). Summarizing the study of MTPV conducted by Eid and Hatem El- Ghohary (2015), the consideration of Islamic values to complete the cognitive and affective value is more emphasis on the availability of attributes to meet the religious needs of Muslim travelers,

The sequence of halal tourism idea is also contentious in Indonesia proofed by many figures who question the relevance of the halal tourism labelling. At the beginning of sounding, Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy, Arif Yahya did not agree with this concept. The use of the term Islamic travel, halal travel, family travel are considered inappropriate, too exclusive and a bias-based banning on certain religious (Kajian pengembangan Wisata Syariah, 2015). Furthermore Nirwandar, Member of Sharia Economic Society says that sharia tourism branding is still debatable and its term is often identified with radicalism. Criticism of halal tourism is also conveyed by the Regent of East Lombok, HM Ali Bin Dachlan. Quoting from Lombokpost.com, HM Ali assesses that there is no clear basis for the administration to label themselves as the world tourism destinations. It is said that the gathering talking about the halal travel must be completed. Maybe the hotel will be put a prayer rug, but what people do inside are not known. It also cannot guarantee the occurrence probability of any immoral act against the Islamic sharia which surely accounted as not-halal.

In reviewing halal tourism from the formal legal perspective, it seems unsatisfying if it does not refer to the policies that govern them. The regulation of halal tourism in West Nusa Tenggara is contained in Nusa Tenggara Barat Province Regulation No. 2/2016 about Halal Tour-

ism, while for governor regulations operating this latest Local Regulation still have not been formed. Halal tourism in Nusa Tenggara Local regulation is defined as the activity of tourism visit with the destination and the tourism industry that set up facilities, products, services and management of tourism which meet the Sharia. Sharia standard encompasses the aspects of products, services and management. If being explored more in depth, this Local Regulation is more emphasis on aspects of halal tourism facilities as well as other fundamental principles instead of the level of value setting.

Halal tourism concept does not seem legitimate without referring to the origin of the word "halal" itself. Halal (حلال) is derived from the Arabic language which means permissible or broadly defined as any object or activity that is allowed to be used or carried out by the Islamic religious laws. When considering the essence of these words, automatically all objects or activities referred to the halal criteria should be sourced from the holy book of Qur'an. One basic question is how the border is separating halal and not-halal, which is not lawful. There are many things that are not allowed and prohibited in Islam, such as alcohol, pork, wearing bikini, etc.

Halal tourism labelling is seemed half-heartedly in formulating the concept. Many countries refer it to *Moslem friendly tourism*. This term is taking into account of the extent to which the government defines halal on tourism management. It such an inevitable that halal tourism preferences lead to a commercial orientation than the value orientation which refers to the limits of behavior and activity. Even so, the value orientation is also certainly been the considerations that affect halal tourism arrangements because the substance of the application of halal tourism is also directed to maintain cultural and Islamic values in West Nusa Tenggara. Studying the experience of neighbouring countries which has relatively succeed to trigger halal tourism, Indonesia Government must formulate the concept of halal tourism in accordance with the context of the archipelago, without losing the local wisdom. In short, halal tourism that has been developed by the government of Indonesia is more to accommodate the basic needs of Muslim travellers on destinations, facilities, convenient management and appropriate Islamic Sharia. As a common thread, the author cites Riyad Eid and Hatem El- Gohary (2014): *participation of Muslims in tourism activities requires acceptable goods, services and environments*.

3.3. The development of halal tourism in West Nusa Tenggara

Before 1965, Lombok had a religious system which is different than recently. Distribution of Lombok population before 1965 consisted of 75-85% people of *Islam Waktu Lima* and 20-25% people of *Islam Waktu Telu*, the rest is a society that adheres to religious called Boda. *Islam waktu telu* peoples and *Boda* peoples, at that time still believed in the gods who called it Betara. Their beliefs led to the creation of the religious system, the system of traditional ceremonies and other rituals. (Customs Region West Nusa Tenggara, 1997). Currently, the island of Lombok is

mainly inhabited by the Sasak tribe, who are the original peoples from Lombok. Besides Sasak, there are also parts of Samawa tribe, Mbojo tribe, the tribe of Bali, as well as the descendants of Chinese and Arabic, where the majority of the population is Muslim. Although the majority of the population is Muslim, the local knowledge is more influenced by Hinduism.

The Ministry of Tourism of Republic Indonesia held a National Halal Tourism Competition in August, 2016, while the contested categories of tourism halal were such as best airport, best family hotel, best apartment, best resort, best travel agency, best travel website, best honeymoon destination, best hajj travel agency, best culinary destinations, and best culture tourism destinations which were friendly to Muslim travellers. In these competitions, West Nusa Tenggara got several categories nomination of halal tourism and friendly tourism for Muslim travellers. Novotel Lombok Resort & Villas has been selected as the winner in the category of the best friendly Muslim traveller resort. Additionally, the website of Wonderful Lombok Sumbawa - www.wonderfullomboksumbawa.com has also been selected as the best travel website which is friendly to Muslim travellers and Ayam Taliwang Moerad as the best halal culinary regional specialties.

Table 2.

Number of Tourism Businesses by Regency/City in West Nusa Tenggara Province 2014

Regency/City	Travel	Star Hotel	Eco-Social Hotel	Restaurant
West Lombok	61	26	84	150
Center Lombok	51	2	46	97
East Lombok	6	0	49	188
Sumbawa	1	3	33	177
Dompu	1	0	24	38
Bima	4	0	12	32
West Sumbawa	0	1	34	120
North Lombok	24	6	515	308
Mataram City	219	12	76	196
Bima City	19	0	18	73
Total	386	50	891	1.379

Source : *Tourism and Culture Service of West Nusa Tenggara Province, 2015*

North Lombok has the high potency of nature tourism. This regency also becomes a heaven for backpackers. Popular nature tourism in North Lombok is 3 *Gili*, especially Gili Trawangan. Gili Trawangan is the largest island of the three small islands (*gili*) in the northwest of Lombok. In North Lombok, tourist can find several cultural tourisms, one of which is traditional martial art called *Presean* or stick fighting. Besides nature tourism, tourist also can see the beauty of Rinjani Mountain ecosystem. Lombok also

has died crater from the eruption of Mount Rinjani which forms a beautiful lake, the Segara Anak Lake. Besides the natural beauty, there are rituals or indigenous Sasak people and the Hindu Dharma people, the ritual called *Mulang Pekelem*.

Tourism attraction in West Nusa Tenggara is very diverse, especially in the Lombok Island and Sumbawa Island. The life of the local population is also one of the most attractive for tourists. Popular natural attractions include Senggigi Beach, 3 Gili, Mount Rinjani, Mount Tambora, Moyo Island, Sade Village, and Narmada which are the former palace of Lombok Mataram kingdom. Besides those natural attractions, West Nusa Tenggara also has the potential of cultural and religious tourism, including the *Tomb Batu Layar* tourism, *Uma Lengge* which is historical evidence *Mbojo* tribal communities, and *Mulang Pekelem* as ritual to asks soil fertility to Gods.

Island of thousand mosques was a nickname to indicate that West Nusa Tenggara people are a religious society in their daily life. Many heritage sites of Islamic history are the proof that Islamic influence is very strong. One of the attractions that attract the attention of tourists is Batu Layar Tomb. Batu Layar Tomb is located in the area of Senggigi, West Lombok. Tomb Batu Layar is often used to celebrate *Lebaran Topat* (Eid tradition). That activity becomes the annual event in West Lombok Regency. Event *Lebaran Topat* is conducted with a variety of traditional procession, there are tradition *Nyangkar* (wash the faces of children with holy water), tradition *Ngurisan* (shaved the baby hair), and traditions *Begibung* (eating together with other people who come to celebrate this event).

Basically, huge potencies in West Nusa Tenggara are deservedly enabled to serve halal tourism and friendly tourism to Muslim travellers. The main focus of West Nusa Tenggara government today is to create comfort and security for prayer and secure halal product. So far, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) has published halal certification for 45 hotels, 100 halal certifications for restaurants, and 30 food courts certified halal (Republika.co.id). Based on data from Table 1, it can be seen that from a total of 941 hotels, there are only 45 hotels or 8% that have received the halal certificate. As for the restaurant, from a total of 1.379 restaurants, only 12% has received halal certificates from MUI.

3.4. Several factors used to capture the properness of halal tourism in Indonesia

In order to describe and capture the properness of halal tourism, many elements and factors have been mentioned by experts and researchers. In this research, we elaborated the concept of halal tourism by Spillane (1994) who mentioned five essential elements of halal tourism along with MTPV (*Muslim Tourist Perceived Value*) cited by Riyad Eid and El-Gohari (2014). Based on the compatibility of the data and context, several factors that are suitable to capture the properness of halal tourism in West Nusa Tenggara are: Attraction Facility and Infrastructure, emotional value, Islamic physical value and Islamic non physical value.

3.4.1. Attraction

West Nusa Tenggara's history about Islamic Sultanates can become one of the tourist attractions. Muslim travellers can be brought to explore the traces of the Islamic Sultanates there, such as the Sultanate of Sumbawa, Dompu Sultanate, and the Sultanate of Bima. Meanwhile, the nickname of Lombok as the "Island of a Thousand Mosques" can also be used as another attraction. There are many beautiful Mosques in Lombok, like Islamic Center Mosque in Mataram; Al Akbar Mosque in Masbagik, East Lombok; and the Grand Mosque of Praya in Central Lombok. Islamic Center Mosque, located in West Nusa Tenggara Islamic Center complex that was recently built and become the most glorious Mosque in West Nusa Tenggara.

Basically, West Nusa Tenggara is fortunate enough because its nature is blessed with nothing but magnificence. For instance, in Gili Islands travelers can enjoy the splendour of its underwater known for their crystal clear water and amazing coral reefs. Then in Mataram, tourists are brought to feel the traces of history and culture of West Nusa Tenggara. The government also being actively promoting the Halal Tourism by organizing various festivals within Islamic breath like Muharram Festival held in East Lombok and Halal Culinary Festival in Mataram. According to Spillane (1994), the tourists are motivated to visit a tourist destination to meet or satisfy some needs or requests. They are usually interested in a location because of certain characteristics, natural beauty, climate and weather, cultural, history, ethnicity-tribal nature and accessibility-ability or ease of walking or specific to the place.

3.4.2. Facility and infrastructure

For infrastructures factor, airport becomes the important one due to the main function as the entrance for travellers. By 2015, the number of domestic arrivals through Lombok International Airport reached 502,538 passengers while international arrivals reached 58,379. Those numbers, particularly in the international arrivals is not bad, but the authors have another view. The authors assume that the number of international routes are still lacking. Lombok International Airport only has international routes to Singapore and Kuala Lumpur. In order to improve Halal Tourism, the government should open new routes to potential country such as the Middle East or even Turkey which is the main hub between Europe and Asia nowadays.

Authors also consider the availability of halal food and place for praying as the two most important things. Authors also find these two things are not meaningful barriers because like Malaysia, West Nusa Tenggara is a Muslim majority province. Muslims in West Nusa Tenggara reached 92% (BPS, 2014), thereby all about Islamic facilities and halal food are all available. Authors also suggest that despite there so many halal foods available in West Nusa Tenggara, Halal certification still needed to guarantee Muslim travellers about the products. As talking about international market tourism, the quality of the food must be standardized at that scale and so does about praying facilities. There are 10 new hotels being developed in West

Nusa Tenggara right now. Those hotels will implement the concept of Sharia to support Halal Tourism. The development of those new hotels also will add several existing Halal hotels around Lombok today.

3.4.3. Emotional value

With some achievement for the best halal destinations in the national and international levels, West Nusa Tenggara has the opportunity and potency for being advanced halal tourism. A good response from tourist and a desire to get back on holiday to West Nusa Tenggara are the positive indications of good tourism service. West Nusa Tenggara has won three best categories at the National Halal Tourism Competition in 2016. It shows that West Nusa Tenggara has the key achievement in the performance, giving customer satisfaction, and realizing the commitments related to achievement of halal tourism. West Nusa Tenggara also has a unique characteristic, responsive government, hospitable and friendly society that can trigger the innovations and new alternative to improve services and fulfil the satisfaction and needs of Muslim travellers.

3.4.4. Islamic physical attribute

Referring to the factors in MTPV (Muslim Tourist Perceived Value), Physical attributes include prayer facilities, Halal food, the availability of holy Quran, and sharia-compatible toilets. Until recently, the religious facilities in West Nusa Tenggara are very easy to find. Availability of the separated toilet is also already available from before halal tourism encouraged. About Halal food, it is still a challenge for businesses actors because there are many restaurants and food industries which have not obtained halal certification from MUI. This is a serious concern for the government so that the government continues announcing the variety of convenience services from MUI halal certification, certainly with the criteria that meets halal standard by the Islamic Sharia. Likewise with the hotel, there are many hotels in the tourism area that has not been halal certified. So far, the MUI has published 45 halal certifications for hotels, 100 halal certifications for restaurants and 30 food court certified halal (Republika.co.id). Based on data from the Tourism and Culture Service of West Nusa Tenggara Province (2015), among 1,379 restaurants, only 12% or about 165 restaurants have received halal certificate from MUI. Due to the majority religion in Indonesia-which is Islam, it seems unnecessary with labeling halal on restaurant and all kinds of home industry. This perception is in fact cannot simply be justified. In the absence of the halal labeling, foreign tourists, particularly Muslim travelers will feel worried with the halal food they consume.

3.4.5. Islamic non physical attribute

While the physical attribute concerns all tangible elements, non-physical attributes in this study include separated services, the availability of Islamic television channel, and works of art which are not contrary to the Islamic sharia. Aspects of intangible attribute in halal tourism is

already started to become a serious concern by local government. Cited from www.radarlombok.co.id, Provincial Government of West Nusa Tenggara is currently formulating halal tourism zoning. This segmentation is expected to offer convenience for the tourists during their visit. For example, two main locations will be created as halal tourism destinations in Mataram. The areas are namely *Kota Tua Ampenan* and *Pasar Seni Sayang Sayang*. Until recently, government has also been creating segmentation of beach destination in Lombok. The northern area of Lombok will be devoted as conventional travel, while the southern region is focused as halal tourism. This segmentation is also quite reasonable; that conventional travel Lombok has long been developing rapidly in the northern region. While the Special Economic Zones in South Lombok will be developed as a halal tourism zone.

4. CONCLUSION

Halal tourism is a consequence of the rapid growth of Muslims in the world; non-Muslim countries especially realize that potential for their economic growth. Japan and Korea for example, are known that many Muslim tourists visiting their country, they start offering tourism that are friendly to Muslims, halal food, a place for prayer that are main focus to serve the Muslim need. Indonesia in which the population are majority Muslim, should focus on optimizing the infrastructure and service by redefining halal tourism design. West Nusa Tenggara establishes as one of tourist destinations halal in Indonesia. West Nusa Tenggara where Muslim are majority, already have good facilities and services. Nusa Tenggara government must show consistency to build halal tourism though the main obstacle is how to keep halal tourism no less interesting with the existing of conventional tourism. Gili Trawangan and Mount Rinjani are the most popular conventional tourism in West Nusa Tenggara, so the government need new destinations that have high economic value and does not contradict with Islam law. Not only providing halal facilities and halal services, but the new destinations tourism are needed which accordance with sharia law. In order to realize the halal tourism, the government and MUI should immediately check to any tourism business entities. In addition, travel agency should also set up a friendly vacation packages for Muslim travelers, which includes lodging, time for prayer during the trip, halal food and beverages, as well as tourist destinations that do not contradict with the teaching of Islam.

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GIJZELING AND PENOLOGY

Penyusun :

- Primadona Harahap
- Muhammad Mustofa

Ph.D Student in Criminology
Universitas Indonesia

e-mail:

dona.harahap@gmail.com
primadona.harahap51@ui.ac.id

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Abstract

It is widely assented that tax money becomes a prominent share of Indonesia state budget. It contributes 70%-80% to all expenditures. In 2016, the composition is 74% of the budget, whereas the remaining parts will be covered by nontax revenue and loan. Tax liability conveys a demanding burden for the country for many years. Indonesia is really concerned to provide such actions to realize such liability, persuasive efforts, repressive up until coercive ones. The more or less tax money that contributes to Indonesia state budget, the more or less country's proficiency to finance for all needs. One contemporary action taken by Indonesia tax authority is confinement. Implementation of this confinement or hostage-taking as one of the tax collection process was then known as gijzeling, an attempt was made after going through several persuasive phases or other administrative efforts. Gijzeling is not a brand-new phenomenon in Indonesia, it was available even in the colonial era. Gijzeling is incapacitation. Associated with tax administration, gijzeling is to restrict or incarcerate not to comply taxpayer up until they pay the tax debts. As a social reaction towards tax cases, gijzeling can become further scrutinized in penology. In this article, the correlation among gijzeling executed by Indonesia tax authority, punishment theory and power relation according to Foucault is elucidated. Disciplinary power, governmentality, and relation of domination as parts of power relation take parts that can be explained in the purpose and the applied system of gijzeling as one of the social reactions regarding taxation employed in Indonesia. Foucault's disciplinary power is an attempt to discipline the body in order to construct a docile body and this effort will be effective when the body is confined in the impassable institutions such as prison. In governmentality, communities are given several options and are free to choose the most suitable to them, and at the end people voluntarily take the option that suits the interests of the state. As attached to the power relation, in addition to disciplinary power, the state's efforts in the process of tax collection by applying gijzeling is a jumble of governmentality and relation of

domination. By using literature and document study (statute and also conceptual approach), further enhanced with secondary analysis and content analysis, this article describes further about the effectiveness of gijzeling. Recommendations towards tax regulation are also given to improve tax policy as well. The policy of confinement that takes hostage or incapacitation awaiting tax debts can be paid off, unfortunately, emits the "ability" and "willingness" for violators of tax law to pay off the tax debt immediately. Along with incarceration, confinement as a form of incapacitation also expected to provide preventive functions (deterrence), not only for the offender (special deterrence) but also for the community (general deterrence). The emergence of fear of the policy creates a deterrent effect that encourages conformity towards tax regulations. However, the confinement policy carried out by the state remains on regulatory improvement. It started from the unaccounted action of confinement period expiration, false-negative and/or false-positive in object determination.

PRELIMINARY

The discussion about tax is not a brand new subject matter, not only in Indonesia but also in every country around the world. The urgency of tax for a state is to make the country devote an attempt to collect source (fund) as much as possible in the taxation sector. A number of efforts were made, starting from the compassionate efforts, up until to the efforts by imposing sanctions or penalties which ultimately has a coercive nature. This article explains about one of the coercive efforts by a state in carrying out its duties and functions to boost funds from the public to fulfill all the needs of the state.

To some extent, the urgency of tax can be seen and understood from several definitions of tax communicated by some personages and also from Indonesia Law. In his book, Mardiasmo (2002) suggested the notion of tax as a levy of the people to the state under the Act (which may be in force), whereas the people will get no immediate services (or directly) demonstrated and used to pay for general expenses. Rochmat Soemitro explains the concept of tax as the shifting of wealth from the people to the state treasury to finance regular expenditures and the surplus will be used for public saving which is the main source of finance public investment.

In order to provide a standardized understanding of the meaning of the tax, subsequently state elucidates the purpose of tax in Indonesia Law concerning General Provisions and Tax Procedures, which explicates that the tax is a mandatory contribution to the state owed by the individual or entity that is forced by the Act, not rewarded directly and used for the purposes of the state which is the greatest prosperity of the people.

In 2016, the configuration of Indonesian State Budget demonstrated that the share of tax money was 74% (Indonesian State Budget Year 2016). Total state revenue from the tax sector in Indonesia State Budget can display the dominant tax contribution to the development of the State.

In the course of this time, the composition of the tax revenues were compared to total state revenue which later was issued to finance all the needs and state expenditure, since 2010 in the range of 70% -80% (Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Finance, Year 2015 to 2019).

It seems that tax is something interesting to learn. The funds collected from the tax sector will be experienced for the community in the form of development of the country. Tax arising from country needs finance its activities, both development expenditures, government official expenses and other expenditures.

A large number of efforts were made as a form of interpretation in State understanding for the great benefits of the tax. To what extent, one of the great efforts is to collect state receivables. It may be represented that state receivables are tax debts from taxpayers that should be collected by the state authority. The tax collection efforts are consisting of persuasive actions or administrative ones as well as coercive channels as the final step. One of the coercive methods is confinement or by so doing hostage of taxpayer or tax guarantors who have tax debt with certain criteria.

In recent years, the Directorate General of Tax as Indonesia Tax Authority has conducted a number of hostage actions also known as *gijzeling* to the taxpayer or tax guarantors. Attachment to the penal system since the beginning until now has the confinement action forced by the agency. Is it in conformity with the values, goals, and philosophy of punishment? How was the relation of power that occurred in the application *gijzeling* in Indonesia? It is necessary to know it to acquire a proper understanding of punitive efforts undertaken by the state in seeking funds for national financing.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This article was inscribed by analyzing the document of taxation regulation of Indonesia which governs the *gijzeling* actions, ranging from legal indemnity up until the

technical implementation rules or is also called the statute approach. Moreover, the literature review was also conducted to understand the theories and opinions of the punishment, taxation and power of the state which is also called a conceptual approach to succor the purpose of this research.

The statute approach has some purposes such as to address and to discuss all regulations related to the *gijzeling* by doing an examination. The conceptual approach will assess the concept of the framework and theoretical foundation in accordance with the purpose of the research. Furthermore, in order to complete the discussion, this article conducted a secondary analysis and content analysis utilizing the results of research and other secondary data.

It may serve that all data, documents and works of literature that were obtained previously will be analyzed and further explored. The analysis was about how the idea of punishment was socially constructed and its relationship with punishment theory and relations of power.

OVERVIEW OF TAX COLLECTION: CURRENT GIJZELING

Indonesian tax administration system is known as the self-assessment system, where citizens are given the authority to carry out the tax obligations independently, ranging from obtaining the Tax Identification Number, calculating the amount of tax up until reporting the calculation of the tax in the form of the tax return. By doing the administrative process that tends to be uncluttered, the State gives the task to Indonesia Tax Authority in terms of monitoring and supervision to determine whether the tax reporting and tax payment have been made in accordance with the actual situation. In other words, it is to determine whether all tax liabilities have been reported to the state are correct, complete and do not lead to a different interpretation or also are clear.

Consistent with implementing tax obligations, subsequently there is a term known as tax debt. Tax debt is a nominal tax that has to be paid by citizens, including administrative sanctions such as interest and penalties. Tax debt formally appears as stipulated in the decree issued by the Directorate General of Tax as the Indonesian Tax Authority. Responsible parties to settle the tax debt is referred to the person or entity, including representatives of the rights and obligations of taxpayers according to tax regulations.

Regrettably, many tax debts that become obligations of the citizen are subsequently not paid to the state account. Such condition is done by a variety of reasons, both by reason of negligent or deliberately failing to pay off the tax debt. This situation eventually forced the state to do the billing which is one form of tax law enforcement efforts known as tax collection. Tax collection efforts consist of admonishment or warning, billing implementation (immediately and simultaneously), notifying Distress Warrant, proposing prevention, doing annexation, executing the confinement or *gijzeling*, and selling goods that have been seized (Law of The Republic of Indonesia Concerning Tax Collection).

In this article, the implementation of the confinement which is one process of tax collection that is known as *gijzeling* will be illustrated. Efforts to this confinement action are the efforts made after going through several phases of persuasive or other administrative efforts. Subsequent to the persuasive efforts or administrative attempts considered a failure, at that point, the process can be considered for executing *gijzeling*. To some extent, not all tax debts will be billed through the efforts of *gijzeling*. As elucidated in the Tax Law, the tax debts that meet the criteria to have confinement process is the tax debt of at least Rp 100,000,000 (one hundred million rupiahs) and the good faith to settle the tax debt. Such criteria must meet accumulatively. After a case meets these criteria, then the effort of *gijzeling* can be done after the Finance Minister gives written permission.

GIJZELING PHENOMENON IN INDONESIA

Confinement is an effort against the tax guarant or who meets certain criteria to be the hostage temporarily. The restraint effort is reinforced by placing the person at a particular place during the *gijzeling* period. In Indonesia, a place used during the period of the confinement is a correctional institution or prison. By scrutinizing at the process in tax collection efforts, it can be expressed that the effort of confinement is the last action in the process of tax collection.

In the period of the first half of 2016, there were forty-two tax guarantors that have obtained licenses from the Minister of Finance to face the *gijzeling*. The number represents the continuation efforts from the previous year and will grow in line with the government's efforts to increase state revenue from the tax sector. Here is one case of *gijzeling* taking committed in South Sumatra Province.

Wednesday, May 25, 2016 – Indonesia Tax Authority South Sumatra and Kepulauan Bangka Belitung Regional Tax Office has committed tax confinement (gijzeling) against tax defaulters who do not pay off their tax debts. The confinement efforts made on Wednesday, May 25, 2016, at 15.30 pm on the highway when the taxpayer will get to a place after a day and night observation. Lead by the Head Bangka Tax Office and his staff in cooperation with the Regional Intelligence Agency of Bangka Belitung, Army, Bangka Belitung Police Department, accompanied by representatives of South Sumatra and Kepulauan Bangka Belitung Regional Tax Office. PT. KT is a company engaged in mining and processing of tin sand in Central Bangka (Press Release Directorate General of Tax).

Confinement is essentially a self-seizure of the taxpayer body and placing it in a certain place so that the activities are limited, in other words, restrictions on freedom by doing confinement of a person.

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, in this case, carried out by the Directorate General of Tax, Ministry of Finance has issued a *gijzeling* policy to the taxpayer or tax guarantors who do not perform their tax liabilities as it should be. To some extent, the legal basis of such policy starts from the Act, government regulation, across agencies regulations up until the technical or manual execution

of tax confinement. Along with the publication of the confinement or *gijzeling* guidelines in 2003, *gijzeling* efforts began to be applied in Indonesia.

GIJZELING AND PENOLOGY

"*An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth*". That phrase is still used today to show the exaggeration of those who are the victims of crime. Victims need to do retaliation to the perpetrator due to the pain and unacceptable feeling. Victims feel compelled to punish the actors who perform bad actions which have been detrimental to him. A punishment that prompted by the victim must exactly match the losses he suffered. Not surprisingly, blind eyes as a consequence of the actions must be paid with blinding the perpetrator's eyes; moreover, lives have to be paid with their lives.

Some questions need to be answered in this circumstance. Is the victim satisfied with the exact retaliation on the perpetrator? Will the retaliation actions give deterrence to the perpetrator due to the vengeance imposed to him? Do people become afraid to do the same thing with the actors with their reply to these retaliations? And the final question is about whether the retaliation actions are necessary for payback or punishment for these crimes.

Answering these questions can be done by studying and understanding about penology that literally can be regarded as the science that studies the criminal prosecution or punishment system. Penology is often associated with criminal law. Not surprisingly, the meanings conveyed by the personages regarding penology are also associated with the penal code. Nevertheless, Edwin Hardin Sutherland gives a quite different implication, that is to say, the science of crime control that adds policy penalization and efforts of crime control both repressive and preventive. Sutherland even positioned penology as part of criminology, along with the sociology of law and the etiology of crime.

Determination of the scope or object of a study can differ according to the point of view of each character. However, in general, it can be said that the purpose of penology can be simplified as "what" and "how". "What" is to affirm what punishment should be used for offenders and "how" is to describe the way such penalties imposed on offenders. It is done to give a deterrence effect to the offenders not to repeat the same crime, and also to give a sense of fear or trepidation to people who potentially commit a crime to commit the same crime.

Consistent with the subject and the object of research in penology, it can be said that penology is strongly associated with social control of crime. Attached to the social control of crime, punishment is also one of the social controls. Paralleling within penology, the punishment is expected to be one of the elements which can control social interaction in the society so that there will be no more crime or deviant behavior. In other words, deterrence effect is expected to be resulted in committing a crime in the community (both to a potential offender or people who do not have the potential infringers). Hence, it will maintain the social order which is particularly expected.

Gijzeling or confinement is applied by the state to un-

scrupulous people who have tax debts and did not have good faith to meet its obligations. The term confinement would lead to action of restriction of movement which compared to the theory of punishment that will be closer to incapacitation. According to Terance D Miethe and Hong Lu, incapacitation has a principle to abolish the individual opportunity to be able to commit crimes and irregularities through physical limitations, in which the most common form of incarceration or incapacitation is often called a penal bondage. Furthermore, there are some terms used to describe the intent confinement among other dungeons, they are towers, workhouses, gulags, jails, prisons, labor camps, "readjustment" centers, correctional or treatment facilities, cottages, sanitariums, and a mental institution.

To some extent, application of *gijzeling* is to superintend tax guarantors who meet certain criteria to the institution of confinement under supervision of the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, since the Indonesia Tax Authority does not have the facilities to accommodate the confinement. With the authorization of the Minister of Finance, detainee can be deposited for a maximum of twelve months. Furthermore, one particular intention of the state to process *gijzeling* is to force such tax guarantor to make payment for all of its tax debt within a period of confinement. If the tax guarantors have been repaid or guarantees paid off the tax debts, then the detainees could be freed.

The implementation of the State policy is expected to provide effect or a good result for the people and the State. In addition to the restricting the tax guarantors' movement, confinement effort or *gijzeling* as a form of incapacitation is also expected to provide preventive functions (or deterrence). Deterrence function is expected, not only for the actors who are also called special deterrence, but also for society in general or also called general deterrence. The emergence of fear on the treatment received is expected to have a deterrent effect that encourages the action of conformity to the applicable tax regulations.

Consistent with the theory of punishment that has been developed previously, there is also an alternative theory known as the joint theory of punishment. It then constructs the restorative justice theory which is increasingly considering the importance of the phenomenon of victims' rights. Who are the victims of violations of tax regulations? Who loses? For the tax regulation is violated, will it reduce the money that should be received by the state. In view of the fact that one tax regulation is violated, it will reduce the money that should be gathered by the state. It is undoubted, more or less the loss, that the amount that should be added to the Indonesian State Budget, will alter the country's ability to pay for all needs. The victims are not Directorate General of Tax as Indonesia Tax Authority, nor the leaders of the country, but the state and the entire people of Indonesia. The more vulnerable the state's power to finance all the needs, the more debt and its interest to be burdened by our children and grandchildren in the future (Harahap, 2016).

In restorative justice, perpetrators are fully responsible for the actions that have been inflicting damage on the victim. Hence, it is appropriate that the offenders pay for losses impacted to the state and all the people of Indonesia

in the form of nominal pay off the tax debts. Application of *gijzeling* is expected not only to have a deterrent effect, both effects of prevention and trepidation effect, but also as the reflection of the task of the state in collecting funds from the public to finance all activities of the country.

GIJZELING AND RELATION OF POWER OF FOUCAULT

In his publications, Foucault described the relation of power distributed to disciplinary power, governmentality and relation of domination. Power is not a function of the dominance of a class as well as the opinion of Karl Marx and Max Weber. Discussing *gijzeling* as a last resort coercive nature of the state can be attributed to the three relations of power.

Foucault's disciplinary power is an attempt to discipline the body so that it can be obedient (docile body) and these efforts will be effective to be applied in the closed institutions such as prisons. It may serve, that one of the tasks of the state can be seen from the Directorate General of Tax's mission which is to collect state tax revenue in the name of the Indonesia tax laws and be able to realize the independence financing of Indonesia State Budget through the effective and efficient tax administration system. Attachment to tax administration system which is also known as self-assessment, taken together with the task of the Indonesia Tax Authority is to supervise the validity of tax reporting submitted by citizens. Not surprisingly, it is a little number of people who voluntarily and willingly make tax payments. Therefore, it needs awareness or discipline of citizens in carrying out its obligations. When persuasive efforts cannot be applied successfully and are found in bad faith in the implementation of tax obligations, based on the Act, subsequently the state has the authority to do confinement or put the tax guarantor at a detention center until the tax guarantor is cognizant and has the willingness to carry out its obligations.

Gijzeling or confinement is not included in the scope of criminal law. Notwithstanding, *gijzeling* is the effort of civil taxation which is made after the state does the analysis and mapping of the condition of the economic capacity of the tax guarantor to repay the tax debt. Incapacitation or restriction of movement in the form of confinement at a detention center which exposes a closed institution is a form of state efforts to control individuals. The intention of executing such effort by the State is to achieve justice, in which every citizen is obliged to contribute to financing the state. The funds collected are then used for the welfare of the entire people of Indonesia.

In addition to disciplinary power, Foucault also expressed governmentality which is also called the conduct of conduct to illustrate that the state regulates the actions and behavior of the public by internalizing the acquiescence to it in order to become obedient population (Mudhoffir, 2013). Furthermore, in governmentality, societies are given a number of options and are free to choose the most suitable to them. Nevertheless, in governmentality at the end, people will voluntarily take the option that goes well with to the interest of the state.

In contrast with governmentality, a relation of domination by Foucault emerged as a form of asymmetric power relations in which subjects predominantly have limited room for maneuver or determining the choice of an action. In other words, in the scope of the relation of domination, the people have no choice and are forced to take the option offered by the state.

Confinement or *gijzeling* has a legal framework for the implementation. It is executed by the Directorate General of Tax as Indonesia Tax Authority on behalf of the state and controlled by the constitutional law. *Gijzeling* is not an effort that has to be (mandatory) performed by the state, however, it is the option that can be implemented when the state found a bad faith of citizens in the implementation of the tax obligations. Prior to the *gijzeling* phase, the state has already given the choice of action in the form of an advice and warning. But then again when those efforts are failed, the state will impose coercive efforts that have been previously disseminated to the public.

As attached to the relations of power, in addition to disciplinary power, the state's effort in the process of tax collection by applying *gijzeling* is a combination of governmentality and relations of domination. On the one hand, the state provides options for the tax guarantors to settle tax debts, and expect the tax guarantor to consciously and voluntarily take up the option that takes side with the requirement of the state. Moreover, when the confinement is taking place, the state still provides a choice whether the tax guarantor wants to pay or remain hostages for a specified period. Nevertheless, on the other hand, when the hostage has been executing, there is an attempt to force (coercive) from the state in the form of incapacitation that makes the tax guarantor pay the tax debts. In some cases, the tax guarantor has no other option than having to pay the tax debt, which would otherwise result in a stand off continued for a certain period of time. To some extent, the relation of domination appeared in these conditions. However, there is also the tax guarantor who took the option of "do nothing" due to utilizing such weaknesses of the existing regulations.

Albeit state applied governmentality, but then again the position of the state as a sovereign power (sovereign and legitimate) also remained. Confinement as one of the punitive efforts undertaken by the state is socially constructed. The genealogy of *gijzeling* which is often called as confinement elucidates that there has been a tidal or up and down condition of *gijzeling* in Indonesia, whereas prearranged since the Dutch colonial era. In the name of human rights violations, *gijzeling* had been frozen and then again in the name of human rights violations as well, *gijzeling* were reestablished to be actively implemented by the state in an effort to improve the state finance ability from the tax sector.

Considering the epistemology of *gijzeling*, the up and down situation or tide, and how it is socially constructed as a punitive effort within the scope of Indonesian society, it can be contended that the state and society ultimately jointo determine the applicable punitive efforts in Indonesia. Moreover, it is the duty of the state to regulate and control the social order in the society, but in a democracy,

the public can also contribute to the formulation and application of public policies.

IS IT EFFECTIVE?

We should note that *gijzeling* policy for tax guarantors who meet certain criteria is one effort to control the social crime. Control efforts are expected to provide a deterrent effect for offenders and to give effect to people or other parties that have the potential nature to commit such action.

In *gijzeling* execution, even though the tax guarantor was put in a detention center, the hostages were separated from other prisoners and are not required to follow any activities as well as other inmates. This is for the reason that *gijzeling* imprisonment is not included in the penal law, thus he will be treated as an inmate. Nevertheless, the restrictions on the movement will apply up to the right of the state and until affected citizens are paid off. According to the evaluation made by the Indonesia Tax Authority on behalf of the state, the *gijzeling* process is classified as a policy implementation that results in effective disbursement of tax debt from the tax guarantors (www.pajak.go.id). To some extent, the confinement policy that takes hostages or restriction of movements up until the tax debts can be paid off, unfortunately gives the "ability" and "willingness" for tax guarantors to pay off the tax debt immediately or before the *gijzeling* period is over.

The existence of confinement or *gijzeling* regulation for tax guarantors who meet certain criteria illustrates the policy as the repressive efforts and coercive ones. A repressive effort is a way to reduce the crime rate which is conceptually pursued after the crime committed. Moreover, this effort has the aim to take action against the perpetrators in accordance with the deeds and fix it back so that they are aware that the act is an unlawful act and gives the harm to the society, thus the bad action will not be repeated and others will not do so knowing that sanctions wait. One form of repressive efforts is in the form of punitive efforts undertaken after certain treatment efforts are unsuccessfully implemented. *Gijzeling* policy is categorized as an attempt to force (coercive) due to incapacitation with the involvement of other law enforcement agencies, forcing the actors to respond to it as expected by the state.

However, the implementation of confinement or *gijzel-*

ing remains on the need of regulatory improvement. According to the Act, the action that has to be done by the state after the expiration of *gijzeling* period and after the tax guarantor did not pay off his tax debts are not set in the regulation. This gap will give a "choice" for the actors to additionally refrain from doing the tax obligation properly.

In addition, there is the authority of the state in incapacitation effort to make the determination of high-risk offender or low-risk offender. Furthermore, there could be conditions that allow a mistake in setting the high-risk offender or low-risk offender, which occurred in false-positive or false-negative.

CONCLUSION

Tax is a compulsory contribution to the state unsettled by individual or entities that are enforceable under the Act, by not getting the rewards directly and used for the purposes of the state for the welfare of the people. The urgency of tax for a State is to make the country devote in an attempt to collect fund as much as possible from the taxation sector. A large number of efforts were made as a form of interpretation in State understanding for the great benefits of the tax. To what extent, one of the great efforts is to collect state receivables.

Gijzeling or confinement is applied by the state to unscrupulous people who have tax debts and did not have good faith to meet its obligations. The term confinement would lead to action of restriction of movement which compared to the theory of punishment that will be closer to incapacitation.

In addition to restricting the tax guarantors' movement, confinement effort or *gijzeling* as a form of incapacitation is also expected to provide preventive functions or deterrence. Deterrence function is expected to have effect, not only for the actors who are also called special deterrence, but also for society in general or also called general deterrence. The emergence of fear on the treatment received is expected to have a deterrent effect that encourages the action of conformity to the applicable tax regulations. Similarly, in accordance with the relations of power of Foucault, such as disciplinary power, governmentality, and relations of domination, apparently each element has associated with the implementation of *gijzeling*.

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Author's Bionote:

The author is a Ph.D. Student in Criminology Universitas Indonesia. A part from it, the author also a government official in Directorate General of Tax, which is Indonesia Tax Authority. The Doctoral Program was funded by Indonesia Endowment Fund for Education (LPDP). After achieving MBA degree from Universitas Indonesia which was funded by Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), the need to associate enterprise business process and tax with criminology become a priority to the author.



The So-Called Man

(The Importance of Gender Equity Education on Adolescent Boys)

Penyusun :

- Nika Rizki Yustisia,
S.I.Kom, M.A.
- Primadiana Yunita,
S.IP., M.A.

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Abstract

Gender discourse in society contains ideas, beliefs, and norms identical in determining the characteristics and quality of how it should be of being a woman and a man. The social construction of gender often reinforces the concept of thinking about male superiority and female inferiority. Patriarchal culture also passes a knowledge/idea that perpetuates the unequal power relations from time to time and from generation to generation by providing various privileges to male.

Values about how to be a man, therefore, often influence how men perceive and relate to women. Men believe himself to be superior so that they have a responsibility to protect women and, on the other side, think they have the right to be served by women. Therefore, men are accustomed not to cry easily since childhood, prepared to become the breadwinner for women, have more access to public space, have power and control over women's bodies, and so forth. A superficial understanding of the value of maleness is very problematic and potentially detrimental to women. As a result, women are often being the victims in many cases of gender -based violence.

Heretofore, the approach taken in addressing this issue is more curative than preventive, as well as more frequent in targeting women and not touching the realm of man's cognition. In fact, the reconstruction of the values of manhood/masculinity in a more positive frame of gender is also important. Some studies record how misconceptions of the value of being a man herd men into the perpetrators of gender-based violence even since teenagers. In the real world, we often encounter that even teenage boys become the actors in the cases of sexual violence in their relationship with the opposite sex.

This paper aims to explain the importance of intervention in the adolescent male about gender equality in education through the family institution as well as within the framework of the Indonesian Government. This paper ultimately wants to show that boys are

more prone in becoming perpetrators of repeated gender inequality. Therefore, the understanding given to adolescent male from an early age will straighten out misconceptions of gender and stimulate the internalization of values to become a new man (Laki-laki Baru) and have non-violence and equal relationships with women to break the chain of gender-based violence in the future. The method used in this research is explanatory literature study obtained from books, journals, and articles related to the research theme.

INTRODUCTION

One important issue emerging in the 21st century is a gender issue. The issue of gender starts to become a subject of discussion and debate within the discourse of any study on development and social change. The development of gender issues in society and the rise of initiatives to promote gender equality also trigger some people into dichotomous thinking. This dichotomous thinking often puts women and men in two opposite camps. Women are placed in persecuted and vulnerable camp, while men regarded as bastion rulers who colonized women. The results of this kind of thinking will not support the emergence of gender equality, which emerged precisely as the 'war' between the women in the 'persecuted' camp feeling oppressed, rebellious and mastering men, while men in the 'authorities' camp fear their power was taken and always concerned about female domination.

From very young age, people are already constructed to have the ideal quality and ideal role of men and women. As a result, teenage males are encouraged to engage in early sexual activity to prove manhood, do the things that take risks (including those related to violence), etc. Meanwhile, women are encouraged to be passive, not knowing about sex and not looking for information about sex, to be submissive so they should not negotiate safer sex or refuse sex, or to act as a means of reproduction without being able to discuss and negotiate their sexual needs.

Adolescence is a period of transition from the development of childhood to adult life in general that begins in the early teen years and ends at the age of late teens or early twenties (Papalia, et al., 2001). According to Monks, et al. (2002) in the process of adjustment towards maturity, there are three stages of adolescent development, namely, early adolescence (early adolescence), middle adolescence (middle adolescence), and late adolescence (late adolescence). At the intermediate juvenile stage (middle adolescence), the characteristics of the developments taking place within that time, among others, are teens tend to be in a state of confusion because they do not know to choose which among sensitive issues or do not care, being in a crowd or alone, being optimistic or pessimistic, idealistic or materialist, and so forth, to be in desperate need of friends, there is a narcissistic tendency that love themselves with friends who love do the same. In addition, they also experience a

desire for a date or have an interest in the opposite sex, and there is a sense of deep love (Monks, et al., 2002).

Violence in dating is an act based on gender differences that result or may result in misery or physical, sexual or psychological sufferings, including threats of certain acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or natural personal life (Arya, 2010). The violence that occurs is usually composed of several types, such as, the physical, mental / emotional, economic and sexual attacks. In physical terms, it means hitting, punching, kicking, grabbing, pinching, and so forth. In terms of mental, it means excessive jealousy, coercion, cursing in public, and so forth. Violence in economic happens if the pair often borrow money or other goods without ever returning them, always have treated to, etc. If there is a forced kissed by a boyfriend, then followed by groping the body or forced to have sexual intercourse, then it is included in the sexual assault.

Chairman of the Monitoring Division LRC-KJHAM Fatkhurozi revealed there were 82 cases of violence in dating with the number of victims of 87 people, 15 of them died. (Priyanto, 2007) Based on data from the National Commission of Women, East Java Province was the highest area in number of violence against women (National Commission on Violence against Women, 2007). In Surabaya area alone, there were 153 cases of family problems that included violent courtship, parenting mistakes, and lack of attention ("Children urges the Opt-too", 2013, May).

Cases of violence in dating is a case that needs special attention, because this action has a negative impact on various related parties to the main victims. Someone who become victims of violence in dating (dating violence) often will experience the double impact of the violence (Levy, 1999), meaning that this person not only have a negative impact on one aspect, the person also will have a negative impact on other aspects. For example, if a person experiences physical violence, then, that person will not only suffer from physical injuries; psychologically, the person may also experience trauma, feelings of anxiety, stress and so forth.

According to Lew (in Loring, 1994), the effects of emotional abuse are basically the same for female and male victims. However, because women are raised in a society that requires them to be passive, weak, and helpless, then when they become victims, the society will show sympathy

thy more easily. But that does not mean that women face more easily in the emotional violence than men. Instead, the public acceptance of the role of women as victims becomes emotional justification for violence and hinders recovery.

Seeing the problems, it is important to provide an understanding of gender equality for boys. This paper proposes to discuss the importance of gender education on adolescent boys, seeing that teenage boys are often victims of wrong gender construction.

RETHINKING MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY

I want to begin this article with a great optimism that men can be invited to change and that men do not always have to be actors behind all forms of oppression against women. This paper is also a reflection of my little experience when I was working with men on the issue of gender equality in Rifka Annisa, Yogyakarta.¹ Rifka Annisa is one who believes that gender inequalities and violence against women are social problems faced by both women and men. Thus, gender equality can only be realized if men and women work together to achieve social change by building up mutual respect and strengthening each other.

Therefore, let's look at men as gendered beings who also have to meet certain social demands to be called as a man. The quality of a man is determined from the obligation to protect women, be a 'strong and tough' looking guy, rational, tight-lipped, not to cry, and to be responsible for their tasks as the breadwinners. Although it's so burdensome for men on one hand, this self-concept shown by man in the context of a patriarchal culture remains more profitable for their social status and position rather than women. It makes men vulnerable to be the perpetrators of violence against women whereas the girls also vulnerable to become victims.

Superiority of men over women expresses unequal power relations in various fields of life. This relationship caused by the establishment of the dominant gender ideology from time to time. Through this ideology, the differences between sex and gender are obscured that the meaning of gender is narrowed into a set of binary categories of how it should be to be a man and how it should be to be a woman which considered as natural as biological sex. In fact, the two terms are obviously have different meanings.

¹ Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre is an NGO in Yogyakarta established on August 26, 1993 and focuses on the issues of violence against women and gender equality. Rifka Annisa believe that gender equality can't be achieved by only involving women. Therefore, Rifka Annisa empowerment approach also involves the participation of and support from men at the levels of family, environment, and society at large.

Rifka Annisa has some male engagement programs on gender issue. Some of these include engagement program for men in childcare (Men Care), Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru, regular community forum with father-group and teenage boys, training peer educators for youth, as well as male counseling for men in the context of domestic violence and gender-based violence against women (by transforming male's perspectives, attitudes, and behaviors to be more equal, respecting women, supportive, and non-violence).

Table 1.

Sex and Gender Differences

SEX	GENDER
Biological (differences of sex and reproductive function). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Men have penis and Adam's apple, produce sperm, and having a 'wet dream'. ▶ Women have a vagina, uterus, breasts, menstruation cycle, produce ovum, experience childbirth and breastfeeding. 	Non-biological (containing a set of categories that distinguish social roles). For example : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Men must be physically strong, men are leaders, rational, decisive, show 'macho' appearance, etc. ▶ Women should dress up and beautify themselves, can cook, sensitive, talkative, etc.
Natural, given by God.	The result of social and cultural constructions. Not the things that are naturally given by God.
Can't be interchanged between women and men.	Interchangeable. (Ex: there are men who are sensitive and love to cook, there are women who are assertive and be a leader)
Can be generalized.	Can not be generalized (contextual).

Ann Oakley (1985: 16) in her article titled *Sex, Gender, and Society* offers different definitions of sex and gender. According to her, sex is a term that refers to the biological differences between men and women: a visible difference of the sexes, the differences related to the function of procreation. While gender, however, is a matter of culture: refers to the social classification towards the 'masculine' and 'feminine' (Delphy, 1993: 2).

Misconception in understanding sex and gender differences further may result in an ill-advised of men and women in understanding their self-concepts. In the context of personal relationships, it is also prone to cause problems. Men think they have to look masculine before their girlfriends so they take dominant roles in the relationships. Similarly, women think they must meet the quality of femininity for the sake of their boyfriends' happiness.

Once, I was surprised to hear a question coming from a young girl in a rehabilitation for victims of violence against women in Yogyakarta. At that time I had come to accompany keynote speakers from Rifka Annisa who facilitated a discussion there. The essence of the juvenile question is, "how to be an attractive woman favored by men?". I was silent for a moment, agitated why such a mindset still affected women: it is as if the label of 'good woman' is like a gold trophy they have to grab in order to win the men's hearts and attentions.

Perhaps this is what Connell (1993: 183-188) called as 'emphasized femininity' in which on the mass level of social relations, however, other forms of intangible female femininity are manifested by global subordination of women. One form is defined as compliance with the subordination of women in which women's orientation is geared to accommodate the interests and desires of men. On the

mass level, these are organized around themes of sexual receptivity in relation to younger women and motherhood in relation to older women. Furthermore, femininity is accepted as an adaptation to the power of men and stressed on what is referred to as the standard of 'feminine virtues': compliance, the nature of motherhood (caring, nurturing, and empathy).

An understanding of femininity as a virtue is a bit dangerous because it can lead to erroneous self-conception both for women and men. Women are increasingly sublimated from their consciousness due to the structure of the patriarchal culture which identifies their position as the second sex, rather than as a complete human being. The values of masculinity and femininity bear symbolic construction in the form of dichotomous gender stereotypes. Public-private (domestic), serviced-servicing, firm-tender, lead-headed, woo-wooded, and so forth. Naturalization on those stereotypes produces domination. Domination itself is a trigger for gender-based violence against women.

Naturalization process to obscure the dominating-repressive structure was done through the politicization of gender relations and gender cognition purification. *The politicization of gender relation* is done through the sexual division of labor and justification of heterosexual² relationships. *Gender Cognitive Purification* carried by the affirmation of stereotypical gender roles through the mass media and the marginalization of women from the narrative of the public, as well as dichotomization into two domains of public-private through a romance notion for a female agent to find true love and heroism notion for male agent to use violence (Sunarto, 2009: 203).

It is a creepy face of masculine and feminine institutionalized values naturalization. This is where our anxiety about the complex impact of a patriarchal culture begins, especially when we think about teens—as the main focal point of this article. Back to the Connell's (1993) statement above, the form of subordination among girls linked to sexual receptivity, coupled with the description provided by Sunarto (2009: 40) that now the femininity of woman has always been associated with sexual attractiveness to man; this kind of femininity has directed women into pornography and humiliation of women in the eyes of men that perpetuate sexual violence. In addition, teens nowadays seem to begin to presume their relationships with the opposite sex as intimate relationships (permissive physical contact).

Research conducted by Ayu et al (2012) on violent dating and teenage girls' fears in Purworejo found the violence that young women experienced most was sexual violence of being kissed forcefully, i.e. as much as 34.71%.

² Sunarto (2009: 40) cites Sylvia Walby (in Haralambos and Holborn, 1995: 610-614) who states that heterosexuality has formed a patriarchal structure. In the 19th century, women's sexuality was the subject of control and was widely assured through the general practice of sex in marriage. While in the 20th century, it was easier for women to be sexually active with the invention of contraceptives that reduced the risk of unwanted pregnancies and divorce phenomenon which generated the possibility to change partners. Now, social reality gives more pressure on women to be sexually active and to "serve" men through marriage or living together with men.

Physical violence from being hit was as much as 30.83%. Economical violence because of unwillingness to buy mobile phone's credit balance was as much as 25.83% and 17.50% women experienced emotional abuse because they felt insulted on the treatment from their couples who made them laughingstocks. Age has an effect on anxiety, where anxiety is more risky for woman experiencing sexual violence against a background of 14-16 years of middle age.

The study also recorded the experiences and fears of teenage girls after experiencing violence during their dates. In interviews conducted by the researchers, a respondent reported that she was invited to her boyfriend's house that was empty because his parents were not home. Her boyfriend started to lock the door, kissed her and forcibly took her clothes off then forced her to have sexual intercourse. Not only that, she was threatened to be burned with cigarettes if she refused to have sex. Eventually, she was forced to do that because her boyfriend promised to take a responsibility for it but in reality, he left her. This incident made her very anxious and traumatized because after that days she began to have insomnia and loss her appetite, daydream often, and remember that incident every time she looks at a man (Ayu et al, 2012: 67-69).

The results of this study bring back my memory when I was at a junior high school in Yogyakarta to attend a socialization by Rifka Annisa there. Before the event started, the junior high school's principal told us about her anxiety on the discourse which developed in a group of teenage boys about the meaning of a relationship for them. She said that in his peer group, adolescent males tended to challenge each other to prove their manhood by extracting information about their sexual activity with their girlfriends. In the minds of these young men, physical contact was very important as an expression of love and made this as a method to test their girlfriend's affection on them. Questions like, "*What have you done with your girlfriend? Are you sure, it's been a long time and you only dare to hold her hands!!?*" make teenage boys challenged to prove their masculinity side as men in front of their peers. Holding hands may be perceived as an old-fashioned one for them.

How about the women? Psychologically, it may have a serious impact on them. Women can have a huge anxiety on losing the love and attention from their boyfriends so that when the boyfriends ask and challenge question: "*do you really love me?*", they were willing to do whatever asked as long as their love being recognized as a pure love (though it may be against their will). According to Walby (in Sunarto, 2009: 40), women face demands for sexual standards in society. Women who are sexually active will be referred to as "a waste" (slags) by men. While women who are passive are referred to as a "boring" one (drags). Meanwhile, men who have many sexual conquests are respected for their virility.

Is it true that these sorts of stereotypes affect how men perceive and treat women? Let's take a look at the findings from the research on masculinity by Rifka Annisa in Indonesia below.³ The study of masculinity was conducted in

³ This study from Indonesia is a part of a 2013 United Nations Multi-Country Study On Men and Violence In Asia and the Pacific initi-

three cities in Indonesia: Jakarta, Purworejo, and Jayapura with the participation of the male respondents in the age range of 18-49 years old.

Surprising results showed that, in particular, 6 percent of respondents in Purworejo, nearly 9 percent in Jakarta, and 23 percent in Jayapura reported they raped non-partner women or girls. More than 50 percent of those men reported they had perpetrated sexual violence for the first time when they were younger than 19 years, and 6 percent were younger than 15 years old. In addition, around 59 percent and 67 percent of men supported the statement that “*men need sex more than women do*” while between 36 percent and 41 percent supported the statement that “*it is a woman’s responsibility to avoid getting pregnant*”.

From these results, we can see that it is true that boys are quite vulnerable to be involved in the circle of gender-based violence against women. A wrong conception about masculinity in relation to the control over women's bodies since the teen age can be bad in the future, especially, if they start to build a family. The views that reflect the dominating-repressive structures by glorifying the masculinity value will only make man continue to potentially become perpetrators of violence. From this phenomenon, the intervention on gender equality's education coupled with knowledge about sexuality are supposed to start anyway on adolescent boys.

During this time, many types of socialization only target teenage girls alone with the tendencies, which I think biased in gender, to spread the knowledge that it is woman who has a responsibility to take care of herself. So, it is not surprising that many people still believe that, for example, a mini skirt is woman's greatest sin to provoke men's lust and desire so that she is deserved to be harassed by men. Meanwhile, male's desire and lust are not an issue since those are considered as instinctive matters. Another example, many parents remind their daughters not to get married over 30 years old because they will be labeled as spinsters. There is no need for women to be so well-educated or to take higher academic level because it will make men afraid to approach them. After all, a woman will be a housewife anyway. These kinds of mindsets should be deconstructed.

GENDER INEQUALITY IN SOCIETY

The gender difference is actually not a problem as far as it does not cause gender inequality (gender inequalities). However, the problem, it turns out the gender difference has spawned a variety of injustice, both for man and, especially, woman. Gender inequality is a system and structure in which both man and woman are victims of the system.

Gender inequality manifests itself in various forms of injustice, such as: economic marginalization or impover-

ated by Partners For Prevention, in which more than 10,000 men and 3,000 women were surveyed in six countries across the Asia-Pacific region (Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and Sri Lanka). Each country surveyed asked men about violence throughout their lives and included modules on child exposed to and witnessed violence and experienced it and perpetration of violence against women in adulthood.

ishment, subordination or presumption of important political decisions, the formation of stereotypes through negative labeling, violence (violence), longer and more workloads (burden), and socialization on ideology of gender role values (Fakih, 2006: 12).

It is realized that there is also a gender imbalances and injustices in our society. Gender bias experienced by women is not limited only to violence; it is also in the form of women marginalization or the process of impoverishment of in economy, the subordination of the political decisions, and inequality in education. Many facts prove that the gender gap in education continues to happen until now. These facts show the participation rate of women on almost all levels and education programs still falls behind. Symptoms of gender gap also appear in treatment of the learning process itself that is still less sensitive to gender. Male students are placed in a position that is more decisive (Kosasih in Mind, 2004).

Our education also covers gender bias. Even gender stereotypes are also still thick in school, meaning that there is discrimination on boys and girls in the education system. As the findings of research by Marie Astuti (Jurnal Perempuan 44, 2005: 22), the school books for elementary school in Yogyakarta filled with nuances, such as gender distinctions. In addition, gender bias also penetrates the territory of the relationship of educator with the educated, and the treatment of the schools to the students. The materials contained in the lessons are seemed to be prepared for the division of gender roles for the purpose of social status.

Gender disparity in education is seen in some educational indicators, such as illiteracy, school enrollment rates, and the highest education attained by males and females. The percentage of female population who were illiterate in 2002 is far greater than the percentage of men; the comparison is 7.5 percent to 2.8 percent. Likewise, the percentage of male school enrollment was 60.8 percent while female enrollment was 57.2 percent. The conditions for highest education attained by male and female populations also illustrate the relatively prominent imbalance, particularly, for those who have completed senior high school. The higher the education level, the smaller the percentage of graduated female is. The difference in the percentage of women who graduated from high school to the male population is almost 10 percent, i.e. 42.3 percent:32.2 percent for urban areas and 20.1 percent:11.5 percent for rural areas (BPS, 2002). This reflects that woman's access to higher education is still more limited compared to man.

Gender equality puts woman and man in the same position. Gender equality means not recognizing the dominance of man over woman in any case. Gender equality means giving equal opportunities to woman and man.

TOWARD POSITIVE MASCULINITY: BEING THE 'NEW MAN'

What's in the minds of men? The previous study on masculinities by Rifka Annisa also found that many men had gender-inequitable beliefs when it came to traditional male and female roles. The vast majority of men, however, also supported traditional gender roles for men and wom-

en. For example, more than 90 percent of men in all sites agreed that “*to be a man, you need to be tough*”. Similarly, between 84 to 91 percent of respondents supported the statement, “*woman’s most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family.*”

When it comes to gender, we will talk about the social constructions influenced by the context in which it is located. Cultural and social environment contribute to the division of gender roles between men and women. In the tradition of Javanese culture, for example, there are lots of terms that clearly seat women lower than men. And this value is believed by the public who takes it for granted. For example, the term of *kanca wingking*, which means friend who is at the back, is intended for woman as a living partner in charge of childcare, cooking, washing, etc. Another term is *suwarga nunut neraka katut* that means the husband determines whether his wife will go to heaven or hell. If the husband goes to heaven, the wife will also go there, but if the husband goes to hell then the wife is not entitled to go to heaven either because she has to follow (*katut*) her husband to go to hell. One more term, which is more repressive, is a wife must have the abilities to *manak, macak, masak* (woman must be able to give birth, to dress up, and to cook for her husband) (Hermawati, 2007: 20).

Such myths are hereditary through a process of internalization of gender ideology or socialization. This socialization begins a few days after a baby is born (called as primary socialization). Berger and Luckmann (2013: 176-181) state that the individual is not born as a member of society. Individuals are born with a predisposition (tendency) toward sociality, and then they become members of society. Therefore, in the life of every individual, there is a sequence of time, during which he/she is scanned into the dialectic of participation in society. The starting point of this process is internalization: the immediate understanding or interpretation of an objective event which expresses a meaning. Primary socialization creates the child’s awareness of a higher abstraction of roles and attitudes of others’ specific roles and attitudes in general.

The notion of ‘socialization’ rests on the idea of internalization through one or other mechanisms described by the psychology of learning. What is produced inside the person is a psychological structure that reproduces or reflects the characteristics of the socializing agency. The notion of ‘modelling’, taking on the attributes of the socializer, encapsulates this feature of socialization theory. This socialization is conducted by the notion of a school, family, peer group or television network as an ‘agency of socialization’ (Connell: 1993: 192-193).

It can be understood that the internalization process also relies on role modeling as a reference for the boys to learn about the values of gender equality. If a father never wants to help mother doing domestic works, such as washing dishes and taking care of children because he thinks those are not his jobs, then the child (boy) in that family will understand that household chores are purely a mother’s duties (not jobs for men). Therefore, the primary socialization can be started from the family institution through role modeling where a mother and father figure gender-equal-

ity behavior, are willing to work together the housework and child raising, and do not distinguish between girls and boys in the family. The important thing is to present situations where children do not witness any kind of violence at home (parents arguing and yelling each other in front of children, father hitting mother, etc) because it will be an example for children to practice the behavior.

Another way to raise men’s awareness about the importance of gender equality is by using reflective discussion. This discussion can be done informally. In my experience over the activities in discussions with the community of teenage boys in the assisted villages of Rifka Annisa, this method could inspire them to change their views and their attitudes on how to be a man. For example, in the discussion of “being a father”, they were asked to recall an object that came to mind when they heard the word “father”. Then, they are asked to tell what those were and why they chose the objects.

Usually, their answers would be vary. There were boys drawing a broom or a belt because their fathers were ill-tempered and often hit them. Another boy drew a small ball because his father often invited him to play football together. Here we can reflect it on them with statements like, “*what kind of figure do you expect your children will have when remembering you in the future? As a temperamental father or a loving one?*”. As it is, the value of masculinity can be transformed into a positive direction. Victor Seidler in his book *Redefining Masculinity* (1989) believes that the term masculinity refers to the precondition to think about the possibility of man to change.

All societies and cultures have a variety of masculine norms and behaviors that are positive and nonviolent. It is, thus, important to identify and promote the many positive values and norms that are also parts of masculinities around the world — men as peacemakers, men as caring fathers, men as nonviolent negotiators, men as supportive spouses who often sacrifice much of themselves in order to provide for their wives and children. Men are, in fact, as capable as women of being caring human beings and living in ways that are not damaging to other men, women and children as demonstrated by men around the world every day (Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005: 8).

CONCLUSION

Gender inequality still happens in public life. Education on gender equality is not able to solve wrong understanding of the gender yet. Understanding the values of gender equality in adolescent males can be done either formally in the classroom, or informally outside of the classroom. Family, school, peers, and community economic stake are responsible in disseminating gender equality.

Hopefully, the method of reflective discussion and role modeling that will be taught to adolescent males can transform the values of masculinity that tend to dominate into positive masculinity that respects gender equality. That values become the so-called man.

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Youth Unemployment Crisis In Lesotho: The Impact Of Decent Work Country Programme Phase Ii On Youth Employment Creation

Penyusun :

• **Manapo
Anastacia
Chopho**

University of Airlangga
Surabaya, Indonesia

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Abstract

Unemployment is one of the global main challenges. It is contributing more to the increase of other challenges such as poverty, hunger, crime. The causes of unemployment are different from one country to another. In some countries, unemployment is caused by the mismatch of skills, demographic increase of young people entering the labor force, and so on. Whilst, in Lesotho the studies point out that the main factors exacerbating unemployment are: a weak private sector, mismatch between skills and needs, lack of an internal sustainable economic model, and undiversified productive capacity with issues of access to finance. The general factor that exacerbates unemployment globally is the instability economy. Although unemployment is the problem for everyone, it hits hard to the young people. They are the ones that suffer more than the adults from lack of employment. Government has various alternatives to deal with unemployment.

Government's respond towards citizens' problems like unemployment is through public policy. Public policy is the techniques that the government decides to use to solve the citizen's problems. It is a crucial tool used by the government as an intervention in societal problems. It also assists in the allocation of public scarce resources accordingly. Public policies are formulated by the government and other stakeholders then implement them in order to take care of the citizen's needs. But the prominent issue that needs to be taken into account by the government and other stakeholders is the "impact evaluation" of public policies. It has to be done after the implementation to find out if the policy used to intervene is the right solution for the problem and if the citizens whom the government serves benefited from such policy. Impact Evaluation can also be done to find out if the target group is benefiting from the policy as it was planned and if the policy does not harm the control group. The impact evaluation theorists

argue that some evaluators concern is on the output of the program only. That is, they only evaluate the outputs and not concerned on how they are met and why other outputs are not met. Their concern brought up criteria of impact evaluation of the program. The criteria are the assessment of the following in the program: (a) effectiveness, (b) efficiency, (c) adequacy, (d) process (how the program work and do not work), (e) equity, (f) responsiveness, and (g) appropriateness. This article describes the impact of an intervention made by Lesotho government on youth unemployment. The program intervention is called the Decent Work Country Program (DWCP). The DWCP is a program used to create decent employment for young people, women and men. Its focus is mostly on youth employment creation and decent work for every employee, social dialogue and strengthening of social protection at work. This article aims to explain the achievements, failures and challenges the program met during its implementation. It also assesses the aspects of the program to find out which one produces better results. The impact of the program is done based on some of the criteria mentioned above. First, the article will describe the youth unemployment as the challenge in Lesotho. Second, the program of DWCP as an intervention to the problem will be explained. Third, the findings of the impact evaluation will be written. Lastly, the recommendations and conclusion will be written.

INTRODUCTION OR YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT GLOBALLY

During the beginning of industrial revolution, most people migrated to the cities for the search of jobs, most people got jobs in industries whilst others did not get it, (Hall, 1994). At that time those people who did not get jobs were unemployed. The definition of unemployment as the state of being in labor force with active job searching was emerged in 1940, (Card, Berkeley and NBER, 2011). The definition is used even today.

Unemployment is the global challenge that seemed to be more problematic to young people than to the adults. Unemployment is the lack of employment demanded in the labor market while there is a high supply of labor. The shortage of employment is seen by the layoffs done by the industries or firms and the decreasing of employment given by companies either public or private. When this happen the most group of people that are affected are the young people. KILM 10 confirmed this by mentioning few reasons why young people are most hid by unemployment than the adults. Some of the reasons are: 1) the biased labor market against young people because when it layoffs, it does so to youth. 2) Employment protection legislation requires a minimum period of employment before it applies, and the compensation for redundancy usually increased with tenure, youth are given the shorter tenure than the adults. 3) New jobseekers suffer mostly from economical induced reductions in hiring and most new jobseekers are the young people.

There are other drivers of youth unemployment. Eurostat (2012) in Papadopoulos (2014) said that the economic crisis is the main factor that contributes more to the youth unemployment. For example, the 2008-2010 the financial crisis brought up a sharp increase of youth unemployment rate in developing countries. The spill-over effects resulting from the global financial crisis in developing countries were transmitted through an extreme fall in the demand for the exports and a drop in the flow of foreign capital and investment (Malkovich et al 2010 in Papadopoulos, 2014). Further impact of global financial crisis is reflected in a drop in the productivity of labor, employment generation and overall economic performance (Choudhry et al. 2010 in Nwaka, Uma and Tuna 2015). The developing countries like Lesotho that exports the raw materials and ends the products to other countries especially in developed countries experience a drastically fall in demand and a decline in investments. These lead to the layoffs of employees, the deduction of hiring of new employees and decline in production.

Classical theorists, Pigou and other argue that unemployment existed due to the instability of the economy such as economic crisis. It causes the businesses such as firms, industries and so on decide to offer a small number of labor jobs and to layoff some employees. Then the unemployment rate is increased by the layoff and it closes the labor market for the new entrance.

In response to the youth unemployment, the government uses public policy as a solution to the problem. Evaluation is one of the most important stages in public policy.

The monitoring and evaluation of the programs is done to see if the implemented programs are producing expected outputs as solutions to the problem. KILM 10 mentioned that youth unemployment is the problem that is mostly viewed as a key policy issue for many countries regardless of their stage of development. Most countries see the youth unemployment as a challenge to be solved by the public policy. This article seeks to describe the impact evaluation made by DWCP program as an intervention on youth unemployment in Lesotho.

LESOTHO YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT SITUATION

Lesotho has youth unemployment rate that is more than 24 percent for the long time. The studies have shown that since 2007 the unemployment rate was above 24 percent although it was fluctuating. World bank has mentioned that from 2008 until 2013 the unemployment rate was ranging from 24 percent to 26 percent. See the table below.

Whilst, the National ILO database where it compares some African countries unemployment rate, shows that Lesotho has 30 percent unemployment rate in 2014. This is the high number the country can have. The other African countries that have high unemployment rate are Namibia, South Africa Swaziland, Cape Verde, and Gabon with the numbers of 40 percent and Nigeria with 30 percent such as Lesotho.

Table 1

Unemployment Rate in Lesotho from 2008-2013

Year	Unemployment Rate
2008	25.3
2009	26
2010	24.7
2011	26.2
2012	24.1
2013	24.7

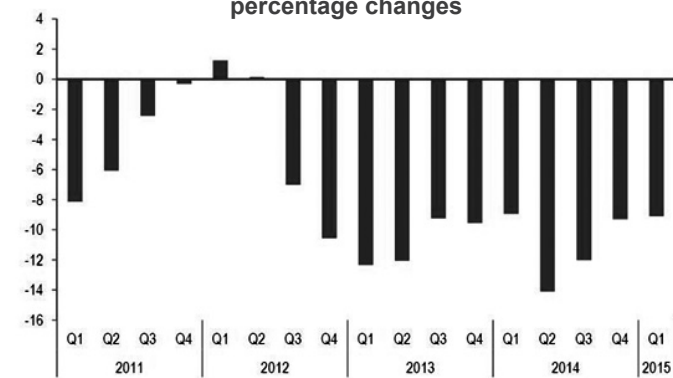
Source: world bank (2014)

The sources of employment in Lesotho are public and private sectors. Informal sector also plays an important role in the provision of jobs. The private sector is the main source of employment in the country but sometimes it faces external problems such as decline in market that cause them to layoff some employees and decline the hiring of new entrants. For instance, the (Central Bank of Lesotho economy review 2015) pointed out that the private sector employment number decreased from 23,910 in 2014 to 21,515 in 2015 due to the closure of one of the garment firm that was reducing orders from the US buyers. From 2014 to 2015, the public sector also decreased the provision of employment by 1.3 percent in 2014 and by 1.0 percent in 2015. This was the consequence of the government policy of freezing some of the positions due to the economic issues.

Apart from the employment in Lesotho, some Basotho¹ men and women got jobs from the South African mines. Baxter (June 2016) mentioned that the mines in South Africa faces challenges such as declining of productivity, infrastructure constraints such as shortages in electricity, net loss of 12 billion in 2015 and the restructuring of the companies. He pointed out that from 2012 to 2015 about 180 000 miners lost their jobs. Many Basotho were included.

The following figure shows the percentage of the retrenched Basotho miners from South African mines. The high retrenchment occurred from 2013 to 2015. From 2013, the retrenched ranged between about 9 to 12 percent. It is hard for the miners to get jobs after retrenchment. Some become farmers, while others search for another jobs.

Migrant Mineworkers annualized percentage changes



Source: The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA)

Moreover, high number of graduates every year cannot get employment. The enrolment of universities and Technicon in 2009/10 was 11, 137 both part-time and full time students (Bureau of Statistics 2010²). But about half of graduates every year get employment and half stay unemployed, (Lesotho Central Bank Economy Review, 2012). The private sector layoffs, retrenchments, decreasing the labor market in public sector, and the youth who enter the labor force contribute more to the worsening youth unemployment in Lesotho.

Lesotho does not have the employment policy or any policy that focuses on employment creation. Lesotho uses the Labor Code Order 1992 (No 24 of 1992) for labor and employment. On the provision of employment, the Act mentioned that the appointed National Employment Service (NES) and some staffs would be in the office of public service. Their duties among others will “be to collect information from government Ministries relating vacancies, to facilitate the placement of new employees and to collaborate with other relevant bodies to provide employment-related training and to collect information on labor requirements and labor supply to be forwarded to the labor commissioner”. The NES together with other stakeholders such as Labor Commissioner (LC) coordinate the employ-

¹ Basotho the plural name used for Lesotho citizens and the singular is called Mosotho.

² In this paper Lesotho Bureau of Statistics data is from 2010 census because the new census was held in April 2016 but during the preparation of this paper such data is still in process.

ment of public servants and make placements. The National Employment Service and LC do not come up with strategies to create employment they just coordinate and make placements of new employees. It also protects the rights of employees and employers and guides the private sector on hiring, payments, and so on.

Although there is no policy to deal with youth unemployment in Lesotho, there is a program that focuses on the employment creation and decent work. Decent Work Country Program (DWCP) as it is called, is one of the interventions that the government have in terms of employment creation.

DECENT WORK COUNTRY PROGRAM IN LESOTHO

Decent Work Country Program (DWCP) is the program introduced in 2004 by the International Labor Organization (ILO) to its member states to implement. The aim of the program was to promote the rights at work; productive and decent employment opportunities; enhance social protection and strengthen social dialogue, (Lesotho decent paper 2012; 5).

Lesotho had the first phase of DWCP from 2006-2009. It focuses mainly on employment creation especially for youth and extension of social security. It didn't produce as expected. "Country Program Review (CPR) conducted in October 2009 and January 2010 in collaboration of ILO Regional Office for Africa showed that the program was below expectations of participants of the review process and the national partners", (Ministry of Labor 2012;24).: There were some outcomes such as the educating workers with HIV and AIDS issues and encouraging youth to engage in businesses which had the package of free trainings and micro loans.

The evaluation of phase I leads to the continuation of the program to phase II but in solution of previous obstacles, which are as follows: the problems include the lack of effective structure that work on the effectiveness of the program during implementation process and lack of monitoring tool of the program. there was also a lack of ownership or office that coordinates the program. Moreover, there was a lack of knowledge by the national partners on program.

DWCP Phase II was informed by the recommendations, findings and the lessons learnt from the CPR of the implementation of the program, (Ministry of Labor and Employment Memorandum of Understanding with ILO 2012) The changes in phase II are:

1. The establishment of the Decent Work Country Program Steering Committee that focuses on consistent joint evaluation of the program on agreed outcomes.
2. The formulation of the strategic partnership with relevant UN agencies, and other stakeholders that will liaise for the effective implementation of the program.
3. Encouraging of cooperatives enterprises in the so-

cial and economic development of the country. These enterprises are promoted to enhance the employment creation especially for young people.

4. Resources mobilization by all stakeholders as a fundamental part of the country program from the design of the program.

The expected outcomes of the program are: 1) Employment creation, especially youth employment is mainstreamed in the national development and sectorial planning frameworks. This outcome goes along with the finalized proposed National Labor Policy (NEP) and its implementation for employment creation. Moreover, the labor market information system is established and promoted in the NEP. Furthermore, the institutions for skills development are strengthened to review and develop strategies that match with the labor market demand. 2) Increased number of sustainable 3MSMEs³ that creates decent jobs particularly for the youth, retrenched displaced mine and textile workers. The youth are well empowered with entrepreneurship skills on how to start and improve the business and green employment promotion through enterprise development. The existence of viable enterprises and cooperatives for young people including school cooperatives.

Developed entrepreneurship is cultured among the youth and women by including it in curriculum of all educational levels. 3) Improved competitiveness and productivity in the textile and garment sector. The Better Work Lesotho project improved standard of employees in compliance of National Labor Code Law and International Labor standards in industries. Moreover, it improved the industry's competitiveness and the improved capacity of Basotho in management, production skills and productivity in the garment industry.

METHODOLOGY

The study used the qualitative research method with interview to collect data. The sample is made up of three groups, which are: youth assisted by the program with employment, the officers from the office of DWCP and other stakeholders of the program.

FINDINGS

Based on the expected outcomes, some of the outcomes were not achieved due to various reasons. National Strategic Development Plan (NSDP) created 15,000 jobs through mainstreaming employment creation in many government ministries. But the finalization and implementation of NEP did not happen.

Stakeholders assisted the youth in MSMEs creations. Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation have some programs such as Youth Employment Program (YEP), National Youth Corp Program (NYCP) and Social

³MSMEs – Micro, Small, Medium, scale Enterprises (Lesotho Decent Work Country Programme phase II 2012 - 2017)

Compact (SC) for employment creation. The Ministry of Trade and Cooperatives have a cooperative program with the same purpose of employment creation. Some banks such as Standard Bank Lesotho give loans to young people based on the proposals they have. SC give the youth the organization of two people or more inputs of the maximum of M40 000. 00 to start and improve the businesses. From 2015 / 2016, 58 enterprises were sponsored with the beneficiaries of 241. In 2016 / 2017, the number increased to 72 enterprises benefited with 263 beneficiaries within the groups. YEP is the program that gives the know-how on entrepreneurship skills youth trained and monitors the SC enterprises and other youth businesses. NYCP has been programmed each year since 2013; they gave 120 graduates experience to get jobs that need experience. There are many youth cooperatives created.

The firm workers are put in better work through the implementation of Better Work Lesotho (BWL). For example, associations made, legislations amended (workers are paid in sickness and maternity leave).

Young people felt assisted by the program particularly the industrial workers, and the MSMEs youth that got money from the government.

CHALLENGES

Some DWCP officers sees the program failing because of the uncoordinated efforts although there is DWCP com-

mission.

There is also a lack of social dialogue (exchange of information) between the government, workers and stakeholders.

Lack of political will.

Poor implementation of the program, (there is no monitoring and evaluation done since the program started).

Many respondents think the program is the good intervention provided that the government fix the analysis, implementation and monitoring, and the coordination of the program.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There are still many issues that hinder the program to accomplish the goal that the government and other stakeholders have to consider before taking other measures of employment creation. The issues mentioned above have to be solved before implementing any employment creation intervention. According to the Lesotho Central Bank economic review (2016), Lesotho unemployment rate in 2014 was 27.3 percent and dropped to 25.3 in 2016. This shows that the program did not contribute more to its decline. Lesotho has to consider the public policy as the major intervention of unemployment and formulate the employment creation policy. Moreover, the bottlenecks that hinder the progress of micro and macro business to employ many people should be removed.

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The Typology of Women Victims Domination of Domestic Violence (Study of Gender Equality in Women's Prison in Bandung)

Penyusun :

• **Vinita Susanti**

Lecturer in University
of Indonesia

Tulisan ini mengacu
pada Disertasi penulis
yang berjudul :

Pembunuhan Oleh Istri Dalam
Konteks Kekerasan Dalam
rumah Tangga (KDRT)

(Studi Terhadap Empat
Terpidana Perempuan di Lembaga
Pemasyarakatan Wanita
Bandung), 2015.

email:
vinitasusanti@yahoo.com

Keywords :

*Female victim, murderer,
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Abstract

This paper discusses the results of the writer's dissertation research, which shows the experience of women who alleged murderer as a victim of domestic violence. They experienced the domination in the family, an unequal position causing them to become victims. The Radical feminist standpoint stated that they were victims, while in reality they were considered perpetrators, so they must serve their sentence in prison.

Feminist studies using qualitative approach, Radical Feminist Theory explains how the women experienced the violence (as victims) and killed her husband. Meanwhile, Bourdieu's theory, explains variations or dominant typology of female victims of domestic violence. The results from the combination of the radical feminist theory and Bourdieu said that the domination standing as midpoint caused casualties.

The domination typology of domestic women violence is divided into 5 parts namely: fully-dominated-fully-capital; partially-dominated fully-capital; partially-dominated non-capital; Non-dominated Non-Capital; and dominated - Capital Irrational. The typical findings here are in a form of Irrational Capital dominated. This dominance occurred in informants who had positions which were not in the area that was dominated. This was because of the ownership of capital that she owned, but in certain situations, she continued to be dominated (patriarchal society). This strong standing position was due to the solution that she chose, i.e. she had another couple. This typology obtained from sociological studies were: structure, culture and processes.

**“To be born female is not a crime”,
(Kofi Annan¹, 2000)**

¹ Disampaikan dalam rangka mengevaluasi kebijakan “Pendidikan Untuk Semua” yang dicanangkan di Jomtien, Thailand, Sekolah 2000 online, “Membangun Hari Depan dengan Pendidikan Anak Perempuan”. Forum Pendidikan Dunia di Dakar, Senegal, April 2000.

INTRODUCTION

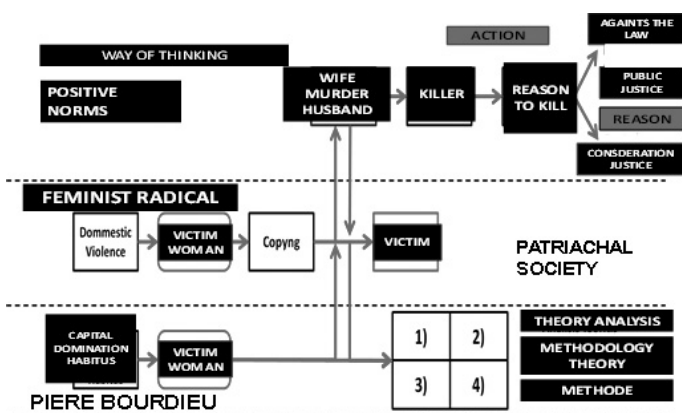
To be Born as a Female is Not a Crime

Being a woman is a very beautiful gift, given by God Almighty. Women were given the advantage to be able to contain, have children, and breastfeed. However, women, turned out in the course of her life, faces and experiences many problems, both individual problems and domestic family relationproblem. This four (4) Experienced women in Bandung prison showed that they were victims of domestic violence (domestic violence).

This paper is the result of study and research on four experienced informers as murderers, who are also victims of their husband’s wrongdoing. Feminist research using qualitative approach shows that not only they are accused as the murderer of their husband, butthey are also victims of domestic violence. Radical feminists Theory frames all the writer analyses on the experiences of victims, while the concept of Bourdieu explained the variation of the dominant typology of female victims of domestic violence. At the end is an explanation of the typology of domination of women victims of domestic violence.

FRAME OF THOUGHT: THE POSITION OF WOMEN MURDERER

The position of women murderer in the case of the victim was thattheir husband in a positive law or normative is the person who convicted and violated the criminal law in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the observer perspective in discussing this case tried to reposition them (women who are decided by the courts as a 'killer') as a victim of domestic violence in family domestic relationships. Standpoint of researchers in this case, is‘women perpetrator’ as the victim of domestic violence. So to say, the crimes committed by women is a crime that is'typical', where she is the perpetrator, and also a victim of domestic violence based on experience during the daysatthehouse. Women as actors who are also victims.



Source : Research Result²

²Vinita Susanti, "Homicide by women in the context of domestic violence", (Case studies of convicted female perpetrators in Bandung 's Prison), Disertation, Sociology Departement, University of Indonesia, 2015.

Women are vulnerable to become victims, but not impossible, she also potentially became the perpetrators of crimes, especially murderer. Below is an explanation that uses radical feminist point of view, for the murders committed by the wife.

RADICAL FEMINIST EXPLANATION FOR WIFE MURDERER

Gender relations within the family, the patriarchal society show inequalities, where there is dominance. The use of power by men against women is found not only in the context of public-strutural and ideologies in employment, education, media and so on, but also at the personal level, in the world of personal, intimate relationship of men and women. It is true that in essence, the roots of violence against women are caused by their cultural dominance of men (husbands) of women (wives) or a patriarchal culture. The male-dominated structure of this violence is often used by men (husband) to win the dissent, to express dissatisfaction and sometimes to demonstrate the sheer dominance, and even with violence against women (wives). Due to the support of a culture that not only overshadow the relationship of husband - wife, but the whole family, which is likely also supporting their husband in a patriarchal culture dominance, dominance with a form of violence are often regarded as major problems or social problems.

Meanwhile, the author mean by the victims are people who individually or collectively have suffered bodily or mentally, emotionally, economically(loss) or substantially(reduction of rights through acts which violate the criminal law). Victims referred to in this paper are the informants that are basically women as wives, who were convicted as the perpetrators of the murder of their husbands.

Through Radical Feminist point of view, the problem why they are punished as perpetrators of crimes in normative juridical (murder of the husband) but regarded as victims of crime in this paper shall be described by putting the context of the discussion as a background why women as wives then turn to be murderers of their husbands. Through long story of background events experienced by women as wives which then turn them into murderer of their husbands will be understood also why the wives murdered them. Thus, it is probable that murderer committed a survival mechanism or a way to end their misery because the victimization is a long story that they experienced during their family ties with their husbands.

From various data that the authors obtained during the study, it appears that the informan suffered during the marriage life until the time of "murder" occurred. During their live with their husbands, they claimed to have suffered injuries, damages, have lost self-esteem, discrimination or any form of injustice or suffering for many reasons. Experiences of sufferings that they have according to Andrew Karmen are them as the victims of crime, this is disadvantage they have because of their violations.

To understand why women as wives who have experienced during the life of their marriage murdered their husbands, we can associate this description with explanation of Wolfgang, that the victim (in this case the husband who

is considered a murderer victim) directly play a role in the crime, namely due to a variety of violence and lawlessness they do to their wives, eventually becomes a murder victim by their wives.

Thus, with regard to the murderer role of women in the family, which is seen in the aspect of victimization, women are considered victims, which is not unrelated from the role of victim (her husband). Victimization experienced by the informants in the life of a marriage is generally known as a form of domestic violence, which also manifests as violence against women as violence gender-based.

The views of radical feminists that explain the problems of women, with a view patriarchy and sexuality cause women to experience victimization. At the level of macro analysis, it takes into account the existing of patriarchal culture in informants society. This is a natural view at the level of abstraction, to describe it empirically, the authors explain it by using Bourdieu's theory, the concept used habitus, field and capital.

SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE AND DOMINANCE: CONCEPT OF BOURDIEU’S THEORITICAL CONTRIBUTION

Symbolic violence can occur in many areas of life, especially in gender relations. In an imbalance of power relations, the wife must obey the husband's decision on life and family. In order to gain a meaningful understanding of symbolic violence, we first need to describe the three main concepts of the theory of practical logic of Bourdieu, namely: habitus (habitus) and capital (capital). As an analytical framework, theoretical concepts provide clear understanding of the implications of gender in the production of the subjective, how the wife acts in a social and cultural environment as well as in the context of husband and wife relation, based on the decision on the character, behavior and attitude of the husband.

The position of women (wives) in the family is determined by the amount of capital owned and weight of the overall composition of capital. Women are assumed to live to form a family, in a patriarchal society. According to Bourdieu, the community is controlled and mastered, so in the family, there were dominating and dominated there. Male dominance, because of its class, creates symbolic violence on women or his wife. Women experienced predominantly symbolic violence because of the ownership of capital is limited. Owners of capital determine the class vertically, according to Bourdieu.

Women experience a 'symbolic violence', male domination through discourse (in family relation, community). Male domination happens, sometimes is regarded as a natural and acceptable violence. Behind this conception is a process that is responsible for the change of history of a cultural nature as something that has been received properly. In this context, according to radical feminist, it is a patriarchal culture. Basically, symbolic violence took place because of ignorance and recognition of the oppressed. In this context, the victim (downtrodden) is the female killers.

Hence, the logic is that domination is able to take

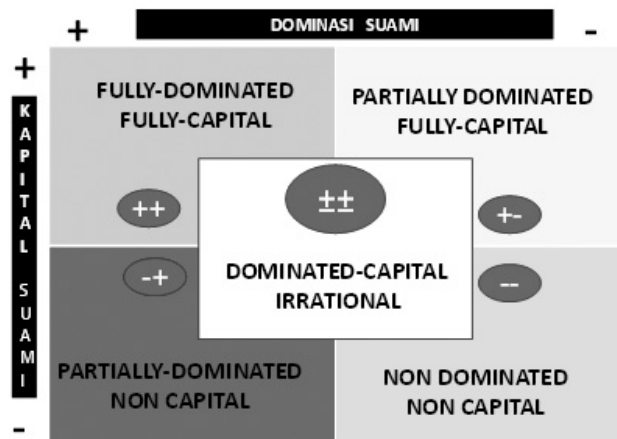
place because of a symbolic principle known and accepted by the master. The principle is the symbolic language, lifestyle, way of thinking, way of acting, and the typical ownership of certain groups on the basis of characteristics needs. The role of symbols factor, the value, is very visible on the murder of women. Kate Millet said the patriarch taken by the control of ideas and culture by men, is not only limited to the area of family relationship, but also in all areas of human life, such as economics, politics, religion and sexuality.

In Bourdieu theory, female killers are positioned as agent (actor) having habitus. She was provided with a set of internalized scheme used to perceive, understand, appreciate and evaluate the social world. Through this scheme, it produces practice, perceive it, and evaluate it. Dialectically, habitus is "a product of the internalization of the structure of" social world. Habitus may also be considered as "common sense".

THEORETICAL REVIEW: The Typology Of Women Victims Domination Of Domestic Violence

Patriarchal society can lead to dominance in the family, which later contributed to the victimization or domestic violence. Domestic violence can form a real (physical, psychological, economic and sexual) and intangible (symbolic) violence. Based on the experience of informants who are victims, there is a diversity of domination experienced by informants that authors can conclude, they are: fully-dominate fully- capital; partially-dominated capital fully; partially-dominated non-capital; Non-dominated non-capital; Irrational-dominated capital.

Matrix Tipology Domination and Capital



Based on the previous description, women who experienced role as wives are alleged to be 'killers' of their husbands and are seen as victims. From the viewpoint of feminist radicals, who regarded women as victims of patriarchy and sexuality (culture), shape is domination. Using the theory of Bourdieu that mention the wife (agent) to have habitus, capital ownership (positional capital) is structurally mentioned in the community as powerful and

controlling, within the scope of the family, domination based on that structure. Stand point of the author, puts the wife as the victim, and to determine the typology of domination, enriching variations of this dominance by using Bourdieu's theory.

Based on the findings in the field, about the experiences of women or wives who experienced the victimization in the family, the results are four models typology of Domination and Capital, namely: Domination and Full Capital, Husband Domination partialy Non Capital Husband, Partialy Domination - Full husband Capital; Domination and Capital Irrational. With the following description:

1. Fully Dominated – Fully Capital

Wife becomes a victim because the position in the domination of husband. Fully capitalized husband meet the dependence on the husband, so that this position makes wife very vulnerable to victimization (remains fixed in the context of domestic violence).

DEWI, 46 years of age, a housewife who has 6 children. She was often beaten by her husband. The most fatal accident was when she was hit on the head by her husband. To the doctor, she lied by telling the doctor that she accidentally got the iron in her head. The doctor laughed, and then said, 'if hit by iron, you will be dead.' Other physical violence, which she experienced, was stripped by her husband, she was expelled and thrown to the 'pond'. It was due to the fact that when her husband returned home, she was not at home. She experienced sexual violence, was forced to have a sex, regardless of the physical condition of Dewi, no matter if she was menstruating, was ill, would perform prayer, and did fasting on month of Ramadhan. She has been forced to do 'sodomy'. When her husband was 'womanizing', she always punched and tourchered. Experienced Psychical Violence, among others, she often find 'panties' of woman in her husband's car. She had also caught her husband, being alone with a girl (kid), in her room, when she was working out.

Dewi, who experienced all forms of violence, whether in the form of tangible and intangible, experinced the most serious violence if compared to other informants. Dewi also experienced symbolic violence, which she still felt in love with him, in their early marriage, there are women and a child coming to his home, saying that if the child was the child of her husband. Her husband lied to her about him getting married before. He said he had never married, at the end, her husband chose Dewi, and he divorced his previous wife. Husband's decision on this problem makes Dewi feel that her husband loves her. Dewi's husband is dominating Dewi's life.

2. Partially Dominated – Non Capital

Wife becomes a victim, husband become dominance to the wife in full, but the husband does not rule in matters of capital because the wife worked before marriage, she earned money by working, but did not have higher income than her husband. Husband earns more money than the wife. Informant position in such a condition was still dominated more by elements partially (structure - culture).

These dealings capital do not contribute influentially in domination.

Dian, 54 years old, the only informant who possessed high economic status and highest social status. Economically, she has higher income than her husband. He fell it natural that his life was dominated by her husband. Although her income is higher than her husband, she was very obedient to her husband. Her husband fully dominated her life. Patriarchal culture in family affects Dian, it was greatly affecting their life. She also experienced symbolic violence, even though her husband was very possessive, she considers it as her husband's affection. She let her life as 'a bird in a golden cage'. She was happy, except for the rules that her husband created for her.

3. Partially Dominated - Fully Capital

Wife becomes a victim, although not in domination by the husband who has the ownership of capital. The wife in this case is not dominated (a position equivalent). Structurally, both husband and wife, were able to put the position of each an equal portions. Culturally, they are not derived from the patriarchal family. In the capital, a wife dependent on her husband because she was not working.

In this case, Devi 27 years old. The youngest informant, education only up to the elementary grades. Allegations given to her was 'intentionally depriving another person's life. It gets 8-year sentence. This penalty is lighter than other murderer cases, as when a murder happened, she was drunk. When she realized, her husband had been stabbed by a knife and died.

Devi is often drunk with her husband, she was always jealous when seeing her husband with another woman. Her request to be legally married in a civil was never materialized by her husband. They married 'siri'.

4. Irrational Dominated – Capital

The wife is not always the victims, in certain circumstances, she was the victim, in other, not. Although in the position of structural, cultural and capital she is not dominated but in reality, informants still felt 'lost', even to a certain extent, it feels natural to feel dominated.

Nia, 28 years old, with a high school education. At the beginning of the marriage, she had a happy life. Until she had a little daughter and lives in contrast to her husband, her life began to differ. Nia has a business selling cellular phone and she has contacts, which eventually became 'her boy friend'. Nia, could not be dominated, but in reality, in daily practice, she is in the domination of her husband. When staying with her husband, her husband forced her to have sexual intercourse, regardless of the condition of Nia (being tired, or in menstrual pain). Nia's husband was very jealousy. Nia was curbed, where ever she goes, her husband always followed her, he tracted her sms, she did not feel free.

5. Non Dominated – Non Capital

Note: The results of field research, the four informants, no one was in this typology because there are no informants being dominated in their experience of marriage.

CONCLUSION

Experience of 4 (four) women show that they are victims of domestic violence, although legally, they are the perpetrators. Domestic violence (victimization) that they had experienced, demonstrated radical feminists because of the patriarchal society, where she has higher position than her husband, in the family. Victimization occurs because of the domination. The types of domination which occurs, is determined based on the theory of Bourdieu. The result is: Matrix of Domination and Capital Typology, which consists of fully-dominated-fully-capital; partially-dominated fully-capital; partially-dominated non-capital; Non-Dominated Non-Capital; and Dominated-Capital-Irrational. The typical finding here is a form of Irrational

Capital Dominated. This dominance occurs on informants who have positions that are not in the area to be dominated, because of the ownership of capital that she owned, but in certain situations, she continued to be dominated (patriarchal society). This strong standing position was due to the solution that she chose, she has another man.

Women who committed murder, in the context of domestic violence in the juridical law, indeed are guilty by the court verdict. However, their experience shows that they are victims of domestic violence. Therefore, crime committed by women is a typical crime, where the actors are also victims of crime. Although they are punished, we expected that the punishment are in different form, such as rehabilitation or social worker.



Grass-Roots Empowerment in the Changing World: What the Community Can Initiate?

Penyusun :

• **Sulikh
Asmorowati**

Departemen Administrasi

Universitas Airlangga
Surabaya, Indonesia

Keywords :

Community empowerment, grass-roots development, neighborhood development.

Abstract

This research is focused on community empowerment in the grass-root level. More especially, it looks at what community can initiate in the efforts for community empowerment in the current changing world, which is marked by rapid globalisation and more digitalized community. The research was conducted in Sidoarjo, East Java, Indonesia, a city where the Vice Governor of East Java, launched his latest movement called Gerakan Peduli Tetangga (Community Caring Movement) in early 2016. A study in Sidoarjo, therefore will provide an insight into the process of community empowerment in the grass-roots level. Qualitative research methods were employed in this research, involving interview and observation with a total of 39 informants. This research finds that besides, initiatives from the government -which tends to be unsustainable-, empowerment can be initiated by the community. Yet, as this research also finds, initiatives from community tend to be triggered by initiatives from the government (thus tend to be top-down) and aimed more especially to implement Government's policies, programs and projects. Above all, such initiatives have undoubtedly revealed that community has now been involved as a subject and not merely an object of development, and therefore has spaces to participate in decision making that lead to self-sustenance of the individual member of the community.

INTRODUCTION

In facing the increasing globalised and commercialised world, supported by the advancement of Information Communication and Technology (ICTs), there are many challenges and costs associated with neighborhood and

high density living in particular. In such a world, a sense of having 'community' (that is, the local group of people having connections with others, face to face interaction, shared spaces, activities, and many other interrelation within community (Kingsbury 2004:221) is presumed to have been reduced. Currently, people have tended to enjoy

their social media life more than connected face to face with their community.

In other world, such a digitalized society has a potency to reduce the sense of being what Durkheim said as organic community. Despite the increasing existence of cyber community, the increasing digital society has a potency of fostering sense of isolation, and eroding the community serve as a resource for sociality, protection, active interactions, getting support, and more importantly, social capital (Henderson and Vercseg 2010). In this, empowerment of community in this changing world (from organic to more digitalised community) remains important; especially, those in the grass-roots level. Such initiatives for empowerment undoubtedly, require active participation from the community.

This research is focused on efforts to empower community in the grass-roots level in Sidoarjo, East Java, Indonesia. More specifically, it examines what the community can do or initiate, to contribute to the efforts for Community empowerment, especially in the current world of digitalized era. Sidoarjo is chosen as the study site following the latest movement initiated by the Vice Governor of East Java, Indonesia *Gerakan Peduli Tetangga* (Community Caring Movement) that was launched in Sidoarjo early 2016. Study in Sidoarjo, therefore is expected to provide insight into the process of community empowerment in the grass-roots level.

METHODS

In-depth exploration of the process of empowerment at the grass-roots level, as well as examination of community initiative in grass-root empowerment is made possible by the use of qualitative methods. As Patton (2002) explain, qualitative methods is pertinent to questions about people's experience, meanings people make of their experiences, and studies of persons in their her social/interpersonal environment. Such approach, therefore will enable the researcher to explore people's life histories, perceptions/aspirations and everyday behaviour about community empowerment in grass-roots level, or according to Max Weber, understanding something from the person's viewpoint (in Allen 2004).

This research employed qualitative research methods, involving semi-structured interviews, observations, and document analysis. As explained above, the research was conducted in Sidoarjo, more specifically in four villages, which were the champions of *Posdaya* Competition and best-practice neighbourhood (*RW Percontohan*) in 2016. These four villages are 1.) Sedatigede Village, in the Sub-district of Sedati; 2.) Tropodo Village, in the Sub-district of Waru; 3.) Sukodono Village of the Sub-district of Sukodono; and 4.) Kedungsolo, of in the Sub-district of Porong.

Key informants were chosen by purposive or theoretical sampling, directed toward knowledge of specific dimension of the empowerment process in the community. As the key informants identified, further informants were identified with snowball sampling, in which more participants were gained based on the information from the previ-

ous informants. Data collections were conclude with thirty nine (39) informants taken from *Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, Perempuan dan Keluarga Berencana* (BP-MPKB or Community Empowerment, Woman and Family Planning Body, Sidoarjo Region, the executing agency for community empowerment in Sidoarjo), government staff and members of community (including elite community) in the four villages in Sidoarjo. The collected data were then analysed, involving transcription, reduction, presentation, interpretation, verification, and lastly conclusion. Triangulation of data was employed in order to check the validity of the data. That is, by checking data obtained from interviews with data from observation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Early 2000s has marked the shift away of development approaches and orientation from 'holistic theorisation' towards more localised, empirical and inductive approaches (Mohan and Stokke 2000). In this, there has been a parallel move in development practice, towards local participation and empowerment and more especially community empowerment. Community empowerment is an effort to increase community self-reliance so that the community becomes more empowered (Suhendra 2006). The success of community empowerment is determined by how governments play their roles, as well as how communities are treated and involved in the empowerment process. Above all, initiatives and commitment for empowering communities from both parties determine the success of the empowerment process.

This research finds that besides from the government, initiatives for community empowerment at grass-roots level can come from the community itself. From the government, empowerment is conducted especially in economic and social aspect. Efforts to empower community in economic aspect are done through the empowerment of BUMDes (*Badan usaha Milik Desa* or Village Owned Enterprise). The BPMPKB has special facilitators for this economic empowerment. In social aspect, government empower community, through among others thing, the strengthening of community institutions such as *Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa* (LPMD or Village Community Empowerment Body), the neighborhood organisations (RW) and neighborhood units (RT). As an interview with a staff from BPMPKB shows:

There is a capacity building program for RT/ RW. We enrich them with new knowledge for the head and the staff. ... There are also other programs, such as, technical guidance for implementer team of village activities, especially for Women (Tim Pelaksana Kegiatan Desa khusus untuk Perempuan). ...Another important thing is we work in collaboration with LPMD (Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa or Village Community Empowerment Body) which exists in every village. LPMD as our partner facilitates village development. We also provide information on the rights and obligations of LPMD "(interview 3 October 2016)

From other interviews, the strengthening of these community institutions is intended to enable community to

carry out their main duties and functions. There is also the 'Kotaku' (*Kotaku Tanpa Kumuh* or *No Slum Town*), a program intended to accelerate village development. Several projects are initiated/proposed in Kotaku, which involve significant community empowerment, including such as garbage treatment and disposal, environmental sanitation, waste management. "(Interview October 8, 2016). In short, this research finds that there has been significant empowerment process in Sidoarjo, involving various element of community, including RT/RW, LPMD, as well as PKK (women organisation in neighborhood) and youth community (*Karang Taruna*).

In addition to initiatives from the Government, the government facilitates efforts for community empowerment initiated by community. Amongst the findings, the most important fact is that community participation is also visible during the decision making process. This is done for example through regular meeting conducted in the village/neighborhood in which members of community can have voices that can be heard in the meetings. As an interview with a head of village below reveal:

"Usually I invite people, namely the head of RT and RW, community leaders, religious leaders, and youth... We do voting.. we hold meeting for all problems or issues. We involve them in the formulation of decision (read: decision making, researcher). All I have to do is invite them, have a meeting and hear their voice. "(Interview October 8, 2016)

From the above finding, it is clear that in terms of empowerment in Sidoarjo, the Government has provided the space of what Friedman (1992) call as autonomy or self-reliance, including in decision-making. As Friedmann (1992), one of leading theorist in alternative development that based its approaches on empowerment of community; the empowerment approach emphasises the importance of autonomy or self-reliance in decision-making in society, local self-reliance, participatory democracy, and social learning. In this context, society is not only an object, but a subject of development, in which they are not only passive recipients of an intervention or development initiative, but as active development actors or executors or who by Hirschmann (1999) are called the medium of development, that is medium that transforms the development plan into an action or a real action according to their own needs. Shortly, community participation in the empowerment process in Sidoarjo has revealed the place of community in such empowerment initiative as subject and not mere object of development.

However, there is also an interesting finding that empowerment efforts initiated by the government tend to be unsustainable. This has caused the empowerment programs to have less impacts on the achievement of self-reliance and empowerment of the community in general. One of examples that shows such unsustainability can be seen from a project that was aimed to train its target group with sewing skill. Such project was unsustainable since it was not followed by assistances for sewing machine ownership. In other words, efforts from the government to support and ensure the sustainability of training were limited, i.e create

new jobs by ensuring that the target groups have access to (own or hire) sewing machine. In this, such a training project was considered unsustainable, but merely a project for fulfilling the Government's duty for empowerment.

The above seems to confirm the general tendency that initiatives for community empowerment by government are aimed more at merely fulfilling the Government's obligation than the end goals of community empowerment, i.e. community becomes self-reliance. Thus, initiatives for empowerment need to be improved, especially in terms of mentoring and maintaining the sustainability of empowerment initiatives. The outcomes of the empowerment process are expected to be able to create self-reliance within community, and not only for the formality of the government to carry out its task and obligations or to spend the budget only, so that the remaining budget is not returned to the center. In this, initiatives for empowering community that come from community are significant.

As those initiated by the government, empowerment efforts which are initiated by community also obvious in economy and social aspect. As interview below reveal:

"...for example, organising by PKK, some groups of mothers grow and create snack from mushrooms, then market the products. Hydroponics agriculture, catfish and poultry farm here are quite flourish so that it empowers community economically ...Other is empowerment in health aspect through Posyandu (neighborhood health service), in which the community, especially woman cadres organised themselves to implement various programs and projects, including a balanced nutrition and also control the development of toddlers. ... The youth's activity through Karang Taruna is also active. They play 'music patrol' which has been popular and hired by other villages and sub-district. "(interview 10 October 2016).

There a lot of activities and initiatives for empowerment by community, but this paper will highlight an important aspect that shows community's commitment and initiative for empowerment in Sidoarj, that is in relations with the source of funding. As this research reveals, funding for community empowerment program comes from the (village) government and (self-funding) from communities. Besides, showing community's genuine participation in community empowerment, self-funding by the community has also shown people's awareness to live and run activities that are considered to have a positive impact on them.

Further interviews and observation in this research reveal that in general communities in Sidoarjo tend to be apathetic about empowerment for themselves (as individuals) or for their surrounding community. Yet, the government as required by the regulations, and advised by the new development approaches and practices has sought to involve community so that they become more active in the empowerment process and even initiate the empowerment. As this research finds initiatives from the community more often exist in the activities to implement Government's policy, program and projects on community empowerment. In other words, community's involvement and initiatives tend to be directed or oriented towards to comply with government programs and projects.

Apart from this, however, the quotations above has revealed that government has sought to delegate the authority and management of development, especially in the implementation of development. Meanwhile government has also play its roles of assisting and overseeing the development process (to ensure that community does not violate laws and regulations). Findings in this research therefore, conform the shift of the role of government and its bureaucracy in development from an active (leading) role, as implementers of all development programs and projects to a supportive (facilitating) role (Haque 1998). Such a role of government, accordingly, should also open the maximum benefits for other sectors of society, that is, the active role and initiative of community and civil society in development, as can be found in the community empowerment process in Sidoarjo.

CONCLUSION

This research has concerned with efforts for empowering community in the grass-roots level in Sidoarjo Regency. As this research finds, efforts to empower community in Sidoarjo have been significant, and these involve initiatives from government and community. Supported by decentralization/regional autonomy policy, also the most current Village Law No 6/2014 about village, this research

finds that community, has now been more a subject than object of development, that lead to self-sustenance of the individual member of the community, the environment where they live in and the community as a whole.

Some significant points that these research can conclude are: Firstly, for empowerment from government, there is the tendency that empowerment is just conducted as part of the government's formal job (i.e., the government carry out its obligations and allocate the budget so that the budget is spent and does not have to be returned to the central government. Second, the Government's policies related to community empowerment programs remains to be top-down in nature, and thus, the government is less concerned with the inputs, outputs, outcomes, and the feedbacks from the community. Accordingly, initiatives for empowerment from community tend to be triggered by initiatives from the government (thus tend to be top-down) and aimed more especially to implement Government's policies, programs and projects. Third, in response to the first and second findings, community participation and initiatives need to more encouraged to achieve successful empowerment programs. This participation can be enhanced by internal motivation, related with awareness of the usefulness of the implemented program, the desire to develop the community or the village they live in, and improving the standard of living.

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CHAPTER 2

**Governance, Public Policy
and Development**

PROCEEDING

**RE-EXAMINING
GOVERNANCE:**

**STRENGTHENING
CITIZENSHIP
IN THE CHANGING WORLD**



Village Development Strategy Towards Good Village Governance

Penyusun :

- Meirinawati
- Indah Prabawati

Lecturers of Public
Administration Program State
University of Surabaya

meirinawati91@yahoo.co.id
prabawatiindah@yahoo.co.id

Keywords :

*strategy of village
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good village governance.*

Abstract

In order to develop the role at the village level and the realization of the implementation of the principles of good governance, then Act No. 6 of 2014 was legalized. The village has a role in achieving development goals. The village is the lowest level of government and is part of a sub-system of government in an area that is expected to be in direct contact with village. The village has the authority to regulate the interests of the community in accordance with the conditions and socio-culture of local village. It is intended that the village has autonomy to regulate and manage the interests of their village origins and customs. The role of the village began to change from that previously acted as the object. It is now changing as an actor or a determinant in the welfare of society.

The existence of Act No. 6 of 2014 on the Village provides a firm basis on the implementation of good governance at the level of village government. In the operational village administration, it was implemented by adhering the principle of legal certainty, orderly governance, orderly public interest, transparency, proportionality, professionalism, accountability, effectiveness and efficiency, local knowledge, diversity, and participatory. Governance implies synergistic and constructive relationship between the state, private sectors and public. Implementation of good governance gives confidence to achieve the welfare of the Indonesian people. In the implementation of the village community welfare and as part of good governance, strategy is needed in the village development. Basically, village development involving all levels of village communities can be said as village development of, by and for all villages.

Good governance requires the rule of law, justice, equality, transparency, participation, decentralization, togetherness, good coordination, responsiveness, effectiveness, efficiency, competitiveness, professional integrity, work ethic and high morale, and accountability that will ultimately be realized in excellent service. Implementation of good governance at the level of village government officials demanded the village administration to make the appropriate strategy for village

development. Strategies in achieving village development objectives are: (1) Growth Strategy. Village development through the growth strategy aims to increase economic value appropriately. This can be seen by per capita income, production and productivity of agricultural sector, capital, and employment opportunities and the increasing capacity of rural community participation. Next is (2) Welfare Strategy. The improvement of living standard and rural community become the purpose of welfare strategy. It is done through service and the increasing of large and national scale of social development programs. The expected changes include educational improvement, settlements, the construction of transport facilities, and other social infrastructure provision. The next is (3) Responsive Strategy to community needs. Village development uses responsive strategy. It is a response in responding the needs of society and development that is formulated for the common welfare, either with the community itself or with the outside help (self need and assistance), the availability of those resources is according to the needs in rural areas. The next is (4) Integrated and Comprehensive Strategy. It is an integrated and comprehensive strategy intended to achieve the goals relating to continued growth, equality, prosperity and simultaneously active community participation in the process of rural development.

The village administration is expected to achieve prosperity for village communities and is part of good governance. Implementation of good governance at the level of village government officials demanded the village administration to make the appropriate strategy for village development. Village development strategy aimed at the establishment of the village government that is democratic, transparent and accountable and to create community through a public good, public regulation and empowerment that are not releasing the local conditions of an area.

I. INTRODUCTION

Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1945 article 22D section(3) mandates that the local government authorities regulate and manage their own affairs in accordance with the principle of local autonomy. It aims to accelerate the realization of public welfare in the region through the improvement of service, empowerment, and society participation. Besides, it also aims to increase regional competitiveness regarding to principles of democracy, equity, justice, privilege and regional specificity the Republic of Indonesia.

In the era of regional autonomy, public services become the attention of the entire community. It was seen on the contents of Act No. 32 of 2004 on Regional Governance. Act No. 32 of 2004 on Regional Governance, article 1, section (5), states that by the rationale rights, powers and obligations of autonomous regions set up and manage their own affairs and interests of local communities in accordance with the legislation. Implementation of the Act

affects the structuring of governance activity. Wide autonomy in the region requires local government to organize the format of governance organization and its activities, including the activities of public services.

Legally, in the context of regional autonomy, local governments have an obligation as mentioned in Article 22 of Act No. 32 of 2004, among others

- a. Protecting the public, maintaining unity, integrity and national harmony also unity of the Republic of Indonesia.
- b. Improving the quality of life of the society.
- c. Developing democracy.
- d. Realizing Justice and equity.
- e. Improving basic education services.
- f. Providing health care facilities.
- g. Providing social facilities and decent public facilities.
- h. Developing social security system.
- i. Planning and layout of the area

- j. Developing productive resources in the area.
- k. Preserving the environment.
- l. Managing population administration.
- m. Preserving social and cultural values
- n. Establishing and defining legislation in accordance with its authority, and.
- o. Other obligations stipulated in the legislation.

The implementation of regional autonomy, obviously brings change and innovation systems of village governance. Village governance is the one that deals directly with the public that serves as protector, supervisor, and servant. It also drives community participation and sub-systems within national systems of governance. The village governance has the authority to regulate and manage the interests of the community by local customs. Therefore, the most important thing of village autonomy as an autonomous region is the service of the village population in order to meet the needs of the society or the public interest. It is the right of village communities that have validity to be met and a duty that must be done by village government in order to fight a common interest with the effective, efficient and transparent way (Secretariat General of the Ministry of Home Affairs, 2001: 4).

The village has a role in achieving development goals. The village is the lowest level of governance and is part of a subsystem of governance in an area that is expected to be in direct contact with villagers. The village governance subsystem which is part of the implementation of the local government has broad authority to regulate and manage the interests of the region and also the interests of their own people. In this case, the role of the village began to change from the previous one as an extra or objects only. Now, the role of the village is an actor or a determinant in the welfare of society.

In order to develop the role at the village level and also the realization of the implementation of the principles of good governance, then the rule is regulated in Act No. 6 of 2014 about the Village. The passing of the Act brings new hopes about the implementation of good governance at the level of village governance. In the Act of the village among others are the material on the principle of setting, the position and the type of village, village settlement, village authority, the organization of village governance, the rights and obligations of the village and the villagers, village regulations, village finance and asset, village development and rural development, village-owned enterprises, the cooperation of the village, the village community organizations and traditional institutions as well as the guidance and supervision.

In achieving welfare of the villager, development strategy is needed in the village. Basically, village development involving all levels of villager can be said village development of, by and for all the villagers. According to Sumpeno (2011), village development strategy aimed at the establishment of the village governance that is democratic, transparent and accountable and to create community through a public good, public regulation and empowerment are not releasing the local conditions of an area.

According to Sedarmayanti (2003), good governance is

intended as a process of the state power in implementing the provision of public goods and service. Good governance requires the rule of law, justice, equality, transparency, participation, decentralization, togetherness, good coordination, responsiveness, effectiveness, efficiency, competitiveness, professional integrity, work ethic and high morality, and accountability that will ultimately be realized by excellent service.

II. DISCUSSION

A. Village Governance

1. Definition of Village

The definition of village by Widjaja is a legal community unit which has the original order based on rights origins that are special. Rationale thought about village governance is diversity, participation, genuine autonomy, democratization and empowerment (2003). Based on the Act No. 6 2014 about the village, village can be interpreted as a legal community unit which has borders with the authority to regulate and manage the affairs of government, the interests of the local community based community initiatives, the right of origin, or traditional rights recognized and respected in the governance system of the Republic Indonesia.

Based on the above opinion, the village is a self community that governs itself. The village has the authority to regulate the interests of the community in accordance with the condition and socio-culture of local villages. It is intended that the village has autonomy to regulate and manage the interests of their village origins and customs. Autonomy based on the origin and customs are a long-standing autonomy and become habits or customs that are applied by the villagers concerned (Prabawati and Meirinawati, 2014). It can be said that villagers have genuine strategic autonomy, thus it requires serious attention to the implementation of regional autonomy.

According to Government Regulation No. 72 of 2005, the village authority is as follows:

- a. Carrying out the existing government affairs based on village origins rights.
- b. Carrying out government affairs that are under the authority of districts/municipal submitted to the settings to the Headman, the government functions that can directly improve public services.
- c. Co-administration of government, provincial government and regency/municipal governments.
- d. Other Government affairs that is submitted to the headman by legislative.

Village governance has fundamental duties:

- a. Implementing village household affairs, public governance affairs, community development and founding.
- b. Running the co-administration of the central government, provincial governance and regency/municipal government (Nurcholish, 2011).

In carrying out its mission, the village government has functions:

- a. Implementating village household affairs.
- b. Executing the tasks in the field of development and social development as responsibility.
- c. Implementating the village economy development.
- d. Implementating founding participation and self mutual aid society.
- e. Implementating founding tranquillity and public order.
- f. Implementation of dispute settlement consultations of villagers.
- g. Preparating, submitting village draft regulation.
- h. Implementating the tasks delegated to the Headman (Nurcholish, 2011).

2. Village Governance

The village governance under Act No. 6 of 2014 about the village, “the implementation of government affairs and public interests in the governance system of the Republic of Indonesia ... The village governance consists of a Headman and village officials consists of a village secretariat, regional implementer and technical implementer”. According to Nurcholis (2011: 5:30), the village governance is headed by a village chief and is assisted by village officials. The village officials consist of the village chiefs of affairs, executive affairs, and headman. The household is affair that is regulated and managed by the village government. Village regulations are made by the Headman and Village Consultative Institution (BPD). Village regulations are implemented by the Headman and are accounted to the people through BPD.

Another opinion by Widjaja, village governance connotes a process that needs efforts of village communities combined with government efforts to improve people’s lives (2003).

B. Rural Development Strategy

The purpose of rural development by Adisasmita (2006) is divided into two objectives: first; long-term objectives of rural development which is improving the welfare of the rural population directly through improved employment opportunities, business development and human development. Indirectly, it creates and implements solid foundations for national development. While the second goal; Short-term rural development objectives aims at improving the Effectiveness and efficiency in economic activity and utilization of human resources and natural resources.

According to Adisasmita (2006) rural development targets are:

1. Improvement of production and productivity
2. Acceleration of the growth of the village
3. Improvement the production skills with the development of productive business field
4. Institutional strengthening

Still according to Adisasmita (2006), he outlines the principles in the implementation of village development, namely:

1. Transparency (transparency)
2. Participative
3. Being able to be enjoyed by the public
4. Accountability (accountability)
5. Sustainability (sustainable)

Strategy for achieving rural development objectives by Adisasmita (2006) are:

1. Growth Strategy

Village development through the growth strategy aims to appropriately improve economic value. This can be seen by per capita income, production and productivity of agricultural sector, capital, and job opportunity, also the upgrading of the rural community participation.

2. Welfare Strategy.

Improvement of living standard and welfare of the rural population become the purpose of the welfare strategy through service and improvement of large-scale social development programs or nationwide. Changes are expected to include improvement of education, settlements, construction of transport facilities, provision of facilities and other social infrastructure.

3. Responsive Strategy to Community Needs

Village development uses responsive strategy to respond the needs of society and the formulated development by society for the common welfare, either the community itself or with the help of outside parties (self need and assistance) the availability of those resources are needed in rural areas.

4. Integrated and Comprehensive Strategy

An integrated and comprehensive strategy are intended to achieve the goals relating to continued growth, equality, prosperity and simultaneously active community participation in the process of rural development. Conceptually, there are three principles that distinguish it from other strategies, namely

- a. Equality, fairness, equity and community participation is an explicit goal of an integrated strategy. Therefore, the authorities village government should:

- 1) Understand the social dynamic of local community.
- 2) Solve problems
- 3) Strengthen capability of village government officers in conducting social interventions

b. The need for a fundamental change in the deal as well as the style and way of working. Hence the village governance should have a strong commitment to:

- 1) Determine the direction, strategy and process towards the realization of goals and objectives
- 2) Maintain the integrity of the rural population that is supported by the local leadership (local

- leadership)
- c. Fulfill the need for the involvement of village governance and social organization in an integrated manner to improve the link between formal organizations and informal organizations.

In the opinion of Adisasmita (2006), a comprehensive and integrated strategy of village development approaches:

1. The main objective: growth, equality, welfare and villagers active participation.
2. The goal: to build and strengthen capability to carry out development with the government.
3. The scope: a diverse and complex community.
4. Coordination: the diverse coordination both permanent and temporary at all levels, functions, needs and mechanisms.
5. The current two-way communication that is done formally, informally, horizontally, diagonally, and is sustained through various channels and forms of communication facilities persuasively and educationally.
6. The initiative: community groups of local governments and villages through information collection, determination and decision-making, policy implementation and monitoring activities in an integrated, interrelated and continuous way.
7. Achievement Indicators that are based on problem solving strategic aspects of rural population and the various activities undertaken that is directed to the improvement of the equation, equity, justice, welfare and participation of communities associated with its purpose.

According to Sumpeno (2011) village development strategies are directed to consolidate matters as follows:

1. Consolidation of the regulations by accelerating the completion of village regulations through government regulations, presidential decrees, ministerial decrees, regional regulations and village regulations.
2. Development of the institutional independence of the village government, traditional institutions and other institutions.
3. Strengthening of the role of traditional institutions and development of customary rights.
4. Increasing of cooperation between villages.
5. Improvement of the pattern of rural development, the level of development and the establishment of new villages.
6. Institutional strengthening of rural communities by managing the organizational structure and management of the village governance, BPD, BUMDes, BPD associations, Pemdes Association, customary institutions and LKD.
7. Village financial through the development of a source of income and wealth of the village as well as the management of the financial balance of the village.

8. Establishment of information system and villages governance that easy, fast, cheap.
9. Standardization of criteria, norms, and procedures to improve resource of headman, BPD, customary institution, LKD, BUMDes administrators, and P3D.

C. GOOD VILLAGE GOVERNANCE

1. Good Governance

According to Sinambela (2007), theoretically, good governance can be defined as a process that orient government on the distribution of power and authority that are evenly distributed in all elements of society to be able to influence decisions and policies related to public life and all development of political, economic, social and cultural efforts. They are in the governance system.

Governance according to Sedarmayanti (2009) is defined as the quality of the relationship between government and the community that is served and protected. Governance has three pillars, namely the state (government), private sector (business community) and the community. The three pillars are doing a synergic cooperation to realize good administration or good governance. More details Governance (governance) according to Adisasmita (2011) includes three elements, namely: 1). State (State, government, and local government), 2). Private sector (private sector or the business), and 3). Society (society) that interacts with each other and carries out respective functions. Governance institution plays a role in creating conducive political and legal environment, the private sector provides jobs and generate income, and the public participates in any productive activities and community empowerment.

Santoso (2008) further explains that good governance is governance that develops and applies the principles of professionalism, accountability, transparency, excellent service, democracy, efficiency, effectiveness, rule of law, and can be accepted by the whole society. Based on the World Conference on Governance (UNDP), good governance of public sector is defined as a good process of governance, with the involvement of stakeholders, the various economic activities, social, political and utilization of various resources, such as natural resources, finance, and human beings for the people interest executed by embracing the principles of justice, equity, equality, efficiency, transparency and accountability.

2. Good Village Governance

The passing of Act No. 6 of 2014 about the village support is the implementation of village autonomy in the development of the village through the cooperation between the village government, private and public, which can be applied to the activities of policy formulation, policy implementation and policy evaluation. In the operation of the village administration, according to Law No. 6 in 2014 on the village of article 24, it is implemented by adhering to the principle of legal certainty, orderly governance, orderly public interest, transparency, proportionality, profession-

alism, accountability, effectiveness and efficiency, local knowledge, diversity, and participatory.

According to Koroh, the Act indicates strongly that the village government such as headman and Village Consultative Institution (BPD) will not appear as a 'dominant actor' in determining the policies, programs and activities of governance in the village, but more as a 'mediator and facilitator' who present it and they are equal with other actors in the village. The other actors are public figures, businessmen, village community organizations, Non Governmental Organizations, communities, and of course the other villagers.

In the opinion of Adisasnita (2011), function of good governance can be viewed from the implementation of:

1. The effectively and efficiently regional governments.
2. The equally regional development.

3. The quick, inexpensive, convenient, and qualified community service.

D. CONCLUSION

When good governance is well applied, then the broad regional autonomy and responsibility will also be well created. The same thing happens when it is applied to the village governance. The village governance is expected to achieve prosperity for villagers and is part of good governance. Implementation of good governance at the level of village governance demanded the village governance officials to make the proper strategy for village development. Village development strategy aimed at the establishment of the village government that is democratic, transparent and accountable and to create community through a public good, public regulation and empowerment which are not releasing the local conditions of an area.

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Implementing Of Participatory Development Planning Process Through Ecovillage Program At Sukamaju Village Cimaung Sub Districts Of Bandung District

Penyusun :

• Maya Septiani

Padjadjaran University

Bumi Serang Baru Block DD 11
No.19 Serang City
Banten Province 42151
Indonesia

Tel. +628-777-154-3350

Email address :
mseptiani5@gmail.com

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Abstract

Background: *This paper explain of the development especially about the planning process. In Indonesia, the issue of development becomes a very important issue. That is related to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Development in this era in Indonesia have been using a bottom-up approach so the construction was done on the smallest sphere items, namely the village. The policy was issued through Law No. 6 of 2014 about the village. At the policy to apply the principles of participation and issues related of SDGs and the vision of Indonesia since 2015.*

In this case, the West Java provincial government has made innovation program called Ecovillage Programs related to environmental issues since 2014 before the advent of SDGs. It is based on the West Java Provincial Regulation No. 1 Year 2012 on Environmental Management and Planning. Related with that, Ecovillage Program aims to address pollution issues at Citarum River as one of the top ten most polluted rivers in the world. The program is based on the Governor West Java Regulation No. 78 of 2015 on Clean, Healthy, Beautiful, and Sustainable Citarum River Movement.

There are 120 villages Ecovillage Program implemented in 2015, but only 7 villages or of of 0.05% of the villages comply with the Ecovillage Awards' standards. For example, Sukamaju Village awarded as 2nd winner for the head of the village and Ecovillage group category. Basically Ecovillage Program adopts a bottom-up approach in the planning process, the roomates involves the community. However, there are some problems that affected the planning process in Sukamaju Village, such as the limits of knowledge, the lack of funds, time and place limitation. Against this background, and I interest to analysis about the implementing of participatory development planning through Ecovillage Program at Sukamaju Village the which has not been optimal.

Methods: *This research used qualitative method with descriptive ap-*

proach. The Data Obtained from the literature study and field research. Informants are involved in this research using purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Informants were chosen from 16 persons. Furthermore, in this research, the Data is validated through the triangulation of the data resources.

Theory: *The theory using from Rosemary McGee on IDS and IPGI (2002). This theory describes three factors relating by participatory development planning process. Reviews These reviews factors such as, actors, knowledge, and spaces.*

Results: *In this study it was found that the first socialization was not optimal. The effect is the lack of understanding and knowledge about the Ecovillage Program so that community or important actors at village not respect the Ecovillage Program. So that participation to be minimal. The process of the data collection about the potential and weakness of village is inaccurate because of the limitations of time, space, and cost.*

Conclusion: *In this study, explained that the socialization must be periodically. So that the stakeholders can be involved. The process of participatory development planning must be transparent especially in terms of funding. In addition, choosing the right time so that stakeholders can continue to engage in participatory development planning process. It is intended that an agreement can be reached through compromise, especially regarding the potential and problems of the village. I conclude that the Ecovillage Program have the potential to improve the quality of the development. This is supported by a transparent and valid the collection of data. In addition, can reduce government domination so that later, community and stakeholders can follow the program and the program will be successful.*

INTRODUCTION

The paradigm of public administration always continues. One example is the shift from government to governance (Raharja, 2009). The concept of governance is considered important for the participatory approach. As stated that "*public administration is now moving towards more participatory approach and reading to build good governance*" (Widianingsih, 2005 : 3). Based on this, the concept of governance leads also in good governance.

The concept of good governance is related also to the underlying sustainability issues by emerging of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015. In some areas of SDGs are studies that affect development, especially sustainable development. As stated that "development activities include development planning activities, implementation, until the stage of monitoring and evaluation of development (Listyaningsih, 2014: 20). Based on this, the first process that determines the development will be good or not is in the planning process. It is proposed that "good planning will greatly influence the success of devel-

opment" (Munir, 2002: 25). Therefore, the success of the development will be influenced by the success of the planning process, hereinafter called development planning.

At the current development plan is very different from the past that using a top-down approach. At this time, the development planning paradigm has shifted to the bottom-up. In other words, the current development plan has involved stakeholders who are in the grass roots, ie public. That is known as participatory development planning. Participatory development planning is "a model of development planning that includes community" (Nurcholis, 2009: 11). So on participatory development planning, the community actively involved ranging from problem identification, problem formulation, implementation and evaluation.

In Indonesia, the development plan has been formulated by the Government since 1974 through Act No. 5 of 1974 On the Principles of Regional Government. In these laws have signaled that decentralization has been implemented, although the development is still in a centralized system. Along with the development and the changing

demands, legislation was updated through Act No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Government which decentralized. Later, these laws are updated by Law No. 25 Year 2014 About the National Development Planning System, where communities have started to be empowered, even though the law remains focused on regional development planning (provincial level).

Given the current development planning has been participatory so that the government issued a policy through Act No. 6 of 2014 About the Village which aims to equitable development and increase participation. Law is then lowered through the Minister of the Interior No. 114 of 2014 on Guidelines for Rural Development. At the ministerial regulation had hinted development plan are basically top-down and bottom-up.

Associated with participatory-based development planning associated with the concept of SDGs. That is because the participatory development planning, especially in the sphere of villages has led to environmental and sustainable aspects. It can be seen that the Indonesian Government has chosen the path of sustainable development as outlined in the vision of development which started in 2015 and should be followed at all levels, both the village to the national level (Blueprint One Data for Sustainable Development, 2015).

However, it turns out West Java Province has made innovation programs related to environmental issues since 2014 even before the advent of SDGs and the vision of sustainable development. It is based on the West Java Provincial Regulation No. 1 Year 2012 on Environmental Management and Planning Environmental Law. It was later revealed in the West Java Governor Regulation No. 78 Year 2015 About the Citarum Movement Clean, Healthy, Beautiful, and Sustainable (Bestari).

Bestari Citarum movement motivated by their concern at Citarum River pollution. There are differences in the physical condition of the Citarum River between 1955 to 2016. Here is a comparison picture of the physical condition of the Citarum River

Figure 1.
Comparison Between Physical Condition
Citarum River on 1955 with 2016



Source: Adapted Writers, 2016

Based on these images, it can be seen that there is a striking difference between the condition of the Citarum River in 1955 to 2016. Citarum River pollution is not only have an impact on the physical condition of the river, but also have an impact on the incidence of natural disasters is currently happening such as flooding in Bandung. Citarum River pollution severely make Citarum River become to the top 10 most polluted rivers in the world. It is based on the following image.

Figure 2.
Top Ten Most Polluted River at 2016



Source: *worstpolluted.org*, 2016

Citarum River pollution can be minimized with the cooperation between the various parties. Based on a journal written by Sam'un Jaja Prog in 2009 suggested that the management of the river is a common concern among organizations, both government sector, society, and private. Therefore, the Citarum River pollution must be completed by stakeholders.

Based on West Java Governor Regulation No. 78 Year 2015 About the Citarum Movement Clean, Healthy, Beautiful, and Sustainable (Bestari), there are several support programs to minimize pollution of the Citarum River. Several of these programs are as follows.

Table 1.
Supporter Program for Sustainable
Citarum Movement

No.	Programs
1.	Sekolah Adiwiyata
2.	Desa Berbudaya Lingkungan (Ecovillage)
3.	Sekolah Berbudaya Lingkungan
4.	Eco-Pondok Pesantren (Eco-Pontren)
5.	Sekolah Hijau (Green School)
6.	Kantor atau Bangunan Berbudaya Lingkungan (Eco-Office)

Source: *Article 1 of West Java Governor Regulation No. 78 Year 2015 concerning the Citarum Clean, Healthy, Beautiful, and Sustainable Movement*

In this paper the authors only focus about the Ecovillage Program. This is because the Ecovillage Program is related to participatory development planning and accordance with the focus of

research in this paper. Ecovillage Program is an activity that a community-based, motivated by environmental pollution caused by the community. Therefore, this program aims to change the mindset and behavior of the community to care for the environment. It was realized with the participation of the public, especially the village as the smallest sphere through deliberations conducted independently. People are required to look for potential and environmental problems in the village and then made a plan of action to solve the problems of the rural environment.

Leading sector in the implementation of the program Ecovillage is the Environmental Management Agency of West Java Province Division III specializing in Natural Resources Conservation and Disaster Mitigation. While the funds used in the implementation of the program Ecovillage amounted to 120 billion rupiah per year from the state budget and the budget of West Java Province 2016 (Jabarprov.go.id, 2016). Ecovillage Program has been implemented in 120 villages in 2015 which Ecovillage region can be seen in the following figure.

Based on the data in the table can be seen progress on the implementation of the Program Ecovillage. Based on these data is also the underlying authors to chose the locus. Locus selected research is motivated by the Sukamaju village with participatory development planning process that has run compared to six other villages.

Although it has several advantages in the implementation of the Ecovillage Program at Sukamaju Village, but based on research there are some drawbacks, especially in participatory development planning process through Ecovillage Program. Those problems include the following:

1. The process of participatory development planning through Ecovillage Program not run optimally. That is because there are not standar of implementation and time are minimal.
2. Relating with the problems that first caused the results of the action plan is not fully in accordance with the needs of the community. This is compounded by the ability of the actors who lack the knowl-

Figure 3.
Ecovillage Map 2015



Source: Ecovillage News, 2015

Based on the data, there are only seven villagers who had progress in the Ecovillage Program. It is based on the acquisition of accomplishment Ecovillage Awards. This can be seen in the following table.

Table 2.
Recipients of Ecovillage Village Awards 2015

Village	Sub Districts	Awards
Sukamaju	Cimaung	2nd Category of Village Head 2nd Category of Ecovillage Group
Mekarwangi	Ibun	1st Category of Village Head
Buahbatu	Bojongsoang	3rd Category of Village Head
Mekarsari	Ciparay	1st Category of Fasilitator
Cimaung	Cimaung	1st Category of Ecovillage Group
Tarumajaya	Kertasari	2nd Category of Fasilitator
Cikalong	Cimaung	3rd Category of Fasilitator

Source: Ecovillage News, 2015

edge about participatory development planning process and Ecovillage Program. The cause is the lack of technical guidance to the actors. While technical assistance is only done with the facilitator and local facilitators.

3. The lack of funds and the distribution of funds any activities that are less efficient. So that the cost of supporting the planning process does not exist, such as the purchase of cartons, ATK, and others.
4. There are limitations of time in the planning process, starting from the identification of the potential and problems until the resulting action plan. The planning process is only done about two months. In addition, inaccuracies in the timing of the deliberations conducted routinely every Wednesday morning. Whereas the majority of actors who should be involved as farmers and teachers so that the execution of deliberation is little to be present.

So based on the observation and study, the authors are keen to discuss the Planning Process Participatory Development Program Through Ecovillage Village Sukamaju Cimaung District of Bandung regency. In addition, it is expected that its implementation in the future, both in the same village and other villages can run effectively and efficiently.

METHODOLOGY

Method

In this research, using qualitative methods. As stated by Flick that "Qualitative research is of specific relevance to the study of social relations" (in Flick, 2014: 6). Qualitative methods used by the authors because wanted to examine about participatory development planning process with case study Ecovillage Program. While the research design used by the writer is descriptive for only one variable being studied. The purpose of the descriptive is "a qualitative design aimed to describe, summarize a variety of conditions, situation or phenomenon, the social reality, in the community that became the object of research, and aims to attract that reality to surface as a trait, character, nature, models, sign or picture of the situation, about particular phenomena" (Bungin, 2007: 68). Furthermore, research sites studied were Sukamaju Village, Cimaung Sub Districts of Bandung District.

Data Collection Technique

Data descriptive qualitative research as "qualitative research data is the data that is presented in the form of words (particularly the words of participants) or pictures instead of numbers" (Creswell, 2014: 293). Therefore, the authors in this study using data collection techniques include:

1. Literature

Retrieving data sourced from books, e-books, journals, and other documents related to the participatory development planning process and Ecovillage Program.

2. Field Research

Done by direct observation to the object of research. The data and information collected in the following manner:

a. Observation

Retrieval of data or information with direct observation of the object under study. The observation is made through passive observation because the author is not directly involved in Ecovillage Program. Survey methods used to observe and identify the condition of the actors of Ecovillage Program.

b. Interview

In this study, the authors conducted in-depth interviews. As noted that "in-depth interviews are optimal for collecting the data on individuals' personal histories, perspective, and experience, particularly when sensitive topics are being ex-

plored" (Mack et al, 2005: 2). In-depth interviews, the author uses tools such as recorder, interview, and field notes in writing the essence of any interview.

Deciding Informant

The informant is a person who has the capacity related to the phenomenon under investigation for an interview. As noted that "the informant is a person who is used to provide information about the circumstances of the research" (Moleong, 2007: 132). Informants in this study were selected based on consideration, that have relevance and be targeted, either individually or in groups at Ecovillage Program.

The informants were selected through random sampling method with purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Informants were selected in this study were 16 informants. For purposive technique done to the informants, namely, Head of Division III Conservation of Natural Resources and Disaster Mitigation, Environmental Management Agency of West Java Province, Staff (Technical Field) Sector III Conservation of Natural Resources and Disaster Mitigation, Environmental Management Agency of West Java Province, Village Facilitator of Sukamaju, Local Companion of Sukamaju Village, Head of Sukamaju Village, Rural Development Section Head of Sukamaju Village, Head of Sukamaju Ecovillage Group, Representative of Hamlet Chief of Sukamaju Village, Representative Chairman of Rukun Warga of Sukamaju Village, Representative Head of Public Figure of Sukamaju Village, Representatives of Youth People/Youth Village Community of Sukamaju Village, Representatives of Family Welfare Mover Community of Sukamaju Village. For snowball sampling technique done to the informants were Representatives Community of Sukamaju Village.

Data Analysis Technique

As noted that "data analysis is a continuous process that requires continuous reflection on the data, asking questions analytically, and write short notes throughout the study" (Creswell, 2014: 274). In the data analysis, the authors did not use the model standard, but the author combines analytical models of Mack and Miles & Huberman, namely mentranskrip of data, data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion/verification (Mack, 2005; Miles & Huberman, 1994: 429).

Testing Data Credibility

The credibility of the data is done for data and research generated can be valid, accurate, and reliable. While the technical validity of the data in this study is done through triangulation. As stated by Moleong that triangulation can be achieved through the following ways:

1. Comparing the observed data with data from interviews.
2. Compare what people are saying in public what he said personally.
3. Compare what the people are saying about the situ-

ation of research in what he says all the time.

4. Comparing the situation and perspective of someone with different opinions and views of people like ordinary people, people whose secondary or higher education, people are, the government.
5. Comparing the results of interviews with the contents of the documents related. (Moleong, 2009: 331)

The stages of triangulation that will be conducted by the author, namely:

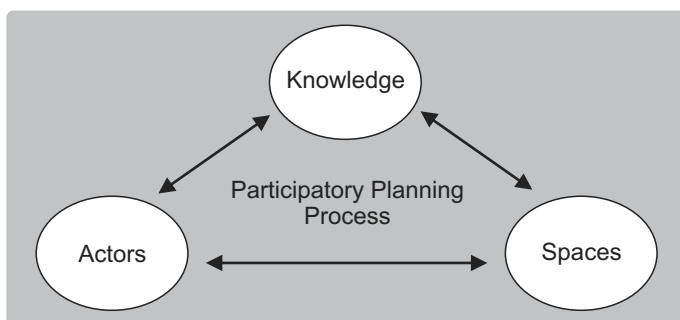
1. Comparing data from observations with data from in-depth interviews with informants from various sources or informants;
2. Comparing data from observations with the contents of a document related;
3. Comparing the results of interviews with the results of other interviews with various sources related to the issue or topic.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Based on the result and discussion on this paper relating to the theory, author is using the theory from Rosemary McGee cited in the IDS and IPGI¹ (2002: 13). The theory used in accordance with the focus of the research discussed in this paper, ie participatory development planning process with a case study on Ecovillage Program. McGee explains that "the framework suggests that to understand the dynamics of participatory planning processes, practitioners can begin by appreciating that a participatory planning process is the interplay of the elements of 'knowledge', 'actors', and 'spaces' (in IDS and IPGI, 2012: 14).

As for the theory of participatory development planning process used in this study is to analyze the theory of Rosemary McGee in IDS and IPGI (2002). As has been explained previously that the participatory development planning process there are three things that interplay, namely knowledge, actors, and space. It can be described as follows.

Figure 4.
Three Factors Related to The Participatory
Development Planning Process



Source : McGee in IDS dan IPGI, 2002 : 13

Based on these images can be explained that there are three things that affect participatory development planning process. This can be explained as follows.

1. Actor.

There are many parties involved in the participatory development planning process, including central government, local government, civil society organizations (NGOs), private sector, academia, donors, until the scope of small communities. Each of the actors involved in participatory development planning process in accordance with the culture, expertise, and background. In addition, differences in status affecting the interests of each so that will also affect the results of the planning.

2. Knowledge.

There are several types of knowledge that influence in participatory development planning process. First, the knowledge that relate directly to the information (the main content) planning, formal knowledge (such as statistical data, academic disciplines, and technical knowledge). In addition, there are also informal knowledge that communities as a source of information based on their experience (felt need). Second, know-how about the rules or procedures of the planning process.

3. Spaces.

The circumstances that take place will affect the outcome of the agreement made. So the discussion can be seen on the results of decisions made fair or not. In addition, everyone can be seen on his involvement in the issuing of ideas and opinions. So that might arise is the domination of a class in the resulting decision.

Based on this theory, will be analyzed on the participatory development planning process through Ecovillage Program in Rural Sukamaju based on research and interviews. Based on the interview to the Head of Division III KSDA Disaster Mitigation and Environmental Management Agency (BPLHD) West Java Province revealed that Ecovillage Program is a program of village cultured environment where the community was included in it as long as these people are involved so that there are significant changes the recovery of environmental pollution. Therefore, society as a major actor in the planning process to solve the problems environment.

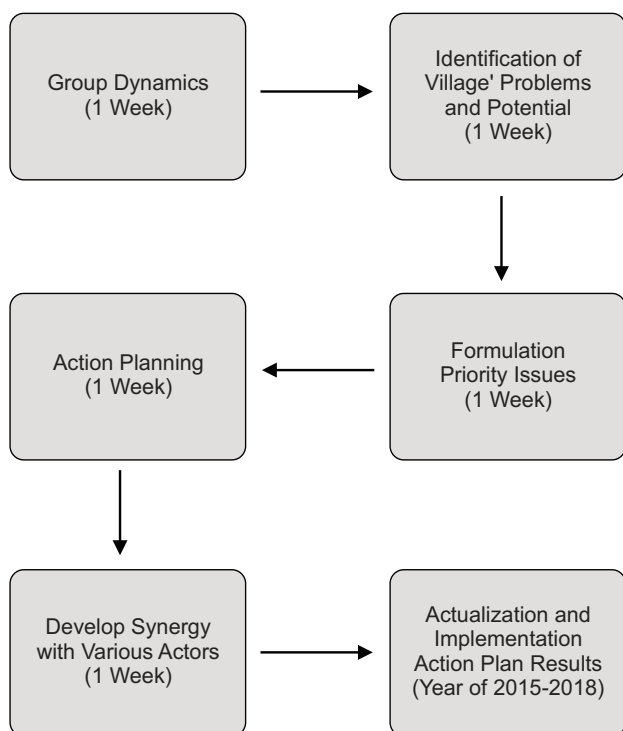
There are 120 villages were applied Ecovillage Program, includes three segments. Segment 1 in 2014 as many as 55 villages Ecovillage located in Citarum Hulu 0-20 KM. Segment 2 in 2015 as many as 33 villages located in 0-20 KM PANGALENGAN. Later in the third segment of a total of 27 villages located at 20-40 KM solokan Orange-Baleendah including 5 villages in Cimanggung Cinulang. While technically used in the planning process is the Participatory Rural Appraisal. The stages are as follows.

Furthermore, the results of the action plan based on the flow of the participatory planning at the village Sukamaju incorporated into the program in Musrenbang village.

¹ Institute of Development Studies (IDS) and The Indonesian Partnership for Local Governance Initiatives (IPGI)

Figure 5.

Flow of Participatory Planning Program Ecovillage 2015



Source: Ecovillage Program Data, 2015

Although the program has been implemented Ecovillage bottom-up approach, but there is still a shortage, especially in accordance with the locus studied, the Sukamaju Village. Therefore, in this paper will be discussed in depth about participatory development planning process through Ecovillage program is based on the theory used.

1. Actors.

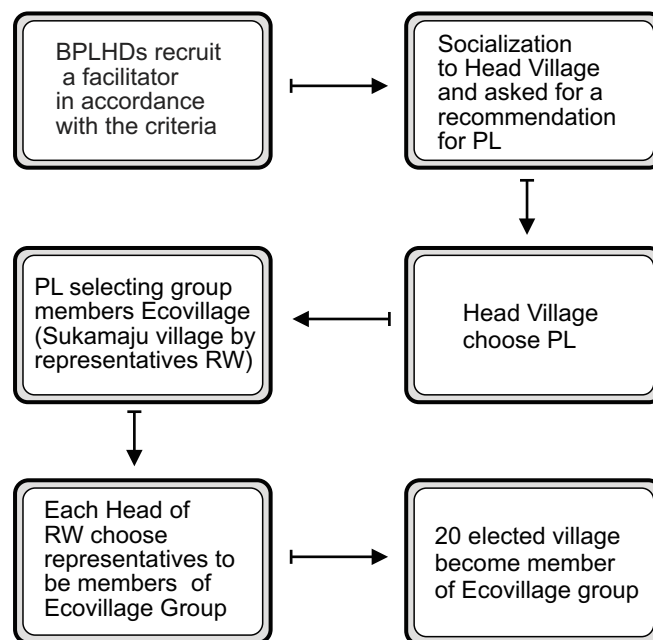
There are several actors involved in the planning process through Ecovillage Program. These actors are as follows:

- The local government, the Environmental Management Agency (BPLHD) West Java Province, Division III Natural Resources Conservation and Mitigation to depute staff of III to follow the planning process and transmit 1 facilitator (based on selection) for monitoring and planning process between BPLHDs with village government;
- Civil Society Organizations (NGO), in the village of Sukamaju no NGO involved in the planning process;
- Private sector, in the village of Sukamaju no actors from the private sector who are involved in the planning process;
- Academia and donor agencies have not been involved in the planning process Sukamaju village, although there are many institutions in West Java province, for example, Padjadjaran University;
- Community of Sukamaju Village, engaged through the election of members Ecovillage Group. The Ecovillage Group which then became Sukamaju vil-

lage community representatives in the planning process. Once selected, issued Decree Number: 141.1 / 011 / Kep.Des / Gov / 2015 Concerning Determination Board Ecovillage Sukamaju village, District Cimaung, Bandung regency. However, there are shortcomings in the election of members of Ecovillage Group, the election is not transparent and there are no clear criteria for members of the election. It resulted in the planning process does not reach all the villagers Sukamaju and important actors of society, such as village chiefs did not participate when the head of the village became a public figure in the village Sukamaju. The stages in the formation of Ecovillage Group in Sukamaju village can be seen as follows:

Figure 6.

Group Formation Process of Ecovillage at Village Sukamaju 2015



Source: Ecovillage Program Data, 2015

Based on the results of interviews with local companion (PL) of Sukamaju village associated with this chart there is the gap between the chart with reality. At the election of members Ecovillage Group, there are representatives that accumulate in the RW, RW includes 02 numbered 4, totaling 3 RW 05 and RW 06 totaling 3. So based on the observation that there are some RW writer who has no representative in the group Ecovillage, include RW 08 and 10. This results in the unequal distribution of data on the potential and problems of the village used as material analysis to produce an action plan.

In addition, based on the results of interviews with representatives of the Village Head of RW Sukamaju that none of the criteria used in selecting the members of the Ecovillage. Evidenced by the observation of the author, it turns out the election of members Ecovillage group, from the public institutions activity in the village and some are based on the proximity factor. Based on this, the authors analyzed that it is the representation of each group RW for

Ecovillage in Sukamaju village is uneven and the motivation and ability of group members Ecovillage Sukamaju village also vary. In addition, a representative from each RW can not all be representing their respective RW. And electing the members of Ecovillage Group was based on direct appointment.

Furthermore, the establishment of Ecovillage Group provides a positive and negative impact on the planning process. Its positive impact is the cost efficiency, time, and place for the planning process is only done by village representatives. However, the negative impact is important actors can not get involved because it has been delegated authority through the Ecovillage Group. In fact, because the election is not transparent member Ecovillage Group led to the ability and motivation Ecovillage Group members were diverse and is not in accordance with the purpose of Ecovillage Program.

Due actors involved only BPLHDs as local government, the facilitator as representatives BPLHDs, local facilitators were chosen as representatives of village government and community representatives Sukamaju village through Ecovillage Program, without involving the essential elements that NGO, academia, and the private sector so that the planning process is only carried out in the scope of Sukamaju village.

2. Knowledge

The lack of the ability of actors involved in participatory development planning process through Ecovillage Program. Actors are primarily community as the main actors in the planning process. The lack of such knowledge, either from the process of group dynamics until the implementation of the action plan. It is closely related to the election of members Ecovillage Group that is based on direct appointment without being seen by its ability to represent and knowledge of the potential and problems at Sukamaju Village. Similarly compounded by the absence of technical assistance provided to members Ecovillage Group. Technical guidance is only given to the facilitator and local companion Ecovillage Sukamaju village in the planning process so that there is domination by them. In addition, lack of socialization about the Ecovillage program that is based on interviews to people Sukamaju village, they do not understand about the Ecovillage Program.

The knowledge factor is very important for the outcome of the planning process included Budget of the Village and the Village RKP so hopefully results in accordance with the needs of the community and the impact on rural communities. Based on the interview that about 70% of the Ecovillage Group does not have an understanding of participatory development planning process and Ecovillage Program. In other words, in every deliberation, they tend to 'just come' without understanding its essence. It has an impact on the Group Ecovillage members are active to give idea for only 30% of the number of members.

The lack of knowledge possessed by actors led to the outcome of the planning process is not in accordance with that required by the community. It was also supported by the dominance of the local government, namely BPLHDs

as the leading sector in the Ecovillage Program. In fact, decision-making is done by voting instead of consensus.

When linked with the theory of participation, community participation in participatory development planning process through Ecovillage is based on incentive and included in the participation levels (Arstein theory), namely placation. That is the ladder of participation included into placation (penentraman) in which communication has been going well and there have been negotiations between the public and the government, but the decision-making process is still determined by the authority. That is, if there are no incentives provided by BPLHDs, did not rule Ecovillage program will not last long. Next on the ladder of participation Arstein, categorized the degree of participation mark (degree of tokenism), the participation has been heard and society have argued, but they do not have the ability to get a guarantee that their views will be considered by decision-makers.

Table 3.
Potential and Problem Results of
Sukamaju Village 2015

Object Study	Potentials	Problems	Causes of
Land	Greening Green Open Space	Wasteland	Lack of public awareness to manage land Lack of the attitudes and behavior of people who love the environment
Forest	Greening Green Open Space	Erosion	Illegal Logging Changing the land use
Household Waste	Trash with Economic Value	Waste Pollution at River	Lack of public awareness Lack of facilities

Source : Ecovillage Data of Sukamaju Village, 2015

Analysis associated with Arstein theory adapted to reality on the ground that the public can participate, but the decision to be considered by decision-makers. Haal can be seen in the following data (table 3).

Table 4.
Priority of Environmental Problems at
Sukamaju Village 2015

No	Problem's Priority
1	Waste Processing a. 3R program (Reduce, Reuse, Recycle) b. TRASH BANK
2	Land Use a. KRPL
3	Road Park
4	Socialization of Development and Skills

Source : Ecovillage Data of Sukamaju Village, 2015

Based on the data in the table can be seen that the environmental problems are greatest in Sukamaju village, especially the critical land. However, there is a gap between

the priority of the data and problem occurs. This can be seen as follows (table 4).

Based on data regarding the priority issues that is a top priority as reference material to create an action plan. Based on interviews Facilitator Ecovillage Sukamaju village, said that the priority of the issue based on the ability of society and proposals of BPLHDs from the main objectives Ecovillage Program, which minimizes Citarum River pollution. Can be analyzed that the plus side is the pollution of waste into the river by the community is reduced. However, the action plan is made not in accordance with the public urgensitas Sukamaju village so the villagers Sukamaju majority did not know and are not indifferent to the results of the action plan.

3. Spaces

There are several things to note in the spaces factors, namely funds, place, and time. First, the problem of funding. There is inefficiency of funds in the planning process. Based on data from fund details Ecovillage program planning process about 55% of the funds used for the consumption of the actors involved in any planning process. This resulted in a lack of funds used for the implementation of the planning process, such as the purchase of stationery and so on that support in the planning process. This can be seen in the following table.

Table 5.
Details of Participatory Development Planning Through Ecovillage Program at Sukamaju Village 2015

Description	Amount of Funds (Rp)
Consumption	1.200.000
Ecovillage Group Members' Commission	600.000
Transportation Costs	400.000
Total	2.200.000

Source : Author Interviews, 2016

Based on the data table can be seen that the biggest cost in any planning process is the cost of consumption of the actors involved. So inefficient of funds.

Furthermore, based on interviews with the facilitator, socialization and planning process is fast because the funds were minimal. Moreover, the process of identifying the potential and problems of the village did not do in each RW that the reasons is far and the lack of fees. Due actors rely on funds provided to the planning process so there is no sense of 'swadaya' from the public in the planning process.

Second, the problem spot. Place of execution in the planning process carried out at RT or RW which is close to the Village Office. In other words, RT and RW distant and difficult access are often unable to attend the planning process. Moreover, the process of identifying the potential and problems are not implemented to RT and RW far from the gathering place on any planning process by reason of

distances.

Third, the problem of time. The timing of the planning process is not in accordance with the ability of the stakeholders that should be involved. That is because the timing of the planning process is Wednesday morning. In fact, the majority of people Sukamaju village are farmers and work every day from morning until evening. In addition, the village government, such as village heads and section construction can not be present in the planning process because kesibukkannya in village administration.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research found that although the Ecovillage Program has used a bottom-up approach, but there are still shortcomings. This can be seen from the factors that influence participatory development planning process, including actors, knowledge, and spaces.

At actors, there are actors who are not involved in the planning process, the village government, academia, NGOs, and the private sector. In addition, the actors involved, especially on the part of the villagers Sukamaju can not represent every RW her. It relates to the knowledge factor and the lack of socialization and technical guidance so that people who are involved just pay attention to the planning process, but does not have the power to define the decision. In addition, the dominance of the local government in this regard BPLHDs still strong. So that the public participation program is only 'label' and based on incentives. In other words, if the government has not provided funds for activities Ecovillage program, then the program will stop and unsustainable. So that planning results in the form of an action plan tend to be incompatible with the needs of society. In the spaces factors also influence the planning process. It is seen from the ineffectiveness timing and inefficient use of funds.

Based on this, the authors in this paper as an academic suggestion is to give some suggestions for participatory development planning process through Ecovillage program, both in the village and other villages Sukamaju can implement optimal. While the practical advice is as follows.

1. The need for a through dissemination to the public Sukamaju village so that people can understand on participatory development planning process through Ecovillage Program at Sukamaju village so that they can voluntarily participate because it already knows the benefits Ecovillage Program for the village. In fact, not only the people participating Sukamaju village, but the other actors who also have influence in the Ecovillage Program;
2. The technical guidance and priorities of the process, not the results. So that the planning process be done carefully and not short. It is intended for increasing public knowledge about the planning process through Ecovillage Program;
3. Selection of the right time so that all actors can be involved. For example, the planning process is done

on a weekend or weekdays in the evening or night. Site selection also helped influence the planning process. Instead, the planning process is done in a different place. For example, near the village administration and far from the access of the capital city

of the village. In addition, the funding aspect, there should be an accountability and expenditure list can be balanced so that the portion of the funds for the purposes of the planning process as well as for the consumption of actors involved.

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Towards Empowerment of Disadvantaged People through Community Governance in the Lack of Government's Social Welfare Service

Penyusun :

- Sudarmo
- Lestariningsih
- Suryatmojo
- Endang Martini

The Study Program of
Public Administration

Faculty of Social and
Political Science
Universitas Sebelas Maret

Email: sudarmo63@yahoo.com

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prostitution.*

Abstract

Practices of prostitution had grown in Surakarta City since 1960s. They were concentrated in Silir and they were well organized. Most prostitutes were migrants who had failed to get formal employment due to their low education; they came from the districts around the Surakarta City while most pimps were local people. By using ethnographic method, the study showed that since the city government had decided to relocate street vendors from the Monument of 1945 Struggle in Banjarsari to newly built market Notoharjo in Silir, after they made an agreement, there was a systematic ways made by the city government to remove entirely the prostitution from Surakarta City. The street vendors were willing to be relocated if the city government met their demands to remove the Silir prostitution and provide all facilities for them. The city government fulfilled all their requests but at the expense of other disadvantaged groups; pimps and prostitutes who had been operating their activities and occupying the land of Silir for over two decades were removed. Most pimps who were Solo people would not migrate to other city in spite of the prostitution closure because they did not have any other skill and capital; and they gave up to the situation resulting in deterioration of their lives. The City Government also had promised to improve the social welfare service of the pimps by providing parcels of land for them but it was difficult to be materialized because of bureaucratic obstacles and financial incapacity of the potential recipients. The city government also promised to provide amount of money for the former prostitutes who were mostly non-Solo people but it was not the case. Although all former prostitutes and pimps had made negotiation to the Solo Mayor to have the parcels of land and some other financial compensation, their demands were not accommodated. All former prostitutes were totally evicted from Silir and they were forced to go back to their hometown. Both former pimps and prostitutes were vulnerable and become disadvantaged group because they could not to be self-sufficiency anymore while no social welfare services by the city government was provided for them. In

the absence of the city government's social welfare services to the former pimps who were unemployed and did not have any certain income to keep their survival, a family of the Silir neighborhood who had high attention to the problems faced by the former pimps initiated to provide a financial and technical assistance for them to start new life as home entrepreneur and stop them from practicing prostitution. Since their capacity to provide the social service was limited they created network with religion based institution and others to share resources in assisting the disadvantaged people. Finally, the former pimps who had really stop from their former sexual business could keep their survival and maintain their sustainable livelihood and improve their quality of lives but some former prostitutes went to their home town because they were getting old but others continued their previous occupation in any other strategic areas and places of Surakarta City.

INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the extent to which the city government has a commitment to provide social welfare service for the disadvantaged people mainly the former organized pimps and prostitutes who had lived and occupied the land of Silir for over two decades, and its implications for the recent community to empower them in the lack of Surakarta government responsiveness to provide social welfare service for them.

There have been many studies on issues related to prostitution and its empowerment. A study by Matthews (2005) offered a critical analysis of recent changes to the regulation of prostitution; it reviewed the developments in the policing of prostitution over the last decade and identified the emerging trends in the regulation of prostitution in the United Kingdom. A Study by Scoular and O'Neill (2007) which was conducted further based on the Matthews' work in the United Kingdom offered a critical analysis of recent changes to the regulation of prostitution in the country. The study concentrates on the shift from punishment to regulatory reactions devised to escape women from the sex market. Although this study recommended assisting women to get out from prostitution business, it did not specifically provide any prescription of how to empower the former prostitutes. Another study by Farley et al (1998) focused on current and lifetime history of physical and sexual violence. They found that violence marked the lives of the prostituted people. The study conducted in five countries of South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, USA and Zambia suggested that the harm of prostitution is not culture-bound but it is viewed as violence and human rights violation.

A study by Li (1995) focused on the relationship between the proliferation of child prostitution and the explosive growth of the sex industry in Thailand. The study found that political, economic and cultural factors internal to Thailand and external forces from foreign sex tourism have all contributed to the rising number of prostituted children. The recent study by Roces (2009) discussed how women's organizations constructed the Filipino woman as part of the feminist project of addressing prostitution as

a women's issue in the Philippines. The study found that despite the radical positions of women's activism, the eternal binary of the woman as victim, advocate or activist bothered the discourses about Filipino womanhood that feminist engagement with these dualistic categories was fraught, ambivalent and contradictory.

Another study by Bakker and Van Brakel (2012) discussed many initiatives undertaken to improve the empowerment of people with disabilities in developing countries but the study found that overview sufficient measurement tools to describe and assess the empowerment of disadvantaged people mainly people with disability suitable for use in developing countries is not available to date. A Study by Dhlamini (2015) investigated whether community development programs were able to assist in empowerment and transformation of disadvantaged women. The study found that the development of self-help projects led to poverty reduction and creation of employment in Africa.

A study by Durgunoglu, Oney and Kuscul (2003) discussed the functional adult literacy Program (FALP) developed in Turkey: it focuses on individuals who have had very little or no schooling taught by volunteer instructors. The study showed that FALP is significantly more effective than the existing programs in developing word recognition and reading comprehension but the longevity of the gains depended on the initial levels of the participants and the extent of literacy use after the course was over. This study also has a contribution to empower the adult people in general.

Empowerment is a crucial strength to achieve greater equity, and to make the poor and marginalized people able to escape from traps of poverty and inequality and play greater political, economic and cultural roles in society. Therefore, any rigorous obstacle underlying inequities in access to income, services and growth opportunities must be ended if people are to capture new opportunities (Jones, 2009). Empowerment means assisting people, individually or collectively, to acquire greater control over their lives; empowerment of disadvantaged people often means providing them with opportunities and resources to develop knowledge, skills and motivation to get positive change to

their personal situations and/or to their communities so that it provides physical, psychological and economic well-being for them (Murphy and Cauch, 2006).

There has been a general consensus saying that states are responsible for protecting all those unable to care for themselves for whatever reasons; and social welfare is a matter of right rather than of need (Kwok, 2004: 2). Social economic empowerment for the disadvantaged groups by a welfare-state regime can be initiated by providing social welfare service for them as one of the systems of transfer payments to bridge the gap between the poor and the rich and assist the powerless to sustain their lives (Warnecke and De Ruyter, 2008). According to Pakpahan (2010: 210), the welfare state is a state where the government guarantees the wellbeing of its citizens. Unfortunately not all public services could be provided by the government or the state since it has limited resource. In the lack of government public service, however, community has, to some extent, a capacity to govern and provide services which are not able to be provided by individual alone or by market and state (Bowles and Gintis, 2002).

Despite the perceptions provided by earlier theoretical, empirical, and case-study work on empowerment, the study on empowerment of former pimps/madams and prostitutes by the community since the entire removal of Silir prostitution by city government has not been studied in a systematic manner. Moreover, those earlier studies also did not specifically discuss the empowerment of disadvantaged people by the non-government institution. Thus, this study focuses on how community is able to empower the disadvantaged people by providing training and short courses for free of charge representing social welfare service for them in the lack of government facilities through creations of networks with others.

RESEARCH METHOD

The study was descriptive qualitative research, not statistical hypothesis-testing. It used an ethnographic method, involving several periods of fieldwork using participant observation, spending much time watching people, talking with them about what they were doing, thinking and saying. This approach was designed to gain an insight into the former prostitutes, former pimps/madams' viewpoints as and the way they understood their world, and included triangulation by using several approaches to people and to topics from different directions. Those approaches were selected on the basis of both purposive and snow-ball sampling. This was combined with interviews with local people of Solo who were not identified as former prostitutes, former pimps or madams, and with detailed content analyses of secondary research and local newspapers.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Since the city government had decided that all street vendors running their business in the area around the Monument of the 1945 Struggle in Banjarsarito be relocated to a newly built Notoharjo market, the city government decided to remove the organized prostitution entirely from

Silir. There was willingness amongst street vendors to be relocated to the new location if the city government had already removed the prostitution. Soon after the agreement was made, the city government had made an ultimatum that 10 July 2006 was the last day that prostitutes could live there. The pimps/madams had agreed to the Mayor's instruction as long as the city government provided a parcel of 300 square metres of land for each pimp/madam who had occupied it for more than 20 years and granted them with a formal certificate as the legalization of land ownership. However, it was not easy for them to obtain the land because they had to meet several requirements. If the current status of the land was as a city government asset then transferring it required the agreement of the local legislative Assembly. Moreover, the provision of this land for them should not break the Local Law 8/1993 on the General Plan for Urban Design of Surakarta 1993-2013.

There were another option offered by other Assembly members of the Democrat Party argued that rather than the land certification on behalf of the occupier, the city government could build more kiosks for them or employ them to manage the market assets; employ them as parking attendants and cleaning service workers as a way to empower them in the development of south Solo. The Vice Mayor had tried to meet the requests of the residents of Silir. However, an investigation by the National Land Board (BPN), the office with authority to issue the promised land ownership certificates, showed that 96 families occupied the Silir area. Some were pimps/madams, others were not. They were occupying 27,000 square metres; 15,200 private land, 10,800 of city government concession land, and 2,250 of national state land. The BPN could not provide certificates for those occupying the privately owned land. Among 63 pimps/madams living in the area, 2 had obtained a certificate and 22 had sold their land, while 16 were occupying state-owned land, 30 privately-owned land and 15 city government concession land. The BPN could only process the applications of those on national state land. Processing the applications of those on the concession land was more difficult because it required a prior agreement between the Surakarta Municipality government and the Local Assembly and the local legislators had asked the city government to delay the land provision to the applicants. The city government could not work alone because the necessary decisions could not be made without the agreement of the Assembly.

The processing of the 10 applicants who were occupying state land was given priority because their cases were relatively easy. However, the procedures were still not easy as they were supposed to be, with only two pimps, obtaining the symbolic certificate of land ownership from the BPN on 22 July 2006, after each of them had paid to this office a total of 7 million rupiah, Rp 5,301,000 for the correct acquisition cost for the land and construction, Rp 1,165,000 to the state treasury and Rp 602,000 for operational costs. The others who lived on the privately owned land and the concession land were in trouble. According to a BPN official, this was not only due to the complicated procedures required but also to their financial incapacity because the process would require between 3 and 5 million

Rupiah depending on the size of land they were applying for, and this did not include the additional fees for the state treasury and operational costs that could be as much as another Rp 2 million.

Also, the city government had broken the agreement it had made with the pimps/madams and prostitutes. They had agreed that the prostitutes would leave by 10th July 2006 but the city government officials in cooperation with police and local people had actually chased them away on 23rd June 2006, three weeks before the due date. The people came when they were sleeping (Sudarmo, 2011). Each of the prostitute only obtained Rp 50,000 [about AU\$ 7] from her pimps/madams for a transportation fee. This money was basically the prostitutes' own money which they had previously contributed to their pimps/madams because each of them had an obligation to always provide Rp 500 per visitor she served. A pimp or madam could thereby obtain Rp 2,500 per night; and the total cash before they closed had reached an estimated almost Rp 50 million (Sudarmo, 2011). The city government basically had promised to provide Rp 1 million as a financial compensation to each prostitute but this had never been materialized until the Mayor Jokowi ended his power in Solo in 2012 and was replaced by the current Mayor FX Hadi Rudyatmo.

The prostitutes were scared and under pressure. They did not have enough money to finance themselves after they were forced to leave; most were uneducated and unskilled poor people who became prostitutes to enable their families' survival. Their poverty encouraged them to borrow some money from informal creditor with high rates. It does not only undermine their life but their small property in the form of house and some household materials were at risk because the creditor can easily seize them any time. The closure of the prostitution businesses had caused the pimps/madams' life deteriorate, poor and hopeless; they lived in economic trouble because they were unemployed and they did not have certain income anymore.

Since Joko Widodo's government totally closed the Silir prostitution which has been formally closed by the former Mayor Imam Sutopo in 1998, some prostitutes now move their practices to the street in the Kelurahan of Gilingan and the surrounding area of the Tirtonadi Bus Station of Surakarta with low prices and unsafe practices (Sudarmo, 2011a). They were also working without any of the medical checks or controls by the city's Health Office which they had when they operated in Silir, in particular before 1998; so that they were susceptible to be infected by sexually transmitted diseases such as gonorrhea and HIV and to transfer these diseases to their customers. Only some of the prostitutes were still hiding in Silir in 2006 but were under pressure, not only by the city government, but also by the local people who were anti 'society disease'. Until the end of 2006, about 40 pimps/madams resigned from prostitution practices because they were getting older and did not have any access to enter the sexual sector business due to lack of capital since they fell in debt. The current situation of the former pimps/madams and prostitutes had attracted Sarjoko and his family, local residents who were the non-prostitute or pimp/madam family, to pay attention to the future of the disadvantaged people; Sarjoko and his

family wanted to change Silir stereotype as a center of Surakarta prostitution to be a center of education for public. Therefore, this family initiated to empower them by providing them material and financial assistance by their own capital but their capacity to provide aid was limited so that it was not sustainable.

Since Sarjoko and his family has limited resource, they attempted to approach the current city government asking for the right of former pimps/madams to have the parcel of land but the city government rejected it due to legal reasons. Since their lobby to the city government had failed they created network with religion based organizations in Surakarta; finally, they were able to set up a Ar-Ridho Foundation, a religion based non-profit organization working on social and poverty issues and human development and dignity. This foundation led by Sarjoko initiated to construct a center of education for community of Silir. This foundation provides kindergarten education for children of the former pimps/madams and prostitutes and offers training for the former pimps/madams and prostitutes for free of charge. The former pimps/madams and prostitutes were trained to improve their skill in reading Holly Qur'an, producing home industry, making food diversification, operating computer, servicing of beautification, marketing management of product, tailoring and any other training intended to improve their competence. They were encouraged to change their old behavior which is not allowed according to the religion rules, society norms and national laws and local laws of Surakarta 3/2006 concerning prevention of commercially sexual exploitation which states that prostitution is illegal. Since 2006, Ar-Ridho Foundation had trained them continually in entrepreneurship and marketing management and diverse courses. After that, this foundation had cooperation with private institutions such as Bank Mandiri to provide a capital of amount of 450 billion Rupiah in 2014; Dan Liris Corporation and Vinsa Mandiritama Corporation to provide 15 sewing and tailoring machines in 2013; and the Surakarta Government particularly the Office of Industry and Trading to provide short courses of producing traditional food called tempe and its diversification in 2011. After they got such trainings and helps, their competence were improved. Because of these various kinds of empowerment, they are now able to have sustainable income and being self-sufficiency.

The above discussions suggest that the removal of organized prostitution whilst the city government did not provide any compensation for the former prostitutes and pimps/madam may result in poverty and marginalization of the disadvantaged people. Marginalization implies the issue of human rights (Schaffer and Smith, 2004). However, storytelling in the field of human rights results in the extension of human justice, dignity, and freedom depends on the willingness of those addressed to hear the stories and to take responsibility for recognition of others and their claim (Schaffer and Smith, 2004). Marginalization happens because the perspectives, ideology, culture, interests and preferences of the powerful group dominating those of the weak group. Both society-at-large and government sometimes may be involved in the process of marginalization through its policy and actions (Suparno, Ismunandar,

and Rochimah, 2005).

It is also clear that community may create an important contribution to governance through empowerment of the poor, the powerless or the disadvantaged group as market contracts and government's social welfare services were lacking (Bowles and Gintis, 2002). The Silir community who concerned the problems faced by the former pimps/madams and prostitutes was able to work effectively in resolving the problems because it was able to develop itself as autonomous institution which did not rely on the city government. Hence, its independent enables it to work collectively with other institutions on equal basis in empowering the disadvantaged people (Pratchett, 2004: 366) and develop their network to form bridging and linking social capital (Putnam, 2000, Pretty. 2003; Sanginga, Kamugisha and Martin, 2007) so that they were able to share resources in providing expected social service for them. The provision of social welfare service in the form of 'competence' improvement for the disadvantaged pimps/madams by the Ridho Foundation led by Sarjoko is a kind of empowerment (Brookings and Bolton, 2000; Menon and Hartmann, 2002). The Ridho Foundation has, to some extent, implemented

ideas of capability approach (Nussabaum, 2000), focusing on the realized functionings (what a former pimps/madams are actually able to do in the real normal world and on the capability set of alternative she or he has (her and his real opportunities).

CONCLUSIONS

Empowerment of disadvantaged people may be conducted by a community but it will be effective if it includes creation of networks with any other institutions including private institutions and government (city government) so that they can share resources in providing social welfare service for them. Moreover, by sharing resources through creation of networks, empowerment can be sustainable.

Since the empowerment of former pimps/madams and prostitutes of Silir can be assessed as successful collective action coordinated by Ar-Ridho Foundation, this experience may be applied in any other location of Indonesia which has similar situation to that of Silir prostitution closure.

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BLC as One of E-Governance for Community Development

Penyusun :

• **Putu Aditya
Ferdian
Ariawantara**

University of Airlangga

Faculty of Social and
Political Science
Department of
Administration Science

Jl. Dharmawangsa Dalam Selatan,
Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia

phone: +6231-5034015

fax: +6231-5012442

institutional email :

info@fisip.unair.ac.id

personal email:

ilyapsasternak@gmail.com

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Abstract

The role of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is important in the era of information age in the 21st century. ICT is a technology used for data processing, including obtaining, compiling, storing, and manipulating data in various ways to produce something of quality, namely information that can be used to take a decision in any sector. ICT was also used by the governmental activities to facilitate access to services to citizens, speed up the administrative process, transform and integrate the government policies to citizens.

Surabaya as a pioneer city in the procurement of goods and services through e-procurement (use Information and Communication Technology) continued to increase its capacity in e-governance. After touching the side of the government and bureaucracy, e-governance is also used to increase the capacity of the community to use computers and the internet in accordance with their respective fields. A breakthrough that made Surabaya the Surabaya City Government is called BLC (Broadband Learning Centre).

The BLC has been built as a learning resource center to create awareness of the importance of information technology and as an effort to accelerate towards Surabaya Cyber City, and it supports e-government in Surabaya. Broadband Learning Center is a center of learning resources and media or means of support to study the world of the internet and to learn about the world of technology and information, for example typing by using a computer, creating presentations, designing drawings, and more training with computer media useful for the community in Surabaya.

Along with the BLC as one of the efforts to realize the Surabaya Multi Media City (SMMC), this study will be conducted to determine the framework and implementation of e-governance in BLC case study in the Surabaya. The approach used by the researchers is the qualitative one and the type of research is descriptive, because this study will aim to determine the framework within the BLC as the implemen-

tation of e-governance, which is carried out by the government of Surabaya and to describe the role the BLC in the community development of Surabaya to be able to use the computer and internet.

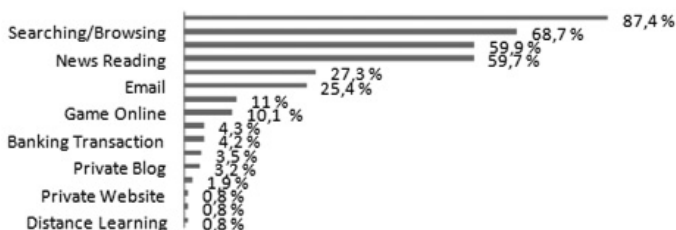
INTRODUCTION

The development of information technology in the globalization era is rapidly fast. It is characterized by the loss of "boundaries" between countries, even at the village that allows a network with other villages in other countries. In forming a good network for the needs of business, education, and other social services, people are required to be able to access and utilize the information and communication technologies for the optimum level. The information and communication technology (ICT) that enables the boundaries of an area of the country is computer and internet.

In addition to the development of computer technology, globalization is characterized by the massive use of the internet. Internet connectivity has shifted, from the tertiary needs now it becomes the secondary needs. A research conducted by APJII (Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia) brings a resume of the landscape technology users in 2014, which suggests the data that 84 percent of respondents access the internet everyday (for office activities, education, buying and selling, or surfing in the network), and most respondents access the internet between 3 to 5 hours per day. These studies also raised some related issues that made the Indonesian people use the internet. Most of as many as 87.4% used the internet for social media, then as many as 68.7% used it to find information / background reading / browsing, and in third place as many as 59.9% used it to send a message, while the smallest percentage as many as 0.8% is for distance learning media.

Figure 1.

Performed When Accessing Internet



Source : APJII, 2014

Computers and the internet should be used optimally to improve the capacity of individual communities. Globalization has influence in the new paradigm shift in public administration, electronic governance (e-governance) – it encourages all public services to be transparent and accountable with the use of ICT. So for people who want

to access the public services - or this could be done in the future e-voting for the election - could be encouraged to use computers and access the internet.

Surabaya as a pioneer in the procurement of goods and services through e-procurement, continued to increase its capacity in e-governance. After touching the side of the government bureaucracy, e-governance is also used to increase the capacity of the community to use computers and the internet in accordance with their respective fields. A breakthrough that made Surabaya the Surabaya City Government is called BLC (Broadband Learning Centre). The background of BLC Development is as an attempt to realize Surabaya Multi Media City (SMMC), Surabaya City Government through the Communications and Information Agency of Surabaya in cooperation with PT Telkom 5th Regional Division East Java by building a learning tool telematics located in several places in Surabaya, in an effort to realize the objectives nationwide, especially in the context of educating the nation and encouraging innovations in the education system. Major changes taking place in the global environment requires the government to develop an education system that is more open, more flexible, more qualified and can be accessed by anyone who needs regardless of age, gender, location, socio-economic conditions, as well as experience of previous education. BLC is expected to make Surabaya residents easily access ICT tools provided.

RESEARCH QUESTION

BLC is an effort from the Surabaya City Government to realize the Surabaya Multi Media City (SMMC) also to improve the ability of community in Surabaya in using computers and use the internet for positive activities and to support their respective professions. The researchers propose the following research question: how can BLC as one part of e-governance program Surabaya City Government realize the community development in Surabaya ?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. Electronic Government

Electronic Government (e-Government) is the generic term for a website or internet-based services from government agencies both national and local, in the American context the state and federal. In the e-government, the government used ICT and particularly the internet to

support the government operations, to engage the citizens and to provide the government services. The interaction of government and citizen occurs in the form of information, filing service, or making a payment and a host of other activities via the world wide web (www) (Sharma and Gupta, 2003, Sharma 2004, Sharma 2006).

Another definition of e-government is proposed by the World Bank, which refers to the use of information technology by the government agencies (such as wide area networks, internet, and mobile computing) that has the ability to transform relations with citizens, businesses, and other agencies from the government. This technology can serve different purposes: a better transformation of government services to the public, government interaction enhanced relationship with business and industry sectors, community empowerment through access to information, or more efficient government management. The resulting benefits can reduce corruption, increase transparency, improve better convenience, reach revenue growth and / or cost reduction.

While the definition of e-government by various sources can vary depending on the interest that will be lifted, there is a common theme. E-government involves the use of information technology, and especially the internet, to improve government services to citizens, businesses, and other government agencies. E-government allows citizens to interact and receive services from the local government or local twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

Most governments have taken the initiative to offer the online services. However, for the true potential of e-government, the government needs to restructure and transform the ongoing and long process. According to Gartner, e-government involves the use of ICT to support the government operations and to provide the government services (Fraga, 2002, in Shailendra C. Jain Palvia and Sushil S. Sharma (2007: 1)). However, e-government goes even further and aims to fundamentally change the production process in which the public services are produced and delivered, thus changing the entire range of public bodies relations with citizens, businesses and governments (Leitner, 2003, in Shailendra C. Jain Palvia and Sushil S. Sharma (2007: 1))

B. Electronic Governance

E-governance means 'electronic government' that use information and communication technology (ICT) in the various levels of government and the public sector and outside of government agencies, for the purpose of administration (Bedi, Singh and Srivastava, 2001; Holmes 2001; Okot-Uma, 2000, in Shailendra C. Jain Palvia and Sushil S. Sharma (2007: 1)). According to Keohane and Nye (2000) in C. Shailendra Jain Palvia and Sushil S. Sharma (2007: 2), governance describes a process and institutions, both formal and informal, is supportive and secures the collective activities of the group. Government is part of the act with authority and creates formal obligations. Governance is inevitably carried out exclusively by the government, private companies, associations of companies, non-governmental organizations (NGO's), NGO associations are involved in it, often in association with govern-

ment agencies, to create a government; sometimes without government authority. Clearly, this definition indicates that e-governance is not limited to the public sector alone, but can also be done in the business sector (Good Corporate Governance) and the body of the NGO's.

Another definition of e-governance, according to UNESCO, is the use of information and communication technologies in the public sector in order to improve the information services and to encourage the public participation in the decision-making process and to make the government more accountable, transparent and effective. E-governance involves a new style of leadership, new ways to debate and decide policy and investment, new ways to access education, new ways of listening to citizens and new ways to organize and provide information and services. E-governance is generally regarded as the broader concept of e-government, because it can bring changes in the way citizens relate to governments and to each other. E-governance can bring a new concept of citizenship, both in terms of the needs and responsibilities of citizens. The goal is to engage, enable and empower the citizens.

Some authors and researchers argue that e-government is only a subset of e-governance. According to them, e-governance is a broader concept than the e-government and includes the use of ICT by governments and civil society to encourage greater participation of citizens in governance political institutions, for example, the use of internet by the politician actors and political parties to get data from their constituents quickly and efficiently, or the publication by civil society organizations that are usually contrary to the interests of the government (Howard, 2001 and Bannister and Walsh, 2002 in Shailendra C. Jain Palvia and Sushil S. Sharma (2007: 3)). It is clear that there is a confusion in explaining about e-government and e-governance. It can be simplified as the focus is on the e-government constituencies and stakeholders outside in the organization, whether it is the government or the public sector, region, state, or national level, international. On the other hand, e-governance focuses on administration and management in an organization, whether it is public or private, large or small. Based on this classification, e-governance focuses on internal utilization of information and Internet technology to manage the resources of the organization, namely capital, human, material, machinery - and manage policies and procedures (both for the public sector or the private sector).

C. Community Development

Ethymologically "community" comes from *communitat* rooted in *comunete* or common. Community has two terms, (Taliziduhu, 1990: 49): a). Community as a social group that reside in a specific location, and have the same culture and history; b). Community as a residential unit is the smallest, in which there is a small city (town), and on top of a small town there is a large town or city. Community development is a process in which community members come together to take collective action and develop solutions to their problems. It involves engaging communities in policy making, planning, program development and

evaluation. It is about government providing the opportunity for community initiatives in a 'bottom up' approach. Community development combines the idea of "community" with "development". We discussed earlier the concept of community – a group of people with a shared identity. Hence, community development relies on interaction between people and joint action, rather than individual activity – what some sociologists call "collective agency" (Flora and Flora, 1993)

Community development is a process that supports individual in communities to come together to be critical and take action on issues that are important to them. But community development activity is not a neutral or apolitical. It can be used in a variety of ways to advance the agenda of the state, the market, the third sector or various types of importance citizens themselves while no form of the 'right' for the development of society, the best examples of community development are those that explicitly made the development of society as a learning process for democracy. Community development is also needed to deal with certain strategic issues and challenges in globalization, and to prepare people who had been helpless to be competitive in terms of economic, social, and political.

Building flexible communities that can support themselves is a crucial factor in today's modern and global society where governments deal with increasingly complex social issues (some depend on economic issue) cooperating with communities, private sectors, or NGO's, as well as the need for modern facilities and services. Facilitating a community development process and a partnership approach with individual, communities, community organisations, local or world wide businesses and all levels of government can help governments meet these challenges. Cooperation and collaboration are valuable tools in achieving shared objectives and outcomes. Community development needs to: a) allow for the identification of community needs; b) support the voicing of community concerns; c) facilitate flexibility, autonomy and local control of community groups (may based on Local Government Act); and d) enable people to 'do things' at a local level to improve their communities.

Community development is a process that leads to not only more jobs, income and infrastructure, but also communities that are able to better manage the change. Community members can better mobilise the existing skills, reframe problems, work cooperatively and use community assets in new ways. Principles of self-help and participation guide a flexible process. While there is no recipe, major steps are identifying existing concerns, engagement, self-examination, exploration, prioritization, planning and action.

The key elements or ingredients for successful community development are: a). Slight level of dissatisfaction – motivation and enthusiasm based on a feeling that " things could be better"; b). Belief and expectation of self-help – a belief in the future of the community and a conviction realizing that the future depends on the action of community members; c). Local Leadership – committed formal and informal leaders that can enthuse and support others, foster " shared leadership", accept criticism, and act as local

champions for community development efforts; d). Collaboration – a strong culture of cooperation and participation; e). Willingness to experiment and take advantage of opportunities; f). Cultivate Allies – actively seek, inform, and network with outside supporters; g). Work hard and stay with the process, especially when there is a setback; h). Focus on specific actions without losing sight of the "weird and wonderful".

D. Broadband Learning Centre

Broadband Learning Centre (BLC) or can be connoted Direct Smart Learning, is a program from Surabaya City Government in providing ICT learning facilities that can be used by the communities of Surabaya for free as the acceleration in realizing Surabaya Multi Media City (SMMC). The more the Surabaya's people know of the existence and benefits BLC, the sooner the "clueless in ICT" will be. BLC has a vision to "Building and facilitating information and communication technology training for residents of the city of Surabaya in order to improve the quality of knowledge of information technology and communications". BLC has the following mission: a). Providing the infrastructure of information and communication technology in the district / sub-district, flats, and city parks; b). Providing and improving the quality of teachers; c). Maintaining the continuity of training activities for the benefit of local people in Surabaya.

METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative method in which the main focus is to obtain an understanding of the actions and the meaning of social phenomena in the light of that research subjects BLC as one of e-governance for community development. The approach used by the researchers is a qualitative approach and the type of research is descriptive, because this research will aim to determine the framework within BLC as the implementation of e-governance that is carried out by the Surabaya City Government and to describe the role of BLC in the community development in Surabaya to be able to use the computer and internet. Purposively the research will be conducted in Surabaya, because the Surabaya City Government through the Department of Information and Communications has BLC Program.

RESEARCH RESULT

A. Implementation of BLC

BLC has been built as a learning resource center to create awareness of the importance of information technology and as an effort to accelerate towards Surabaya Cyber City, and supports e-governance in the city of Surabaya. Broadband Learning Center is a center of learning resources and media or means of support to study the world of the internet and to learn about the world of technology and information, for example typing by using a computer, creating

presentations, designing, drawing, and more training with computer media useful for the society. The target group in the BLC covers all professions, among others are: a) Public, both individuals and groups; b) Students; c) Business communities; d) Community Self-Sufficiency Group; e) Social Group.

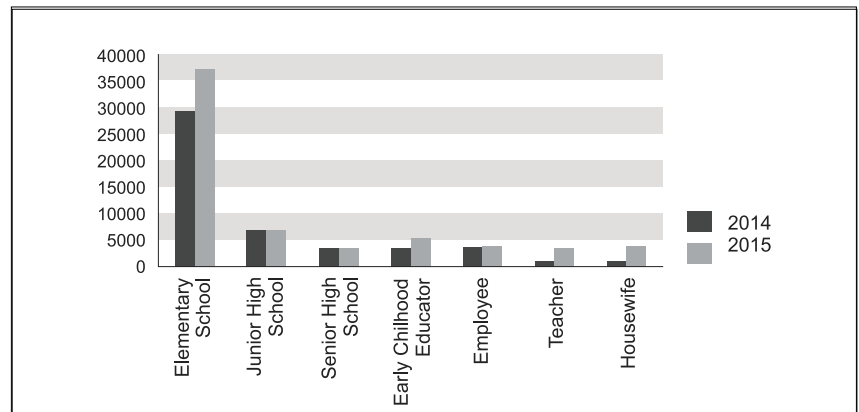
PT. Telkom in cooperation with the Surabaya City Government through the Department of Information and Communications build BLC with the aim that the citizens of Surabaya can increase their knowledge in the field of information technology. This is one of the efforts to accelerate towards Surabaya Cyber City. Cyber city is one of the concepts of the modern city, which is now based on the information technology that has been widely applied in a number of major cities around the world. This is a logical consequence of the increasing development of technology and the needs of people who want to access information and communicate easily, cheaply and quickly. The purpose of the BLC to realize Surabaya Multi Media City (SMMC) is to build a learning tool telematics located in several places in Surabaya to achieve the national goals, especially in the context of educating the nation and encouraging innovations in the education system. The purpose of SMMC includes: a) Broadband Surabaya Government and Education (B - GovEd); b) Forum for the selective use of ICT training for elementary school, junior high, and senior high school in the city of Surabaya; c) Citizen Broadband for SME's; d) Free Hot Spot Service and Community; e) Service for information and telematics instructional media that have been agreed; f) Increase the affordability of access to BLC in society.

From figure 2 it can be seen that the number of visitors of BLC from 2014 (as many as 29,119 visitors) to 2015 (36,853 visitors) are still dominated by the students who are still in the elementary school. It can also be analyzed that curiosity and learning new things is more prevalent in the primary school age. At the second place, the people who sit on the junior high school are as many as 6,981 visitors in 2014 and 6,874 visitors in 2015. The visitor data is a regular visitor here, not the people who utilize the intensive training of BLC. Visitors can just simply browse in the internet to find specific information, open and send emails, open social media, or make use of office applications to meet their needs only.

If you look at figure 3, it shows the data of participants who followed intensive training in the BLC. Just as the visitor data, which is an active participant of training, is dominated by students who sit at the elementary school. From 2014 to 2015 the increase in the interest of elementary school students is significant, i.e an increase of 6,274 participants. This is because the training in the BLC is free of charge and people can get a certificate

if passing the exam on a certain matter. Most of the next trainees are early childhood educators so that the number of participants increased by 1,876 participants from 2014 to 2015. The early childhood educators are required not only to run the early childhood, but also to increase the understanding, skills, and insights on simple office administration with the use of ICT, the search for information on early childhood education, infant health, social media, or by utilizing the online store.

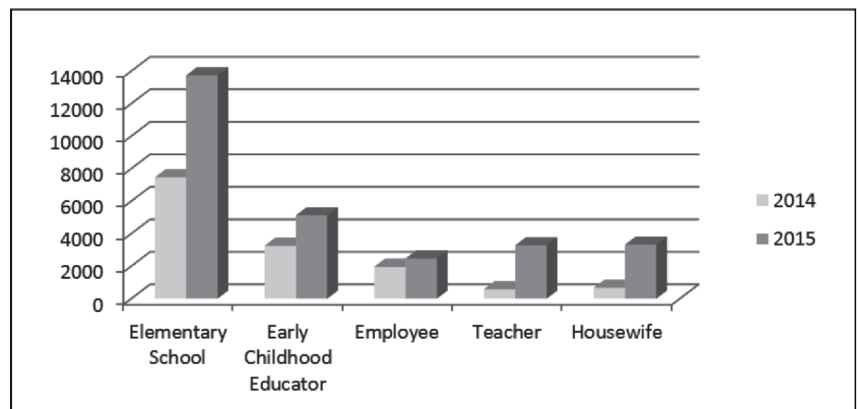
Figure 2.
 Seven Highest of BLC Visitor Data



Source : secondary data from BLC Surabaya City

Figure 3 also shows the participants who attended the training at BLC whose numbers increasing are participants having a profession as teachers (up some 2,705 participants from 2014 to 2015). Teachers utilize the BLC apart as upgrading their capabilities in the field of use of the office software that use open source. Too many of those want to get certified if passing at one of the training materials. The next group experiencing a significant increase is the group of housewives (rising number of 2,659 participants from 2014 to 2015).

Figure 3.
 Data of participants who attend training BLC



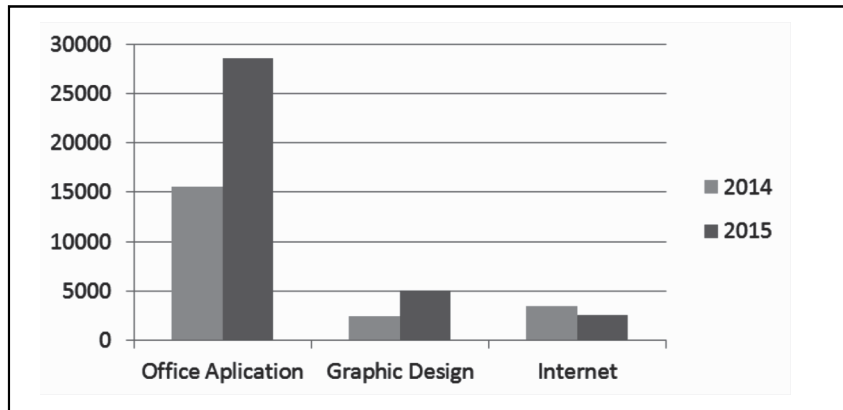
Source : secondary data from BLC Surabaya City

Most participants are interested in the material of office applications (typing, making presentations, counting in the table, and so on). This is because for example, taking a sample at the elementary school students, they need training of office applications to create a task in writing or papers on your computer or laptop. So the early childhood

educator users also need training of office applications to work on administrative reporting early childhood educator activities.

Modules of material having a high level of participant interest is an office application, which can be seen in figure 4 above that shows a significant increase of the number

Figure 4.
Number of Participants Based on Modules



Source : secondary data from BLC Surabaya City

of participants per module. This proves that there are still many people who need training of office applications, and its use can be directly practiced within the scope of their daily work.

B. BLC as One of E-Governance for Community Development

BLC is a program initiated by the Surabaya City Government with the aim of realizing the Surabaya Multi Media City. By providing training on information and communication technology for free at 28 locations spread in Surabaya, Surabaya City Government hopes that the community can utilize the BLC for enhancing their ability to use the computer applications according to their field of work and its interests. Therefore, the BLC is one of the media in the realization of e-governance in Surabaya. Why is that? Because the classification of e-governance focuses on the internal utilization of information and internet technology to manage the resources of the organization, capital, human, material, machinery - and manage policies and procedures (both for the public sector or the private sector).

Utilization here is to take advantage of anything to the optimum, which is using the information and communication technology to increase the community development in the field of information technology - the use of computers and their applications - for a variety of things. Resources managed on BLC are divided into: a) physical resources (computers and infrastructure); b) budgeting in Surabaya City Government; c) human resources (trainees as the subject of the BLC, and trainers are on the material); d) SOP regarding the procedures of training and certification for participants who graduate in each subject.

Community development in the researcher perspective should not be only begun from the participation of the

community together to act collectively and develop solutions to their problems and then it should become a program that is run by a massive and structured by the community itself, but it can happen when the government or industrial sector has control over the economic and social development within a community. The government could

provide an opportunity for community initiatives in a "bottom up" approach, but the government provides programs that will encourage and enhance the capabilities of communities through community development in a "top down" approach instead. Based on that approach, the case study of BLC in Surabaya uses "top down approach", where the Surabaya City Government through the Department of Information and Communications in cooperation with PT. Telkom create a training program on the use of information communication and technology with the computer and internet media.

The scope of the activity, effective community development should be: a) a long-term endeavor; b) well planned; c) inclusive

and equitable; d) holistic and integrated into the bigger picture; e) initiated and supported by community members, or benefit to the community, and f) grounded in experience that leads to best practice. In the context of BLC as community development in Surabaya, that effectiveness can be assessed through indicators mentioned earlier.

Long-Term Endeavor

BLC program initiated by the government of Surabaya is a long-term effort in realizing the Surabaya Multi Media City, where the hope is that the citizens in Surabaya has been able to take advantage of information and communication technologies through the medium of the computer and the internet to support their daily activities, simplify administration, improve the economic life of the electronic transactions, facilitate the transformation of knowledge into transparency of information, and build social networks among the public at large.

Well Planned

BLC is a well-planned program. The success of this plan is shown by the increasing public interest in utilizing the existing training at BLC annually. Increased public interest is because the training courses offered by BLC are quite diverse, ranging from office applications, graphic design, and internet application for surfing, social media, or business. People who need the training was also facilitated by the presence of 28 locations BLC (planned Surabaya will have 34 locations BLC), and BLC training is free and if passing they will receive a certificate that can be used to add a reference in applying for a job.

Inclusive and Equitable

The training program in BLC is accessible to any residents of Surabaya whether public for groups and individ-

uals, students, businesses, social groups, as well as from a wide range of diverse professions. Training in BLC also does not discriminate between personnel training. The trainers who provide material will also teach the participants arriving in the instructional level expected, so that when the tests is done to obtain a certificate the participants will be truly proficient in understanding the material they select.

Holistic and Integrated into the Bigger Picture

BLC is one part of the e-governance related to other e-governance program in particular organized by the Surabaya City Government to realize Surabaya Multi Media City. Great expectations to be achieved in BLC not only increase the knowledge and understanding of information and communication technology but also enhance the development of society as a whole whether in economic, social, and education, as well as accelerate the achievement of e-governance that is integrated in the community life.

Initiated and Supported by Community Members, or Benefit to the Community

BLC program acquires the support of the citizens in Surabaya, as shown by the increase of visitors to the location of the BLC and participants who attend the training themselves. The support of the community gets a response from Surabaya City Government to build new locations of 34 BLC in each district. The perceived benefits of the public with BLC are increasing their knowledge of information and communication technologies, the use of office applications on a computer, using a graphic design application, and use the internet for various purposes. As well as other computer training, people who follow a full training and pass the exam will receive a certificate as a proof of their skill to master one of the applications on the computer.

Grounded in Experience That Leads to Best Practice

Surabaya is a city that is committed in realizing e-government and e-governance both in public administration, population administration, public procurement, and program-oriented utilization of ICT for the welfare of the community. BLC gets many positive responses, especially the researchers saw that BLC itself is a breakthrough in the field of ICT training aimed at the public, with a free of cost, and the public can get a certificate as a proof of their ability to master a particular computer application program. With the experience that has been done by the Surabaya City Government in terms of community development with BLC program, hopefully this can be a good example and can be developed in other areas in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

BLC program is one manifestation of the e-governance that was initiated by the Department of Information and Communications of Surabaya City Government with the aim of achieving Surabaya Multi Media City. BLC is also used for community development using a "top down" approach, since this program was initiated by the Department of Information and Communication Surabaya City Government in which the subject is the people of Surabaya. As one community development, BLC program has been effective because it begins the process of planning to implementation in the field to get support from the community with increased participation of trainees in BLC. In addition to the increased interest of trainees coming from various levels of education and profession, BLC will also continue to be developed by the city officials whether in terms of number of locations, the quality of the device, to the diversity of a given computer application materials for the participants.

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Good University Governance, Is It Necessary?

Penyusun :

• **Rhini Fatmasari**

Economic Education Study
Program FKIP

Universitas Terbuka

riens@ecampus.ut.ac.id

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Abstract

Good Corporate Governance (GCG) is one idea initiated to develop the quality of Higher Education in the future. Although GCG was originally applied to the implementation of corporate governance practices of public companies, in the context of Economic Education, higher education can be regarded as one of the places for human resource investment. National Committee on Corporate Governance (KNKCG) in 2001 issued five basic principles of good corporate governance, including 1) Transparency; 2) Accountability; 3) Responsibility; 4) independency; and 5) Fairness. The most important principle that must be maintained in the application of good university governance is the awareness towards the goal of higher education as an educational institution. Therefore, it can be ascertained whether the university has implemented a good university governance by the extent to which universities are able to address the dynamics that occur in its implementation without betraying the noble values of education and adopting the mandate of the people, nations and countries that shelter them.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the Education World, especially Higher Education in Indonesia needs to straighten up in many aspects. Data Times Higher Education (THE) is The List of The Best Higher Education in the world 2016 showing that the position of Higher Education Indonesia is still low. In Asia, 19 Higher Educations enter into the Big 20; of those 19 Higher Education, five are in Hongkong. The highest rank of Asia was achieved by National University of Singapore, which ranked 24. In the long list THE, there are two Higher Education from Indonesia – University of Indonesia and Institute Technology Bandung – which is outside 800 of the world (www.bbc.com/indonesia). Although it will

not be used as the main criterion, paying close attention to those figures causes serious concerned to the education quality, mainly in Indonesia. One of the issues raised in higher education reform is the important needs of a system that comprehensive and measurable. Then, it is important to give full autonomy for the Higher Education in developing their potencies in better ways.

Good Corporate Governance is one of the ways out of this complicated education problems. This issue appears within the demand towards the quality improvement and the winning of global competition as well as the open information. This demand is not only addressed to the government institution, but is also addressed to the education institution. Muchlis R Luddin (20120) explained some

strategies of education policy that have an objective to win the market competition as follows; (1) Policies that direct to new commitments and understanding of education practices, education must be led to develop and increase the public welfare; (2) Education policies must be focused on the increased awareness of quality in implementing education practices; (3) The involvement of the qualified resources in education; and (4) The availability of infrastructures that are complete and up-to-date. Policy Strategy in organizing the education proposed in current situation is providing more autonomy and processing good governance with more democratic ways to the Education Institution. This process is stated as convincing ways to give room for the academic freedom, which support the independent education implementation, as well as research.

OECD and World Bank synonymized good governance with the implementation of solid and responsible developing management. UNDP defined good governance as a synergic and constructive relationship among the nations, private sector and societies. UNDP stated characteristics of good governance as follows: : Participation, Rule of Law, Transparency, Responsiveness, Consensus Orientation, Equity, Effectiveness and Efficiency, Accountability, and Strategic Vision (LAN dan BPKP, 2000). World Bank defined Corporate Governance as “exercise of political power to manage a nation’s affair” (Davis & Keating, 2000). Then they added the normative characteristic of good governance, such as: “... an efficient public service, an independent judicial system and legal framework to enforce contracts; the accountable administration of public funds; an independent public auditor, responsible to a representative legislature; respect for law and human rights at all levels of government; a pluralistic institutional structure; and free press”.

According to Indonesia Institute for Corporate Governance (ICG, 2001), good corporate governance refers to: “*The process and structured used to direct characteristic of go (stakeholders)* (Cadbury, 1999). This understanding also meant that its mechanism supports the company in enforcing law and regulation, explaining the relationship among company’s stakeholder. Concept of good corporate governance nowadays has been much discussed in the implementation of public company.

Education sector, especially Higher Education can be classified as one of public sectors since Education is commonly developed by both government and private sector, not for profit orientation, but for providing service to the society and infrastructures of higher education for developing the intellectual life of The Nation. Its primary motivation is providing higher education for Senior High School graduates who will continue their education to higher education (Indrajit, 2006). The implementation of Good Corporate Governance in Higher Education will create good management and also reflect good working performance; furthermore, it can be responsible to the stakeholders (Warsoni, 2009)

The fundamental difference between business and education world is the Vision and Culture of the Organization. In education world, organization has clear vision and mission with high level of idealism, such as providing

support in treating people as human being. Educational Culture consists of strong human values. This humanism process is often free from vision for gaining profit as much as possible. Therefore, application of modern management in business world should be adjusted with educational culture. Implementation of modern management in business world needs to be evaluated more deeply and prudent implementation. But it is acknowledged that modern management theories strengthen the importance of interaction in executing other educational activities (Tilaar, 2012)

2. GOOD GOVERNANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The importance of good corporate governance implementation in Higher Education is often questioned in the future. Since as a concept, good corporate governance is considered to be able to bridge Higher Education to have a better quality by having an availability of the principles and its practices. On the other side, there are quite significant differences among education world, government world and company. The paradigm change towards higher education with good governance is implemented along with the needs to adapt in the world changes. In this change process, higher education remains focusing on the traditional mission in teaching, learning and research. Since today, the society asks much more from universities in terms of their contribution. Thus, universities should switch from creating adaptation knowledge to produce generative knowledge, and to become learning organizations (Bratianu, 2011; Bratianu, 2014; Senge, 1999).

That means for governance to become a strategic driving force of the university and a powerful integrator able to transform efficiently the potential intellectual capital into operational intellectual capital (Bratianu, 2014; Bratianu, 2015). Organizing a higher education institution cannot be equated with organizing state or company. There are certain corridors related to honor values, both academic and social values that should be maintained. Meanwhile, others in its implementation should be put as a means or tools to achieve those main objectives (www.unhas.ac.id/rhiza)

In simple ways, good university governance can be explained as an implementation of basic principles of “good governance” in the system and governance process in higher education institution. Its implementation is preceded by some adjustment based on values that must be highly respected in conducting education. Based on the aims of education development, the academic knowledge, and the whole human development, Tilaar (2012) stated that there are differences and similarities between higher education institution and business world. The similarity is on the efficiency and effectiveness. Both are willing to have a qualified output. While, the difference is on the vision and mission, where in higher education, the actors are professor, the students and science/knowledge is as an object commodity.

In practice, the implementation of university governance is only applied in corporation model or with the collegium model if there is the authentic university autonomy like in the case of Oxford and Cambridge universities. Although there are connection between university gover-

nance and higher education rank system, the data described that world-class universities have applied the model governance. Looking up in the Academic Ranking of the World Universities for 2015 released recently we find that in the top 100 universities, 51 are from USA, nine from UK, four from Canada, four from Australia, and four from Japan, which means that 72 universities are from countries where there is a corporate governance model (Bratianu and Pinzaru, 2015). Other researcher, Fielden (2008) also showed that the well-applied university needed to be supported by giving full autonomy to higher education

Considering from the side of educational economics, educational process is admitted as a human resource investment that will finally give big contribution to develop social and economic life. Therefore, efficiency and competition are needed in teaching implementation. Educational process also makes sacrifices in terms of cost that is directly related to the components for getting a qualified education that can be achieved. Educational cost consists of routine and development financing (modal). Educational world recognizes direct costs (school, students and or student's family, for example additional cost for rooms, writing boards, clothes, transportation, books, stationeries, sport equipment et cetera) and indirect costs (for example, opportunity cost). These costs are basis for consideration of the rising discourse of good university governance in running a higher education institution, as stated by Aristo A.D (2005). As a concept, the educational economic is a kind of industry, then good governance concept is able and precise to be implemented in Higher Education. But in the implementation, it should be concerned on priorities of vision, mission and the objective of higher education.

3. IMPLEMENTATION OF GOOD UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE

National Committee Policy of Corporate Governance (KNKCG) in 2001 released five basic principles of good corporate governance. These principles includes 1) Transparency, which is an openness in decision making process and presenting material and relevant information, 2) Accountability, which is a clarity in function, structure, system and responsibilities to have an effective organization management, 3) Responsibility, which is to organize good corporation's principle that is suitable with the valid constitution rules, and 5) Fairness, which is the fair and equal treatment in fulfilling the Rights of stakeholders based on commitment and also legislation applicable. The essential good corporate governance is to increase performance institution through supervision and management accountabilities towards stakeholders based on framework of rules and regulation supplies.

Fundamental principles of good governance are very relevant to be implemented in good university governance since basically the conducting of higher university institution must fulfill principles of participation, consensus orientation, accountabilities, transparencies, responsiveness, effectiveness and efficient, equity and inclusiveness and honor law enforcement. These managerial principles are implemented to support the functions and the objective of

higher education. Function in education, teaching and research reflects the roles of higher education in the society.

Principles of good governance that can be used as reference according to the Acts No. 9 of 2009 regard to a legal educational entity, as follows:

1. *Autonomy*, authority and capability in implementing activities independently in both academic and non-academic.
2. *Accountability*, which is an ability and commitment to be responsible in all activities conducted by educational legal entity to stakeholders according to the applicable legislation.
3. *Transparency*, which is the openness and ability to providing relevant and time accurate information according to applicable legislation and report standard to stakeholders.
4. *Quality assurance*, which is the systemic activities in serving the formal education that meet or beyond standard of National Education and also increasing the quality of sustainable education.
5. *Service Excellence*, which is the orientation and commitment to give the best formal educational service for satisfying the students as primary stakeholders.
6. *Equitable access*, which is giving formal education service to prospective and existing students, regardless religion, race, ethnic, gender, social and economy status.
7. *Diversity*, which is the sensitivity and accommodative attitude to differences of interest based on the religion, race, ethnic and culture specificities.
8. *Sustainability*, which is a capability in providing formal educational service to the students continuously with implementing management pattern that is capable in ensuring sustainable services.
9. *Participation and state responsibility*, which is the involvement of stakeholders in conducting the formal education to increase the quality of intellectual life of Nation that is the responsibility of the State,

Participants in implementing University Governance are the representative of stakeholders, educators, non-academic auditors, and educational management (Warsono, et al. 2009). A series of evaluation is needed to monitor the implementation of Good University Governance in Higher Education. One of the models developed is rating model and it can be a benchmark for evaluating the Good University Governance. Those rating results are expected to be the evaluation standard and can be the inputs for improvement in higher education concerned. Rating Model that is developed by Gajah Mada University is based on two perspectives, Governance University Principles and participants.

Research of Bratianu and Pinzaru (2015) explained that the implementation of Good Governance in Higher Education is the strategic driven force that supports the higher education's vision mission achievement. This research explained that there are some difference applications of good governance in some countries. Good University gov-

ernance in US and UK has been granted full autonomy to both academic and management and also the financing of the higher education institution as long as they can be justified. Therefore, the government influence is relatively weak and vice versa, the authority of executive manager and Board of higher education are very strong, while in Japan in 2004 the national universities have been granted full autonomy and had to implement new corporate governance models. The same implementation also existed in Australia. In Europe, Oxford University and Cambridge University are benefited by a long and powerful tradition in successful governance models. In the continental Europe, the new legislation introduced in Austria in 2002 was granted full autonomy to universities, and new forms of governing bodies have been designed to approach the corporate model. Trends toward more autonomy and university governance models are able to develop the strategic thinking manifested in Italy.

In Higher Education, awareness of demands to the implementation of good corporate governance actually should be developed, not only as an obligation but more for the needs. Since basically the policy of good corporate governance in higher education is aimed to make every stakeholders organize higher education with full understanding and run the all functions and roles according to the authority and responsibility, so it can be a system that strengthen the competitive advantage (alimuhi.staf.ipdn.a.id). Along with an increasing tight competitive situation, higher education must do continuous effort to realize the good university governance as an inherent system with the dynamic of higher education. Implementation of good corporate governance values in university can be internalized to be a culture.

The important principles must be held in implementing the good university governance that the higher education organization cannot be equated with the organization of the country or corporation. Therefore, whether the measure of higher education has implemented good university governance or not, to which extent the higher education is able to response the dynamic happened without betraying the noble values and mandate carried from society, nation

and country that shelter. Tilaar (2012) stated that corporate culture was known in business world, while university culture was known in university world. Viewing the differences, prudent attitude should be needed in adopting management principles according to the educational institution. If adopted the management principles for granted from the business world to be applied to the educational world may cause the loss and failure in achieving vision and mission of higher education, otherwise, if higher education closes itself from the positive principles of business world may cause inefficiency and ineffectiveness in organizing the investment in large size in knowledge based society in 21st century. Based on the analysis that higher education in the future must be able to compete in the future, both in the process or output and also the magnitude of demands for performance improvement of higher education, good corporate governance can be applied in all aspects of all levels in the higher education institution. The implementation of good corporate governance can also be used as one of the drivers for achieving the higher education strategic aims.

4. CLOSING

Globalization and transparent demands and the openness put the education world in crucial situation; so many governments have concern towards the educational practices and the strategy development to put education in the frame of economy development. The objectives is to respond adequately of 1) the developing of educational market competition 2) the developing demands of education world of privatization 3) the rumble competitive individualism in educational practices and 4) the developing of a strategy that puts education in a locomotive economy development (Muchlis, 2012). Afterwards, this puts the education in an industry (in view of educational economy).

This point of view will then generate demands of good university governance as applied in business world. It is just application of good governance in educational world that needs prudence since there are fundamental philosophical differences between business world and educational world.

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Shifting from e-Government to e-Governance? Case Study of Surabaya Single Window System as a Tool to Improve the Public Service in Surabaya

Penyusun :

• **Rindri
Andewi Gati**

(1) • **Sulikah
Asmorowati**

Department of Public
Administration

Airlangga University
Surabaya, Indonesia

¹ Corresponding author
Tel.: +62-821-436-27133.

E-mail address:
rindriandewigati@gmail.com.

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Abstract

Life of the community, the nation, and the country experienced a rapid development in line with the development in science and technology. These developments also influence the development of the study of public administration, especially in the paradigm and scope of disciplines. Implementation of Public Administration has developed in such a way that starts at the time of the introduction of the concept of nation-state until now. Public administration is undergoing a paradigm shift, starting from the classical model that developed in 1887 until the late 1980s, continued into the concept of New Public Management (NPM), which developed during the 1980s to 1990s, to the concept of Good Governance that have developed since the mid-1990s. Until now, public administration still continues to experience renewal and addition of theory.

Over the development of time, the world is experiencing globalization in which the countries of the world seemed borderless. Globalization makes countries expect the occurrence of an interaction between the people to be more effective and efficient. The process of interaction between the countries was expected to become more intense when the government began opening up to globalization. Information and Communication Technology has brought a new paradigm to the Public Administration studies. The outlook changes for a better way to manage information, express opinions, make decisions, and act on the basis of the information held. The public sector, in this case is running the Information and Communication Technology in the process of governance as e-Government and e-Governance.

The electronic concept affects the bureaucracy to use it in case to improve its performance as a public servant. Surabaya as the second largest city after Jakarta has become one of the economic centres in Indonesia. Surabaya is considered to have such great investment opportunities in the sectors of trade and industry. With this great investment opportunity, a lot of investment will come every year for the establishment of

business units. This potential should be supported by adequate public services. Public service is considered to be one of the attractions for a region to become an investment destination. A favourable investment climate must be supported by good public services. In this regard, then on March 14, 2013, Surabaya City Government initiated an integrated licensing system online called Surabaya Single Window (SSW).

The present paper reviews the current step taken by the Surabaya municipality by launching a licensing online system called Surabaya Single Window (SSW). The system is based on the licensing issues in Indonesia that is still beating around the bush and very expensive. The process of the permits in Indonesia is quite long and costly when compared to other Asian countries such as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Brunei Darussalam. The difficulty of permitting and red-tape bureaucracy was assessed as major problems which impact on economic and industrial growth inhibition. The complexity of bureaucratic procedures was prone to corruption in the form of illegal fees, rent seeking, and bribery. The length of the procedure that should be taken to apply for licenses at the local level is considered to be one of the chances of transactional practices. This is what makes investors think twice to invest in Indonesia. In fact, with the globalization, it is not likely that the capital will be easy to move to another country, one of them through investment and trade practices.

The paper provides explanation as follows: section 1 will provide introduction to globalization, ICT development, and its effect on public sector. Section 2 will provide brief definition of e-Government and e-Governance. Section 3 shall explain the background and implementation of ICT in the public sector in Indonesia. Section 4 explains the problems underlying the establishment of SSW online licensing system and its practice in the perspective of electronic-based government. Section 5 summarizes the conclusions of explanation about SSW system as an electronic-based government tool to improve the public service in Surabaya.

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the last decade, the world began to change and exchange of information happened quickly. With the change in global society, the public sector which has a direct contact with them has to adapt to those changes. This is because the perception and expectations of the public sector become greater. Access to information that was easier made people become more aware, the demands of society became more complex, and they expected a lot that the government is able to meet their needs. However, at the same time, the government was expected to leaner in management and budget. Rapid exchange of information was partly influenced by the development of information and communication technology (ICT). As time evolved, the world experienced the globalisation era that the countries in the world seemed borderless. Globalisation made coun-

tries expect the interaction between the community and of one another to become more effective and efficient. The processes of interaction between the countries are expected to become more intense when the government began opening up to globalization. The public sector should then have a strategy that is possible to meet the needs of both parties. Public Administration plays a critical role in the framework of public service in order to realize the objectives of the state. Public Administration, as well as other sciences, has developed from time to time. It starts from Old Public Administration (OPA) era to New Public Management (NPM) then New Public Services (NPS). NPS paradigm emphasizes accountability and transparency that accompanied the government's responsibility in the public service. A demand for government accountability is regarded as good government accountability and the purpose of an effective and efficient management bureaucracy.

In the 21st century, the concept of globalization and technology has spread to various sectors ranging from non-profit organizations, political organizations, as well as affecting activities within the community. The development of ICT also affects government agencies. As the impact of globalization, the state are dealing with the three structural challenges such as financial challenges; legitimation changes; and to face competition from other States (Finger and Pécoud, 2003). Later, the term electronic government (e-Government) appears as an initiative of the government to address organizational challenges. These challenges include improving public access to information and services through online channels; sharing data within and across organizations; improving the efficiency of business processes; and managing organizational performance (Accenture Institute, 2009). Suaedi (2010) defines the e-government as efforts to use information and communication technologies to improve the efficiency and effectiveness; transparency; and accountability of government in providing good public services.

In the transition from NPM-NPS-Good Governance, the economic crisis struck simultaneously in various countries around the world. The crisis which led to several governments fell so that the country's economy becomes increasingly worse. This crisis awakens people to take part in governance and revealed that there has been a state mismanagement all this time. Bureaucracy does not work professionally and have not been able to implement the principles of good governance such as transparency and accountability. In this era, community involvement as a citizen is actively required in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of public policy. Therefore, it needs a strategy in providing access to information, the interaction between the public and the government, especially in the context of public services, construction, and other socio-economic issues (Suaedi, 2010). In this period, the E-Government is considered not able to fulfil the principles of good governance then there emerges a new paradigm called e-governance. E-Governance is more than the provision of government websites on the internet, but rather the application of electronic tools in the interaction between the government and the public and business sector and internal operations of government. This is to facilitate and encourage democratization and good governance (Bachus, 2001; Azari and Idham, 2002).

In Indonesia, the implementation of e-government has the legal basis of the Presidential Instruction No. 3 of 2003 on National Policy and Strategy Development of E-Government. This is done in an effort to implement electronic government organization based on the context of public services. After this regulation was issued, some local governments implemented e-Government in the form of local government websites and electronic-based public services. Surabaya is one of the areas that works toward an integrated e-Government. Surabaya as the second largest city after Jakarta has become one of the economic centres in Indonesia. The city is considered to have such great investment opportunities, including in the trade and industry sectors. With this great investment opportunity, a lot of investments are coming in annually for the establishment

of business units. It must be supported by sufficient public services. The public service is considered to be one of the attractions of an area to become an investment destination. A favourable investment climate must be supported by good public services.

In this regard, then on March 14th, 2013, Surabaya City Government initiated an integrated licensing system online called Surabaya Single Window (SSW). The system is based on the licensing issues in Indonesia that is still beating around the bush and very expensive. The process of the permits in Indonesia is quite long and costly when compared to other Asian countries such as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Brunei Darussalam. The difficulty of permitting and red-tape bureaucracy was assessed as major problems which impact on economic and industrial growth inhibition. The complexity of bureaucratic procedures was prone to corruption in the form of illegal fees, rent seeking, and bribery. The length of the procedure that should be taken to apply for licenses at the local level is considered to be one of the chances of transactional practices. This is what makes investors think twice to invest in Indonesia. In fact, with the globalization, it is not likely that the capital will be easy to move to another country, one of them through investment and trade practices.

The remainder of paper process is as follows. Section 2 will provide brief definition of e-Government and e-Governance. Section 3 shall explain the background and implementation of ICT in the public sector in Indonesia. Section 4 explains the problems underlying the establishment of SSW online licensing system and its practice in the perspective of electronic-based government. Section 5 summarizes the conclusions of explanation about SSW system as an electronic-based government tool to improve the public service in Surabaya.

2. DEFINING E-GOVERNMENT AND E-GOVERNANCE

Currently, there has been a very rapid development of ICT in various states. Utilization of ICT allows various forms of services that can be operated in a particular system that is able to process the data accurately and in a high speed. It can shorten the time needed to complete a job. The relationship between the variations of technology with the organizational structure has a broad impact included into the government sector. This led to a new phenomenon called electronic government and electronic governance. The World Bank Group quoted by Indrajit (2004) defines e-government as the use by government agencies of information technologies (such as Wide Area Networks, the Internet, and mobile computing) that have the ability to transform relations with citizens, businesses, and other arms of government. The Federal Government of the United States revealed that the e-Government referred to the delivery of government information and services online via the internet or other digital media. Optionally, it can be stated that E-Government is the use of information technology and can improve the relationship between the Government and other stakeholders. According to DeBenedictis et al. (2002), e-Government can be defined as the use of

Internet-based information technology mainly to improve accountability and performance of government activities. These activities include the execution of government activities, particularly for the service; access to government information and processes; and the participation of citizens and organizations in government.

With the fundamental differences of the term governance and government, then there are some thoughts saying that e-Government and e-Governance also have different definitions. E-governance, meaning ‘electronic governance’, has evolved as an information-age model of governance that seeks to realise processes and structures for harnessing the potentialities of information and communication technologies (ICTs) at various levels of government and the public sector and beyond, for the purpose of enhancing good governance (Bedi, Singh & Srivastava, 2001; Holmes, 2001; Okot-Uma, 2000). To quote Riley (2001), “e-governance is the commitment to utilize appropriate technologies to enhance governmental relationships, both internal and external, in order to advance democratic expression, human dignity and autonomy, support economic development and encourage the fair and efficient delivery of services.” As a new concept, e-governance is often understood to have the same meaning as e-Government, Information Technology bureaucracy, and internet-worked Government. Conceptually, each of these concepts has different characteristics and focus. An incorrect understanding of the concept has led to the government's failure to define its vision resulting in ineffective use of ICT applications.

Table 1.
E-Government Characteristics and Focus

Concept	Focus
Electronic Governance (Tapscott, 1996, Grag, 2002)	Focus on the network between intergovernmental and society. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The use of information technology is intended to build, improve processes, and facilitate relationships within government organizations and inter-governmental organizations with community. There is scope between the government and society which are integrated with one another, including the internal relations between the government and external relations with parties outside of government.
Electronic Government (Karim, 1996)	Focus on Government Services The use of information technology is intended to improve the efficiency, speed, and smooth operation of government services to the public.
IT Bureaucracy (Pinchot & Pinchot, 1999)	Focus on the Structure of Bureaucracy IT bureaucracy focuses on the character of bureaucratic structures that change as a result of the Information Technology Revolution.
Internet-worked Government (Frederickson, 1999)	Focus on information technology-based organizational model as a model of organization of the digital era.

Source: Pramuka (2010)

In short, the difference in e-Government and e-Governance can be described as follows.

Table 2.
The Difference between e-Government and e-Governance

Concept	Focus
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is more restricted area associated with the development of direct (online) services to citizens, paying greater attention to such government services as e-taxes, e-education or e-health. E-governance is a concept that defines the impact of technology on governance practices, the relationship between the government and the public, NGOs and private sector entities. ICT is used for improving the efficiency and modernize public administration. Enables innovation in government. Develops direct services to citizens. Is use of internet in public sector development process. ICT conducts a wide range of interactions with citizen and business. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is a broader term comprising a range of relationships and networks in the government, related to the use and application of ICT. Involves public investment in ICT to strengthen governance process. ICT provides new and innovative communication channels that empower people and give voice to those who previously had none, while allowing them to interact via networks and networking. Allows the community and stakeholders to interact via networks and networking. Is also applicable to governance of corporations or governance of major non-profit organization. The concept of e-governance can be used as an umbrella concept combining the prospects of e-government and e-democracy.

Source: Saparniene (2013) and UNDP (undated)

3. THE USE OF ICT IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN INDONESIA

3.1. The Era Reformasi

The fall of the New Order government under the leadership of President Suharto in 1998 was followed by the lack of public trust in the public bureaucracies. For thirty-two years of authoritarian leadership, President Soeharto used public bureaucracies as an effective instrument for maintaining power. Public bureaucracy, civil and military, is placing itself as a tool for power rather than a public servant (Dwiyanto, 2008). Before entering the reform era, there had been a wave of protests and demonstrations conducted by the various components of society. These protests show the accumulated frustration of the people against public bureaucracies at the time. This occurred because during the New Order era, corruption, collusion, and nepotism widespreaded the life of public bureaucracies. This is a bad impression to the public bureaucracies.

Entering the era reformasi, the government system has experienced so many changes. There are some changes in

the political, judicial, economic, and social aspects. This transition is made to make Indonesia more democratic and free of corruption. Explained by Dwiyanto (2008), the previous public service in Indonesia hampered due to a very strong power-oriented bureaucracy. This is because of the bureaucracy and its officials put themselves as ruler. As a result, the attitude and behaviour of the bureaucracy become haphazard when delivering a public service. This makes the bureaucracy become increasingly distant from its mission to provide public services. With the public that still doubted it in terms of transparency and trust in the bureaucracy, Indonesia then took a big step with decentralization and regional autonomy. With regional autonomy and decentralization, local governments are expected to innovate in order to improve service delivery to citizens (Karippacheril, 2013).

3.2. Open Government Movement and Globalization Demand

At the UN General Assembly held in September 2011, Open Government Partnership (OGP) was launched and Indonesia became one of the leaders. OGP is a multi-government effort to advance transparency reforms in the participating countries, focusing on disclosure, innovation in citizen participation, collaboration, accountability, integrity, and technology. Its background as explained by Tauberer (2012) is:

- data is a public good;
- governments are major producers of data;
- mediators such as journalists, economists, statisticians, and technologists create value for citizens by skilfully distilling big data into digestible and actionable knowledge;
- informed citizens become empowered to make governments accountable and more efficient; and
- governments respond to calls for reform or adaptation by more informed and connected citizens.

Other practitioners on OGP focussed on transparency and service delivery issues. Simply put, OGP movement is an attempt for the government to empower other parties outside government, including seeking to resolve the problem by using the principles of entrepreneurship and empowerment of community.

In addition, global demand for transparency put the Indonesian government to change the public sector to become more adaptive in a rapidly globalizing world. It started in the period before era reformasi with the establishment of the State Administration Coordinating Board (Bakotan). Bakotan has a duty to coordinate efforts to improve the quality of state administration services through the use of information technology. Then, the official is abolished because they are not able to carry out a given task. Presidential Decree No. 30 of 1997 specifically regulates the use of ICT in Indonesia concerning the establishment of the Coordination Team Indonesian Telematics (TKTI). TKTI then arranges Policy Framework for Technology Telematics Development and Utilization which is later confirmed as the Presidential Instruction No. 6 of 2001. Furthermore,

Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 3 of 2003 on E-Government Development Strategy is issued and supported by the release of several guides derivatives such as Portal Infrastructure Usage Guide of the Government; Free Document Management Systems Electronic Government; Operator Guidance on Local Government website; and so forth. This is a reference for the implementation of e-government at central and local government.

3.3. Best Practice in Indonesia

E-Government initiatives in Indonesia have occurred long before the issuance of Presidential Instruction No. 3 of 2003. Previously, some agencies and local governments have already started using the e-Government initiative in advance. Listed first website with the domain .go.id was first registered in June 2001. During the two years up to July 2003, data increases up to 247 domains and continue to rise until number 721 in September 2004 (Wahid, 2003). Meanwhile, statistical data on Pandi.id (Internet Domain Name Management in Indonesia) recorded the whole using of domain go.id from January 2012 to September 2016 displays the comparison as follows.

Table 3 Use of go.id Domain 2012-2016

Table 3.
E-Government Characteristics and Focus

Year	Total .id Domain Used
2012	2.986
2013	3.208
2014	3.380
2015	3.575
2016 (per September)	3.739

Source: Saparniene (2013) and UNDP (undated)

When we look at the data over 4 years, the .id domain used in Indonesia is growing. However, it should be emphasized that e-Government and e-Governance is not only measured by statistics and the number of sites which continue to increase daily. E-Government applications must be supported by the interface (i.e. front office systems) and powerful information systems (i.e. back-office systems). From the practices of electronic-based government in Indonesia, some of government agencies already apply it very well. Some of them are:

- Jimbarwana Network, an initiative of the Government of Jember in implementing a virtual office and a map of district citizens related to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).
- E-Procurement initiative of the Government of East Java Province.
- Admissions Candidates for Civil Servants with CAT (Computer Assisted Test)
- Public service innovation from Surabaya City Gov-

ernment such as Media Center, e-Health, e-Musrenbang, and the online licensing system Surabaya Single Window

In general, Belt from USAID (2005) imposed several indicators that affect the implementation of e-Government and e-governance in a country.

External Conditions	Critical Success Factors	Main Barriers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adequate telecommunications infrastructure (competition in the sector) For transactions and seamless government, an adequate framework for e-transaction is required: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Safeguard privacy of end-users Security Electronic contract enforceability System for authentication of individuals and documents; electronic signatures. 	<p>Organizational</p> <p>Stakeholder involvement in the design and development Enterprise Architecture.</p> <p>Managerial</p> <p>Strong leadership; integrated data; management strategy; training in ICT, CIO, PM; risk response planning.</p> <p>Technical</p> <p>Reengineering of back offices; interoperability; increased number of access points for customers</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of leadership Absence of a Strategic Plan Political or bureaucratic resistance: fear of job losses, lack of training of government employees, potential loss of "irregular" payments Stovepipes in government while ICT should be approached in a horizontal manner No methodology for evaluating outcomes

In this paper, the next chapter will discuss the public service based on online way which is an innovation of the Surabaya City Government. This innovation was named Surabaya Single Window (SSW), an online and integrated licensing system that was launched around 2013. Since it was launched, SSW has made the Surabaya City Government win awards. There are two kinds of awards granted in 2014, namely the Asia-Pacific Future Government for Future City category. The other was from Top 9 Public Service Innovation Competition (Sinovik) by Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform (KemenPAN-RB).

4. SHIFTING FROM E-GOVERNMENT TO E-GOV-ERNANCE: SSW CASE

4.1. Ease of Doing Business in Indonesia

Investments are assessed as one of the important resources for achieving quality development in a region. Decentralization stimulates regional role for activities aiming at regional development. Investment is considered as a motivating factor in regional development. Several times lately, the regions in Indonesia are competing to attract investor attention. If the investment is supported by the regional potential, it is able to optimally utilize for the welfare of the local community. The investment will increase the demand for inputs. This increase will also have

an impact on increasing employment opportunities. Employment opportunities have an impact on the welfare of society as a consequence of the increased revenue received by the community (KPPOD, 2015).

Doing Business (IFC-World Bank) regularly conducts the ranking to countries based on the ease of business establishment. In 2016, Indonesia was ranked 109th out of 189 countries in ease of doing business. The top positions were occupied by the top three countries of Singapore, New Zealand, and Denmark. This process is based on several indicators: Starting a Business, Dealing with Construction Permits, Getting Electricity, Registering Property, Getting Credit, Protecting Minority Investors, Paying Taxes, Trading Across Borders, Enforcing Contracts, and Resolving Insolvency.

Figure 1.
Doing Business Rankings



From the figure, Indonesia was ranked 109 out of total 189 countries around the world in ease of doing business rankings. This position rose as much as 11 rankings from 2015 in which Indonesia was ranked 120. Earlier, in 2009, Indonesia was ranked 129 and climbed to 122 in 2010. According to BKPM Investment Planning Deputy, Tamba Hutapea, this is an unsatisfactory result. From the promotion of investment perspective, the top 100 is the proper position. Government policies to improve ease of doing business and investing in Indonesia cannot be separated from their potentials. Indonesia has abundant natural resources, a skilled workforce, large domestic market that continues to grow, and the government's support in improving the investment climate.

The investment climate in Indonesia is still hindered by obstacles in the licensing process. In fact, Indonesia is considered a safe country to invest among other emerging market countries. The investment will create new job opportunities and become one of the ways for the improvement of infrastructure in the area. Licensing in Indonesia is generally considered still complicated and very expensive. In general, BKPM RI, Sutrisno and Salim (2008) listed the barriers to investment in Indonesia and divided it into internal and external constraints. The internal constraints include the difficulties in acquiring land and appropriate project sites, difficulties in obtaining raw materials, lack of funding or financing, marketing difficulties, and any dispute or disagreement between the shareholders. Mean-

while, external constraints are environmental factors (national, regional, and global) that is not conducive, the lack of facilities investment by the government, legal issues, security, political stability, the existence of legislation which distorts investment activities.

Cita Wignyo Septina, LPEM-FEUI researcher, found the licensing process in Indonesia quite long. The number of procedures in Indonesia is twice from Hong Kong. Total procedure takes four times more than that required in Singapore while the funding permitting assessed 25 times larger than Brunei Darussalam (Hukumonline, 2014). The difficulty of permitting and bureaucratic rated as major problems which impact on economic and industrial growth inhibition in Indonesia. Whereas, licensing process is one way for the industry to be able to compete and face the challenges of doing business. For licensing in the local region, the Executive Director of the Regional Autonomy Implementation Monitoring Committee (KPPOD) Robert Endi Jaweng said overly complex bureaucratic procedures have the potential for corruption, both in the form of illegal fees, rent seeking, bribery or other. The length of the procedure that must be taken to manage licensing in the area is considered to be one of the opportunities for transactional practices (Sindonews, 2015). The duration of arrangements in the end leads to the potential for corruption. This is what makes investors think twice to invest in Indonesia. To overcome this, the government had issued a wide range of regulations such as *Paket Kebijakan Ekonomi*. Regulation is designed to facilitate and speed up business licensing services.

4.2. Case Study of Surabaya Single Window (SSW) System

Surabaya is the second largest city in Indonesia and the capital of East Java province. As one of the economic centres in East Java, Surabaya has great investment opportunities in the business sector. In addition to the geographical position of economic and geo-strategic, economic activity in Surabaya is supported by adequate infrastructure compared to other regions in East Java. The social and political culture in Surabaya is open-minded, egalitarian, rational, and supported by a harmonious social environment which is very conducive and supportive for economic activity. This is the advantage of the Surabaya so that they can rapidly grow as one of the largest trading centres of business activity in the eastern region of Indonesia. However, the legislation and *Paket Kebijakan Ekonomi* do not necessarily solve the problem related to the investment and ease of doing business in Surabaya. Surabaya, which became one of the pilots Cities World Bank besides Jakarta, still has problems in the field of licensing and investment facilities.

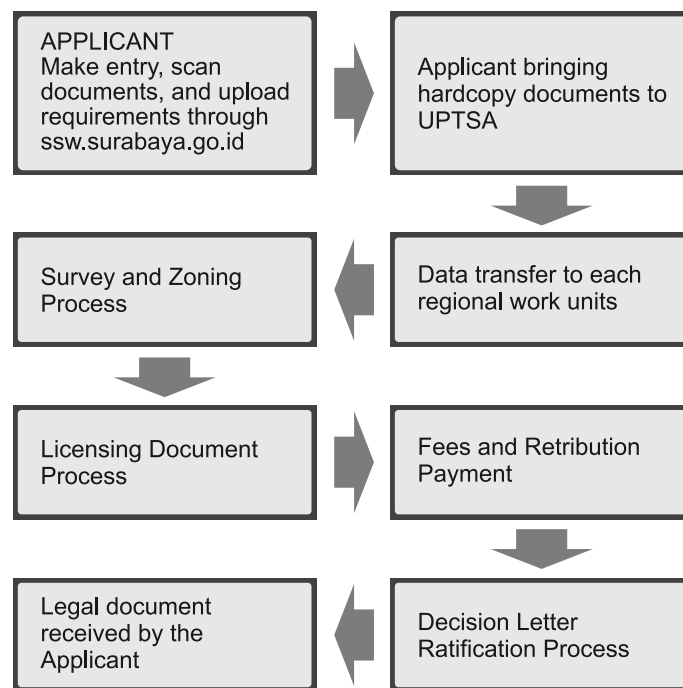
A favourable investment climate must be supported by good public services. In this regard, then on March 14th, 2013, Surabaya City Government initiated an integrated licensing system online called Surabaya Single Window (SSW). SSW is an integrated licensing service in Surabaya with Management Information System (MIS) online at some local work units and related units coordinated by

Surabaya Communications and Information Official. A good quality service is the one that runs in accordance with the standards and is able to satisfy the citizen. The purpose of public service is basically to satisfy the citizen through excellent service quality. Excellent public services can be assessed by the process and product services. Assessment of quality can be used as a measure of success of an organization within a certain time. It should be done in-depth observation to analyse the performance in the institution. To measure the electronic or online-based quality service, Parasuraman et al (2005) conceived some indicator categorized in E-S-QUAL: efficiency, fulfilment, system availability, and privacy. These indicators will be used in analysing SSW as one of the Surabaya City Government efforts to improve the licensing service.

• Efficiency

Efficiency here is intended as a quick and easy way to access and use the site or system. The site must be simple to use, structured properly, and requires a minimum of information to be inputted by the customer. In terms of time and cost efficiency, SSW has a standard time and costs which varies depending on the type of filing. With the standard time and costs, it is expected later to minimize the illegal fees from brokers during the process of licensing services. This cost information will be communicated by the system and can be found when visiting the One-Stop Service Unit (UPTSA) in Surabaya. From the research conducted, this licensing mechanism was not entirely online. It can be seen from the following workflow.

Figure 2.
SSW Licensing Process Flow



Based on observations online, this website can be accessed via ssw.surabaya.go.id with the front page as follows.

Once the home page is open, we can see several menus that allow applicants to upload a licensing request. Some

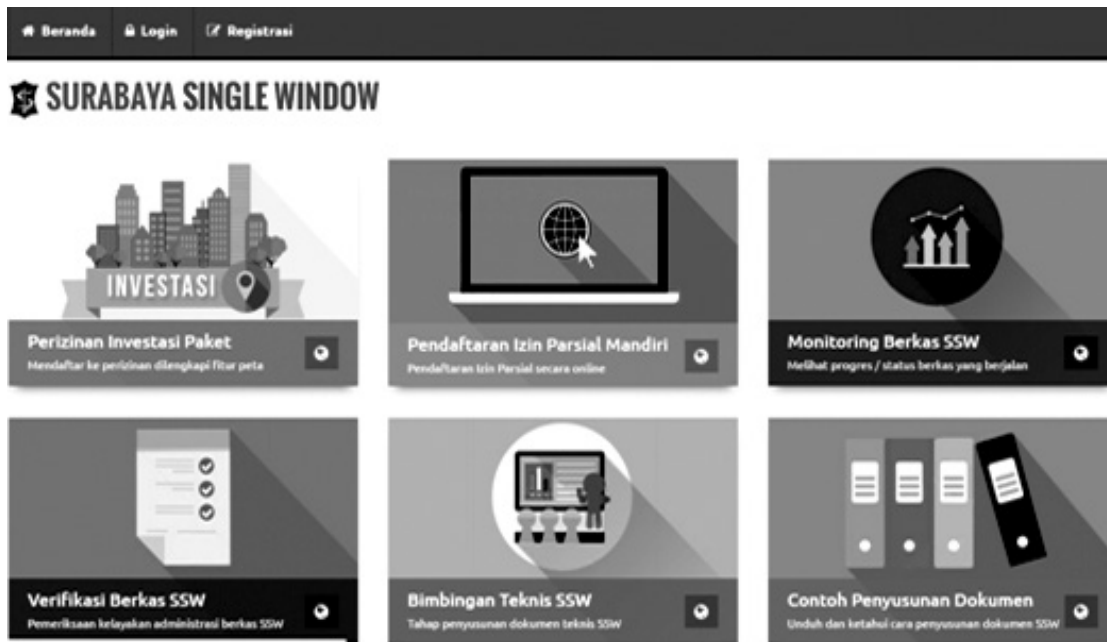


Figure 3. SSW Website Interface

menus are displayed with simple, clear, and concise information. The applicant can directly upload documents or licenses. Applicant can also read some of the guidelines and guidance on drafting documents filed. However, that does not mean the whole community is able to access this website easily. From the research conducted, online licensing service based websites cannot be accessed by all people because the level of awareness of different technologies. Some applicants who are not familiar with online transactions still feel the hardship with this system.

• Fulfilment

Fulfilment relates to the extent to which the site's promises about order delivery and item availability. Implementation of SSW is a policy issued by Surabaya City Government to simplify and speed up business licensing services in the field of licensing. Previously, applicants had to go back and forth from one official to another official to complete the requirements. The old mechanism is considered a time-consuming, ineffective and troublesome. Moreover, the majority of applicants are entrepreneurs who typically want a quick and easy process. This system is accommodated with an integrated system internally on some of the regional work units. Through the ssw.surabaya.go.id portal, there is a process of integration of information related to the process of licensing services. SSW also ensures the security of data and information.

SSW runs in order to improve quality of service in the field of licensing. This increase cannot be separated from the principle of public services in order to meet the demands of the user community. In terms of information clarity, information about the technical and administrative requirements is described in the service menu. Each licensing requirements complete and clear. Details of the costs and manner of payment of licensing each product will be known to the applicant by the system. Applicant will also be given guidance on how to pay for it. If the applicant is confused, they could come to the One-Stop Service Unit

(UPTSA) in Surabaya. In terms of the certainty of the time, the permitting process filed through SSW system ranges between 1-30 working days. Some permission allows execution up to 90 working days because of the procedures that cannot be compressed because it requires analysis or a field survey of several related agencies. The duration of the application process also depends on the documents submitted. This is because only a complete application

file will be processed.

SSW carried out as one of the Surabaya City Government efforts to provide licensing services which were good and excellent. For more details, the following benefits can be obtained by each stakeholder. For the Government, SSW delivers information in a transparent manner so as to be able to increase the organization's effectiveness and accountability of government. For society, SSW facilitates citizens that come from within or outside the city to invest in Surabaya with a licensing service that is easier, faster, simpler, and more transparent. For the Private Sector, SSW facilitates the investor to conduct site surveys, so that the risk of errors in business planning can be minimized. SSW is promising a faster and easier licensing service online for citizens. If there is any applicant who filed multiple licenses at once, all permits would be processed simultaneously so that could be completed and submitted to the applicant at the same time. The permitting process will be processed as soon as possible but requirements must be fulfilled completely and correctly. If not, then the file will be returned to the applicant. With this online licensing mechanism, it can provide optimal public services to the public without having troubled by hierarchal and tortuous bureaucracy, it also minimize collusion, corruption and nepotism.

• System Availability

SSW is run and supported by a system called S-ECS or Surabaya Enterprise Collaboration System. The system allows data and information submission singularly so it can be synchronized to each local work unit. It eases the associated work units to make decision in quick and efficient way. To put it simple, SSW is an application for technical and non-technical permitting with faster, easier, and safer process. S-ECS is helping to simplify the manufacturing process technically and non-technically by using a system of shared data that can be accessed by each local work unit.

SSW is a 2.0 version web-based technology uses JQuery and Lightbox JavaScript framework and Apache web

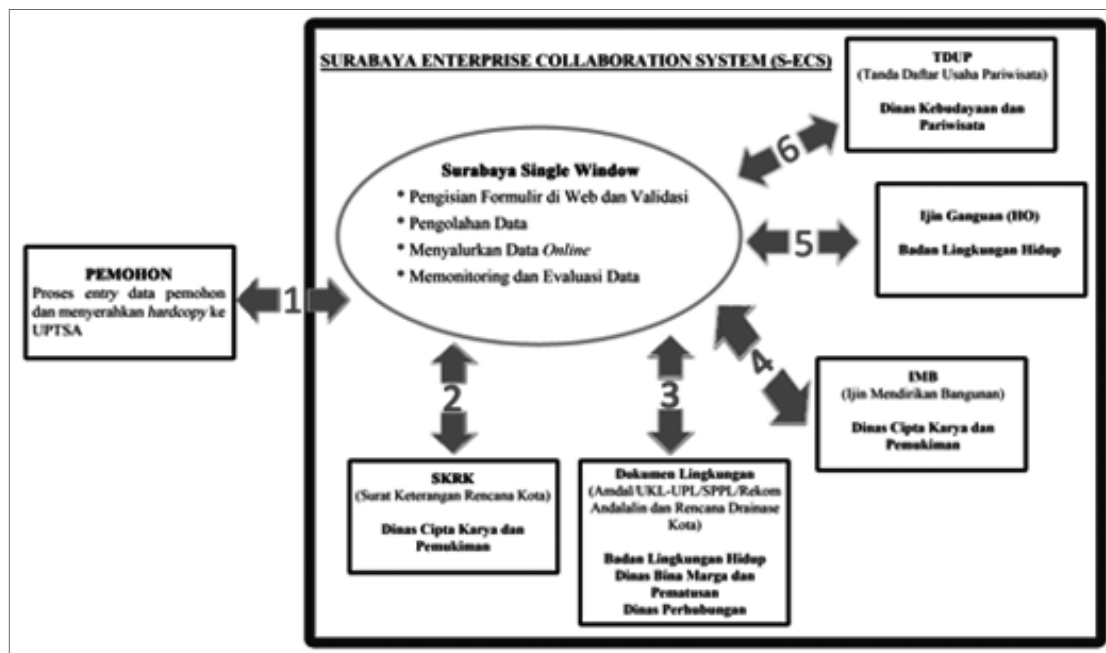


Figure 4. Surabaya Enterprise Collaboration System (S-ECS) Flow

server. The Apache web server is an Open Source System. It can be distributed with no charge and allows programmers to modify and reproduce. The system is supported by the servers in each local work units which coordinate all the time. The entire system is backed up by the Communications and Information Official Surabaya. They have had adequate resources to the competence required to support the whole SSW system. Its website display has very simple interface. All forms of information provided are legibly present. However, not all users will find it easy to access. This is because the level of technology mastery is different from one person to another. It makes licensing services through this website not easily accessible by all people. In addition, this website still provides Indonesian language only, for foreign investors they might find it difficult to access the site.

• *Privacy*

The process and product of public service must provide security and legal certainty. Within the SSW, users conduct electronic transactions in the sense that the legal action uses a computer, computer network, and/or other electronic media. Each SSW portal users will be given an access code in the form of a combination of symbols, letters and numbers that are the key to access the portal. Each recipient is responsible for security permissions to use those permissions. All documents are published through the system applications with a different login ID for each applicant for data security.

Technical problems operations that occur during SSW are associated with the frequent occurrence of network errors, power, and their permits that take longer than the standard promised. For the network errors and power failure, it causes data transmission hamper from UPTSA to related local work unit. This problem can affect the application submitted by the applicants. The error occurred could have an impact on a postponed licensing document while

SSW itself promises a quick and easy permits services. This is noteworthy because the importance of the role of back-office works at the server to participate in the successful implementation of this online licensing service. During this time, according to the IT technician, the officers who were on each server regional work units always coordinated and have been running smoothly so that the problems that exist can be handled properly. During the

research, the authors had not received information from the relevant agencies regarding the security of a server if an error occurred and if the site was attacked by hackers.

5. CONCLUSION

By using the E-S-QUAL indicators by Parasuraman, the conclusion is listed as follows. In terms of efficiency, this mechanism quite cuts the time than the old mechanism. However, it turned out groove filing system is not fully put online due to some things that require verification that needs applicant to come directly to the One-Stop Integrated Service Unit. In terms of fulfilment, SSW is able to promise an online licensing system that is integrated and useful to stakeholders. But of course it took the development and improvement of the future to become an accountable licensing system. One of them is how to improve public participation. It needs an improvement in mastery of information technology among the public. It did not escape the demands of changing times and globalization. Within the SSW, users conduct electronic transactions in the sense that the legal actions use a computer, computer network, and / or other electronic media. Each SSW portal users will be given an access code in the form of a combination of symbols, letters and numbers that are the key to access the portal. Each recipient is responsible for security permissions using reviews of those permissions. All documents are published through the system applications with a different login ID for each applicant for the data security. The results showed that the implementation of SSW has not been effective to tackle licensing issues that occurred in Surabaya. Online service perceived could not be accessed by all citizens due to different levels of technological mastery. Although the program has some problems, its existence is able to convince the public with the new licensing process that is faster, easier, and transparent.

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Developing Through Government or Governance?

Indonesia's Infrastructure Development in the Decentralization Era

Penyusun :

• **Septaliana Dewi
Prananingtya**

The author is a PhD Candidate from the School of Global, Urban, and Social Studies, RMIT University, Australia

and supervised by
Associate Professor
Marco Amati
and Associate
Professor Karien
Dekker.

The author can be
contacted by email:
septalianadewi.
prananingtyas@rmit.
edu.au

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Abstract

Decentralization, a concept implemented and advocated immensely in the world, is argued to be able to create good governance, democracy, and development. While it is highly promoted and adopted, decentralization has acquired mixed results making the concept full of uncertainty. Meanwhile, decentralization itself is a concept that cannot be separated with governance as decentralization involves altering levels of governance arrangements. On top of that, challenges in governance such as power, rationality, informal networks and culture complicate the already unclear responsibilities in governance making the implications of decentralization much harder to grasp. Therefore, focusing on governance as a crucial factor to dismantling the impacts of decentralization and observing the Indonesian decentralization process that has been done for almost 17 years with ambiguous results may bring enlightenment to the issues of decentralization. Nevertheless, comprehensive analysis on Indonesia's decentralization focusing on governance especially on infrastructure development is rare. Therefore, it is necessary to explore in detail of how the governance arrangements of decentralization are set in order to investigate the impacts of decentralization in Indonesia's infrastructure development, and why is it affecting infrastructure policies in such a way. This is important because it will be able to illuminate the basic mechanism of policy making and reveal why infrastructure policies made in a certain way in decentralization determines the success or failure of infrastructure development. This paper will focus on the qualitative data analyses to identify the changes in governance arrangements caused by decentralization in Indonesia and the semi-structured interview that explores the perceptions of actors in the National level involved in the multi-level public infrastructure decision-making. This paper is a part of a doctoral thesis that attempts to answer the questions of what is the effect of governance arrangements in decentralization on Indonesia's infrastructure development, how do these governance arrangements affect Indonesia's infrastructure development, and why. It is expected that this paper will not only describe the current governance mecha-

nism of decentralization in Indonesia, particularly in infrastructure policy making from the perspective of the actors from the national level, but also indicate factors that explains why the current governance arrangements may hinder development in the context of decentralization which may be caused by the complexities of governance that comes with the challenges embedded in the concept.

1. BACKGROUND

Decentralization, a global concept implemented by various countries and supported by the international development communities, is often associated with successful development (Faguet 2014). However, this association apparently does not relate to the reality of decentralization where studies show that decentralization has mixed implications to development (Bardhan 2002; Bardhan & Mookherjee 2006b). Despite the varying results, decentralization is continuously advocated globally and implemented widely particularly by developing countries that wanted to catch up with developed countries (Iimi 2005; Manor 1999; Mietzner 2014). Therefore, decentralization becomes a significant issue to address due to the ambiguous implications it may have on many countries.

Decentralization has always been closely associated with good governance, democracy, and rapid development (Hadiz 2004) making it a highly advocated agenda by international organizations, such as the World Bank (WB) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB), for the last two centuries (Silver 2003). Nevertheless, not all countries succeeded in development regardless of the type of decentralization reforms that they have adopted (Evans 2004). There are even cases of different countries undertaking similar reforms but achieved different results in development (Bardhan 2002). This is a problem because it triggers uncertainty in the implementation of decentralization and has considerable implications with the ongoing global decentralization reforms particularly in developing countries that have weak endurance if development failure occurs.

Indonesia is one of the developing countries that implemented decentralization. After 17 years, most studies evaluating decentralization in Indonesia concluded that the reform has been more of a failure than a success (Brodjonegoro 2004; Hill & Vidyattama 2014; Hofman & Kaiser 2004; Holtzappel & Ramstedt 2009; Holzhacker et al. 2016; Lane 2014; Resosudarmo & Vidyattama 2006) but there are also studies stating that Indonesia's decentralization actually has positive results and achieved its goals (Mietzner 2014). Therefore, Indonesia is a potential case study that depicts a long period of decentralization with ambiguous results that may illuminate and clarify the current issues in decentralization.

Studies evaluating decentralization have mostly been focusing on the economic and political aspects of decentralization and less dedicated focus on the overall governance aspect (Faguet 2014; Green 2009; Hadiz 2004; Lynn et al. 2001; Ménard & Shirley 2005) including studies in

Indonesia particularly in the infrastructure sector. Meanwhile, the governance concept emphasizes the role of multiple actors in decision-making which makes the governance approach of evaluating decentralization more insightful in terms of finding out the underlying causes of the effect of decentralization (Lynn et al. 2001). Nevertheless, the governance concept itself is extremely broad and not perfect, challenged with issues of power and rationality, networks and culture, and the accountability issues that come with the blurring of roles and responsibilities of actors in governance (Birrell 2012; Flyvbjerg 1998; Newman 2001; Stoker 1998).

This paper is a part of a doctoral thesis that attempts to answer the questions of what is the effect of governance arrangements in decentralization on Indonesia's infrastructure development, how do these governance arrangements affect Indonesia's infrastructure development, and why. This paper will elaborate on what data and method used to analyze governance in Indonesia's decentralized infrastructure policy, explain the current Indonesian infrastructure development and decentralization, report preliminary findings of the data analysis, and provide a conclusion. It is expected that this paper will not only describe the current governance mechanism of decentralization in Indonesia, particularly the infrastructure policy making from the perspective of national development actors, but also indicate why governance arrangements in decentralization may hinder development.

2. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The qualitative data is built on semi-structured qualitative interviews with key stakeholders listed in accordance with the Indonesian infrastructure policy-making process. The interviews in is set out to understand how actors in the institutions of governance behave in decision-making and why they behave in such a way. Most importantly the case studies seek to understand stakeholder perception and experience in the policy cycle in a decentralized setting aiming to pinpoint how and why governance arrangements in decentralization affect infrastructure development. This paper will focus on perception of the national level development stakeholders.

The interview topics will build upon the theory of decentralization that is done in three aspects which are fiscal, administrative, and political (Treisman 2007) and it will also build upon the theory that governance arrangements in decentralization, which involves the networks of stakeholders (Lynn et al. 2001; Stoker 1998), that has certain

challenges such as power, rationality, networks, and culture that influences decision-making (Birrell 2012; De Bruijn & Ernst 1995; Flyvbjerg 1998; Ito 2011; Newman 2001). The individual interviews use snowball technique (Yin 2015) where participants is asked to suggest further interviewees and recruited on a voluntary basis.

The sampling follows the structure of organizations that construct the decision-making cycle in a multilevel setting in accordance with decentralization and governance theory (Saito 2008). The participants of the interview will come from all the related stakeholders, not limiting to the government actors, of infrastructure development which is in accordance with the theory of governance where governance in the public sector is a partnership of actors (Birrell 2012; Capano et al. 2015; Crawford 2003; Lynn et al. 2001; Pierre 2000; Rhodes 2007; Saito 2008; Stoker 1998).

Referring to the governance theory that highlights the multiple stakeholders partnerships in decision-making actors, the Indonesia's decision-making process under the current decentralization law that is characterized by multilevel governance (Faguet 2014; Saito 2008; Yang et al. 2015), and the current infrastructure development decision-making process (McCawley 2015; Anon 2012) the interview participants will be structured accordingly. The participants of the interview that will be analyzed in this paper is reflected in the table below:

Actors	National Policy	Regional Policy
Politician	√	√
Government	√	√
Academics/Expert	√	-
International Organization	√	-

3. DECENTRALIZATION AND GOVERNANCE

3.1. The Decentralization Debate

Decentralization has been a widespread international phenomenon in governance reform. It has influenced the global community for almost two decades with almost 80 percent of the world's countries implementing the decentralization reform (Iimi 2005; Manor 1999). Whether it is a developed or a developing country, these countries at some point have been decentralized, is trying to decentralize, or revisiting decentralization (Gopal 2008). Therefore, the magnitude of decentralization for the world is substantial making the effectiveness of decentralization an important matter.

The broadest and ongoing debate in decentralization revolves around the uncertainty of decentralization particularly related to the vagueness of the implication due to variations in decentralization. The variety of decentralization is not only in types of countries implementing it but also on the effects of decentralization on the coun-

tries. Even with countries that have similar features, there are mixed results of successful decentralization (Faguet, 2014). Therefore, the study of decentralization is still paramount because of these uncertainties. To understand why there are wide arrays of results, one must first understand what decentralization is and what motivates countries to decentralize.

Another important debate in decentralization is the challenges in its implementation. Decentralization has been related to many challenges relating to the central – local relations. The challenges is in many form such as problems of resources, institutional capacity, elite capture, corruption and accountability, participation of the civil society through free flow of information, and the design of decentralization (Faguet 2004; Faguet 2014; Faguet & Poschl 2015; Hadiz 2004; Rondinelli et al. 1989; Treisman 2007). Nonetheless, in the end, decentralization is expected to provide a positive impact development (Bardhan 2002) with the benefits to outweigh the cost (Treisman 2007). Decentralization should lead to more development because it is considered to cater more of the local needs (Litvack et al. 1998).

The fundamental debate in decentralization is probably in the arguments that support decentralization. Decentralization is deemed beneficial from three main views those are the economic, political and governance views. The main economic argument of decentralization is supported both by the free neo-liberalist that supports free market economy (Bardhan 2002; Rondinelli et al. 1989) and by the neo-institutional economics that underlines the important role of institutions, not limited to only government institutions, for growth and development (Acemoglu et al. 2012; Davis & Keating 2000; Glaeser et al. 2004; Ménard & Shirley 2005; Hamilton 2012; North 1990; Ostrom 2011; Rodrik et al. 2004).

Decentralization improves development by creating a democratic environment. To achieve democracy, the political argument emphasizes that political competition needs to be increased (Faguet 2014). Political decentralization, which creates local political power, is what is needed to create such competition. With political decentralization, the local people have direct access to the politicians that will influence policy making. The political argument believes that before improving development there should be specific political conditions that should be met. These conditions depend on the accountability factor which requires open access to political, economic, and civic organizations that will create an open and competitive political environment with a responsive to the people government (Faguet 2014). These specific conditions are also challenging particularly for countries with a long history of centralization and undemocratic culture (Hadiz 2004).

The most important theoretical arguments used in justifying decentralization particularly in developing countries are accountability and responsiveness (Faguet 2014) which are factors that are said to improve governance (Saito 2008). Governance is possibly the most a crucial aspect of implementing decentralization with a cause and effect relationship that goes back and forth between the two. Nevertheless, this relationship has not been explored widely

in literature (Faguet 2014; Green 2009; Hadiz 2004). Decentralization viewed from the governance point of view takes on a broader meaning where governance acknowledges the involvement of actors outside the government. Governance shift the definition of decision-making in the public sector by including actors outside the government such as the private sector, civil society organizations, advocacy groups and also international organizations (Saito 2008). Therefore, with the current governance definition of redistribution of the government's role in public decision-making to partnerships with various actors, the study to evaluate decentralization can no longer be observed from the government aspect.

The governance argument so far may be the most comprehensive argument in relation to its understanding and acknowledgement of decentralization because it does not negate other arguments, economic and political arguments, but instead it stresses that the economic and political factors are involved in the whole process of governance through the nature of governance as network of partnerships. However, the issues that arise in governance is similar in developing states where in reality governance may not be defined in accordance to the definition of modern governance where there is a wide spectrum of actors that influences decision-making.

3.2. The Virtuous Circle of Decentralization and Governance

Governance has broad definitions and has different meanings depending on what theoretical background it is being used in (Birrell 2012; Newman 2001). In the public policy context, governance is defined as managing public related decision-making with the government as the entity that exercises the powers over public decision-making (Birrell 2012). Birrell (2012) emphasizes that governance can be assumed as a form of decentralization if it shifts a national centralistic government to a sub-national government. He also underlines that governance does not only mean the involvement of rigid authoritative institutions but also local government and networks or partnerships. Therefore, decentralization reform fits in the area of governance reforms because the definition of decentralization itself is responding to challenges in government such as a declining trust of the people to the government system and limited resources (Polidano & Hulme 1999).

One of the strongest reasons that promote decentralization is good governance. Good governance is considered to be the result of decentralization. Nevertheless, to achieve good governance decentralization is necessary to be done in advance. Therefore, decentralization and governance do not have a one-directional relationship. It seems that there is a virtuous circle between decentralization and governance where decentralization should improve governance and governance will strengthen decentralization. This is in line with the concept of governance that has been connected to not only devolution of vertical government tiers but also horizontal interrelated interactions that are dependent to one another from the internal government institutions to the society (Newman 2001). Therefore, interchangeable

influence should be expected in terms of decentralization and governance as both is a necessary and sufficient condition to each other.

Modern governance ideally needs to be dispersed across multiple centers of authority (Liesbet & Gary 2003). This argument is positively correlated to decentralization where the core aspect of decentralization is spreading power, roles, and responsibilities to multiple tiers (Saito 2008). Local level authority is a necessary part of the structure of an independent democratic governance that will partially shift the burden of providing local services from the central authorities and still increasing political involvement at the local level (Conyers 1984) assuring economic efficiency.

The challenges in governance specifically relate to issues such as power, rationality, adverse networking and organization cultures are said to be a huge hindrance in optimizing the benefits of decentralization (Birrell 2012; Flyvbjerg 1998; Newman 2001; Stoker 1998). Moreover, governance is complex in a sense that there is an unclear responsibility that leads to failure in accountability and failure of governance itself (Stoker 1998). The issue of power is central because power does not only operate through observable processes (Crawford 2003; De Bruijn & Ernst 1995; Gnan et al. 2013). Power can also be present in rationality, networks, and cultures that are all problems by itself in governance.

Governance theory, therefore, points out that when a form of governance such as decentralization occurs it is important to consider the definition of the decentralization itself, the governance process or way of decision main in decentralization, and the actors involved in decision-making in decentralization settings. Therefore, analyzing decentralization and governance should consider how decentralization occurs, through what governance mechanism, in what particular setting, and why (Lynn et al. 2001). To be able to answer such questions it is crucial to define in advance the governance concept adopted in decentralization, whether it is the old understanding that the state is dominant or the new understanding of governance where the partnerships of actors. Nevertheless, regardless of what the governance arrangements are in decentralization, public policy goals will always be the welfare of the general public that consists of multiple stakeholders. Therefore, only with the new definition of governance will the policy process involve the government, modified governance arrangements, and methods within a specific policy field related to various stakeholders of that field (Richards & Smith 2002) making it most suitable to the public policy goals. Governments, or public institutions, will continue to have prime responsibility for governing, meanwhile they have to adapt and modify the way they perform this duty with the development of new governance (Capano et al. 2015). In other words, governance will probably generate better results compared to government in terms of developments.

4. INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT IN DECENTRALIZED INDONESIA

4.1. Indonesia's "Big Bang" Decentralization

Indonesia's "big bang" decentralization officially started in 1999 with Law 22/1999 on Local Government and 25/1999 on Central and Local Financial Balance but effectively implemented it in 2001 during the Gus Dur and Megawati era (Mietzner 2014). The effective implementation of the decentralization laws 22 and 25 1999 was considered a breakthrough or even a brave, if not brass, move from the Indonesian government (Holtzappel & Ramstedt 2009) that even led donor organizations that were strong supporters of decentralization to worry (Silver 2003). This is due to the unaligned and uncoordinated context of the two laws in decentralization (Holtzappel & Ramstedt 2009). For example, law 22/1999, which was drafted by the Ministry of home affairs, states that all administrative responsibilities, such as the wages of government officials, are the responsibility of the local government. However, in law 25/1999, which was drafted by the ministry of finance, expenditures to pay government officials will be assisted by the central government. Nevertheless, despite the many inconsistencies, the citizen support for decentralization was still immense (Mietzner 2014) which led to a positive atmosphere to continue decentralization and even adding democratization in the picture.

In 2004, the second revision of decentralization laws was passed following the pressure to better align the decentralization laws with Law 32/2004 on Local Government and Law 33/2004 on Central and Local Financial Balance. These laws did not only affect decentralization but also democratization. That year, Indonesia was crowned as the biggest democracy in the world because direct elections will be implemented not only for selecting the President of Indonesia, but also every local leader in the country. Susilo Bambang Yudoyono (SBY) was the first president who was directly elected by the Indonesian people and during his era, another revision of decentralization laws and other laws related to decentralization was passed.

SBY was considered as the people's choice and pressured to revitalize urgent matters including decentralization. The revitalization started with revising the unaligned Laws related to the process of decision-making to be more compatible with decentralization. The Planning Law, Infrastructure Law, Energy and Mineral Law, are amongst the many laws that are developed as an effort to improve decision-making in decentralization. During SBY's second period of power, once again the Local Government Law were revised with the Law number 12 2008. In 2014, before the newly elected President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) was inaugurated, a new law on local government which is Law number 23 2014 was passed. Today Indonesia has a total of 34 Provinces and more than 500 Districts (henceforth Regency/City). The challenges are immense with more administrative local areas to govern, a new decentralization law, and external challenges that add the complexity of decentralization.

Apart from the changes in decentralization laws that has occurred across presidential periods, there are three significant changes in Indonesia after decentralization which are administrative and politics changes shown in regional proliferations and fiscal changes shown in the regional fiscal transfers. Decentralization has made the number of prov-

inces and districts in Indonesia increase substantially. Before decentralization in 1999, there were 26 Provinces and 293 Cities/Districts. In 2013, there are 34 Provinces and more than 500 cities/districts with Sumatera as the Island with the most proliferations. Along with proliferations, the number of government officials also increased with Java – Bali as the highest in number of officials. Decentralization has also increased the overall central government fiscal transfers.

4.2. Infrastructure: A Crucial Aspect in Indonesia's Development

Regional development inequality in Indonesia is actually one of the motivations that started the decentralization initiative (Lane 2014) and the issue of regional inequality is highly correlated with infrastructure development (McCawley 2015). This is because Infrastructure development will enhance economic activities through trade (Francois & Manchin 2013), access to education and health (Frank & Martinez-Vazquez 2014), and human mobility to economic centers (Shannon & Smets 2010).

The case of Indonesia is in line with the assumption that infrastructure development is the key to productivity and economic differentiation which will lead to economic growth (Ostrom et al. 1993). Infrastructure that is not maintained or unsustainable will in turn hinder sustainable development. Physical infrastructure will not be sustainable without social infrastructure which are institutions consisting of people, interactions and repetitive patterns that they have in their productivities. Institutions can be families, private firms, government agencies, local communities (Ostrom et al. 1993). In least-developing countries, the failure of development is due to not maintaining the existing social infrastructure but replacing them with structures believed as modern institutions (Ostrom et al. 1993). The funding of infrastructure is also a challenge in deriving good quality infrastructure which meddles throughout the process of infrastructure policy making (Andres et al. 2014; Bardhan & Mookherjee 2006a; McCawley 2015) which are planning, designing, financing, constructing, operating, maintaining, and using public facilities (Ostrom et al. 1993).

Moreover, infrastructure development in Indonesia is one of the many functions that is significantly decentralized (Holtzappel & Ramstedt 2009). Countries like Indonesia, endowed with 17 thousand islands scattered in the archipelago, relies heavily on infrastructure especially transportation infrastructure to be able to equally develop (Morgenroth 2014). Connectivity between one area and another would need vast infrastructure to guarantee the same standard of public services. Therefore, infrastructure development is essential to achieve equality of regional development in Indonesia.

Today, infrastructure development in Indonesia becomes a priority. Citizens are more conscious of the infrastructure developments. Moreover, the new President, Jokowi, has forwarded a new Maritime strategy that will direct the new transportation strategy to a Maritime-based one in accordance with Indonesia as a Maritime country.

Therefore, infrastructure will be an interesting sector to see and observe how decentralization has change governance arrangements in the decision-making process. The recommendations that the observation may provide would be specifically useful for a country with characteristics such as Indonesia without worrying that the issue would be obsolete in the future.

There are specific problems that are attached to infrastructure development in Indonesia. McCawley (2015) elaborates the problem into two categories those are regulatory and political issues. These categories are related to the funding of infrastructure. From the policy aspect of infrastructure development, the actors involved in the decision-making process is at the central and local area are the government, legislatures, civil society, and internation-

al organizations.

5. PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

The findings are based on the semi-structured interviews with national development stakeholders. The interviews have four main important preliminary findings that highlights how governance affectsthe infrastructure policy making in decentralization and why does it affect it in such a way. From the interviews,there are general perspectives that most of the participants have in common. However, there are also specific perspectives that are uniquely highlighted and are interesting to be acknowledged in the preliminary findings. The general findings can be summarized in the table below:

Governance Factors of Decentralization	Planning and Budgeting	Implementation	Monitoring and Evaluation
Regulation	Regulations are not harmonized and rigid. Budgeting and planning is asymmetric. The budgeting regulation	Due to clear decentralization responsibilities, regions are left to their own implementation without sufficient capacity	No clear regulation for particularly regional development evaluation.
Power Balance	The Blame Game: One actor claims the other actor is more powerful. Budgeting power is powerful in the national level. Political leader (head of region) is powerful in regional level.	Politics is dominant.	No institution is specifically responsible for monitoring and evaluation.
Budget Allocation	The budget allocation and policy based on rational factors are not aligned	Routine Expenditure such as on wages and other non-Infrastructure priorities leaving little for infrastructure budget allocation.	More than one institution has the role of money which is from the accounting aspect but none is from the aspect of how budgeting relates to development
Transparency and Accountability	Improve using information technology	There have been cases of corrupt acts in implementation	There have been improvement in using information technology but is for the national level.
Leadership	Important but the working culture is fairly established. Politically, choosing which policy highly depends of head of state or head of region.	Head of state or head of region is dominant.	The money system is not yet well established. The mechanism/system changes with the change of leaders.

5.1. Infrastructure Policy Making in the Decentralization Era

In general, the policy cycle in Indonesia starts with planning and budgeting, coordination, implementation, socialization, monitoring and evaluation. Nevertheless, there is specific nature of infrastructure development that makes the infrastructure policy cycle different. Developing infrastructure policies follows the same generic policy cycles as in other sectors. Decentralization has made this generic policy making process longer and more complicated by clashing national interest with regional interest. The clashes of interest are not easy to overcome with the multilevel tiers and characteristics of different regions. To better understand the complex nature of infrastructure policy making in decentralization, the majority of the participants have resorted to reference road development as an example. This is understandable because in Indonesia's infrastructure decentralization, roads are the most decentralized infrastructure 2004 (Holtzappel & Ramstedt 2009) with the Law 38 Year 2004 as the basis for the delegation of authorities. Therefore, with decentralization, roads can represent infrastructure development that has clear decentralization effects.

Infrastructure development highly depends on the budget and therefore unsurprisingly roads are also the highest funded infrastructure development one of the participants from states "...specifically for transportation infrastructure, the money allocated to the directorate general of road works in the Ministry Public Works is much higher than money allocated to the whole Ministry of Transportation which is where the other transportation infrastructures development such as air and sea transportation are....".

Financing is a general problem in infrastructure development because maintenance is expensive. The high cost of infrastructure makes it difficult for a decentralized country with limited budget to build sufficient infrastructure. Currently, Indonesia is spending insufficient percentage of their national budget for infrastructure and this is also true in the regional scale. Statements in the interview such as "...how can we build proper infrastructure when we spend less than five percent of our whole budget nationally, and it is worse in the regional level..". With decentralization, Indonesia's infrastructure development faces a double even triple barrier. The majority of the participants have highlighted that in infrastructure development the regulations have been rigid and preventing innovating ways of development. Apart from that, the complex and clashing of interests of the national and regional level create incentive for individual institutions to work for their own individual targets. Although coordination has not been said to improve as decentralization matures, the challenge of aligning interests has development particularly regional development to be disintegrated. From the perspective of the national level, the different regional interest has the implication of unachieved national development targets. Therefore, this also creates an incentive of maintaining partial decentralization particularly in terms of fiscal decentralization.

5.2. How and why has governance in decentralization affect infrastructure development?

Governance is an important aspect of infrastructure development that is the same as for other sectors. In accordance with the theory that the interactions of actors of governance will have an impact in policy making, this is also true in Indonesia's infrastructure development. A majority of the participants views the government or bureaucrats as the ones that should be held accountable in determining the direction of development policy. Therefore, the government should be the one to blame if there are policy failures. Majority of the participants from both the outside and inside the bureaucracy system states that although there are forms of mechanism that tries to engage other actors in policy development, these forums have been selective and does not go beyond a ceremonial context.

In terms of the actor that is most dominant, most of the participants still believe that the planning and budgeting process is the most crucial phase in determining policy. Implementation is also important, nevertheless in implementation the process is technical and straightforward making it less complicated compared to the planning and budgeting process. From the interviews, participants from different institutions have a tendency to blame other institutions. However, there is a general view that in the current condition, budgeting has an ultimate power advantage compared to planning. Nevertheless, planning is the phase where involvement of various development actors should be done and currently it is not as desired.

Meanwhile, although there are actors that are not involved formally by the government, their interest is not necessarily lost. For example, the following statement "... the international organizations or even business men will secure their interest directly through lobbying the leaders in government or even politics..," shows that the government system is not absolutely closed to non-government interests. Therefore, the positive interactions in governance, which means the involvement of development actors in policy making is not achieved because it is not achieved in a transparent and accountable process.

Accountability and transparency is a desired aspect of policy development. However, majority of participants stated that the legal implication of following a rigid regulatory framework have hindered creativity of infrastructure policy development. One of the participant states "... there is a growing tendency of infrastructure criminalization that resulted in many innocent regional leaders and even innovative ministers to be prosecuted corruption ...". The rigid regulations have resulted in people trying to be innovative to be facing legal consequences of their actions. The fear to be a "policy maker criminal" has made policy makers to prefer a safe path in policy making. Meaning that even when following the legal procedure have an implication of delaying an infrastructure project, the policy maker will prefer to not go forward with the project rather than have unfinished projects that could indicate that the project has failed and could be thought as corrupt action. The phe-

nomena of delays in infrastructure projects are widespread which have an implication to other developments.

6. CONCLUSION

Decentralization is no doubt an important issue in relation to the global development discourse that is highly echoed by the international community. Nevertheless, uncertainty and ambiguity have made decentralization a concept that could cause negative implications particularly for developing countries that are eager to catch up to the developed countries but has weak perseverance towards shocks. Taking the perspective of the national level of development actors, this paper observes how and why the governance settings of decentralization have affected infrastructure development. From the semi-structured interviews, the most important aspect of policy making is planning and budgeting and the most unclear process is

monitoring and evaluation. In terms of governance factors, the national stakeholders view that the imbalance of power and the continued blaming game have hindered the process of development. Moreover, the lacking of involvement of the stakeholders of development in a transparent and accountable way has increase the clashing of actors' interest that is not only between the national and regional interest but also between the actors outside the government.

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Constructing Indonesian Soft Power through IACS (Indonesian Art and Culture Scholarship) Program

Penyusun :

- Sri Issundari
- Iva Rachmawati

International Relations
Department

Faculty of Social and
Political Sciences

UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta

Email:

issundari.ari@gmail.com

iva.rachma@gmail.com

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Abstract

Soft power plays an important role to improve a country image. It refers to the ability of the state to influence the political choices agenda designed to make other countries interested. Therefore soft power is more on co-opt than coercive. IACS (Indonesian Arts and Culture Scholarship), a program initiated by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is a part of Indonesian soft power strategy. The activities beginning in 2010 shows a significant improvement. Through this program, the foreign participants experience at firsthand the uniqueness in the form of culture, norms and values that are typically owned by Indonesian. They also learn the Indonesian language and use it in everyday conversation. Through this activity, the government hopes to create a close relationship between the Indonesian people and their counterparts that has function as a tool to make the foreign participants love, understand and promote Indonesian culture when they return to their country. In the long term, the program is also expected to successfully achieve the Indonesian soft power strategy in the form of counterparts support against the Indonesian government policy. This article comes from Competitive Research Grant, which uses qualitative descriptive methods. The research combines the study of literature and in-depth interviews to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the initiator, the manager, as well as the foreign participants of IACS.

INTRODUCTION

The end of the World War II was signed by the change of which the security approach in the form of military threat is no longer relevant. Some factors like technology, levels of education, and economic growth start to emerge as the indicators of a nation's strength. The states start to find new strategies in order that they can control their political surroundings and gain other nation's fulfillment to

carry out what they want. In accordance with the decline of the hard power role in supporting the existence of a state hard power, soft power approach emerges and completes the hard power. Soft power is the ability of a nation to urge other nations to follow their will without utilizing their military force but with persuasive ways. As stated by Joseph Nye, Soft Power "rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others. A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries –admir-

ing values, emulating its examples, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness-want to follow it".¹

Further, Nye has an argument that power can be measured in three ways: power threat (stick), giving payment (carrot), or becoming a preference for other countries. Soft power in this case is more using a non-violent approach by fostering communication than intimidation or sanction approach. The sources of soft power according to Joseph Nye are culture, political values, and foreign policy. Culture refers to series of values and activity that creates meaning for society. Political values refer to making the state to become a champion in relation to its behavior toward its domestic affairs (such as democracy, cooperation with other countries, promotion of peace and human rights, and so on). On the other hand, the foreign politics refers to the states' policy, which tend to be hypocrite, arrogant, or having controversy against other countries.² Activity of student exchange is one of soft powers that have a resource from culture. This activity is one among the places where all participants from different countries adapt themselves to the cultures of the recipient countries by means of the communication and activities that are adjusted to the recipient countries. According to Grunig and Hunt in Corina Radulescu³, participants are in fact open to the alteration that will be influential to their beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. For that reason, they will also adapt to the environment wherever they are.

IACS (Indonesian Art and Culture Scholarship) is given to the foreigners to have a direct experience about Indonesia. This program is one of the strategies adopted by the Indonesian government in the frame of improving its soft power toward the International community. Through this activity, it is expected that the foreign participants will have an inclusive attitude toward the norms, culture, and norms that are existed in local society while they learn about new knowledge.

This article is going to discuss about the role of international education exchange through IACS activity in supporting Indonesian soft power. It will discuss how the change of perception about Indonesia is experienced by the foreign participants before and after participating in IACS.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This article is originated from the decentralization Competitive Research Grant 2016 sponsored by the ministry of Research and Technology of Republic Indonesia with the research object in UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta as one of IACS commissioners. This research is a descriptive-qualitative study that is aimed at finding the role of international education exchange through IACS in sup-

porting Indonesian soft power through cultural approach. The study was done by having observations and interviews with some respondents, namely: IACS participants, IACS officials, people who are involved and interact directly with the IACS participants, and Foreign Affairs Ministry. The information gathering is done by an in depth interview to find about the programs offered in the IACS international education exchange program, the human resource who handle IACS program, and the interaction of IACS participants with the officials and the local community. Furthermore, the interviews are held in order to reveal the extent of the change of image toward Indonesia among IACS participants before and after joining the program.

DISCUSSION

The traditionalist view that puts the power only in the military force cannot fully answer the security challenges that come up from the spreading ideas and culture, economy, and issues on ecology anymore. These new issues cannot be countered by the counterbalance of military power and technology. On the other hand, the coercing efforts are also no longer relevant where interdependence among countries increases. The change in the characteristic of international relationship is also not apart from the growing roles of non-state actors. The advancement of communication technology makes the distance, spaces, and times not limited by the states/countries.

Referring to the above statements, Joseph Nye, through his writing 'Bound to Lead' and 'The Paradox of the American Power' in 2002 and also 'Soft Power' in 2004, reminds us that power perceived by the traditionalists is not allegeable as the only power owned by a country to push others. Soft power is recently the same important strength as hard power. Nye noted that the concept of power has moved far from its first occurrence in a scientific writing. The definition of power was first introduced by Robert Dahl through his article 'The Concept of Power.' Power according to Dahl refers to one's ability to push others to do something that cannot be refused.⁴ Dahl definition is then criticized by Peter Bachwach and Morton Baratz stating that the definition has neglected the important thing that they called "second Face of Power" that is a dimension of agenda construction and issues framing.⁵ It is a condition where power can be carried out without any force. Meanwhile Lukes indicates that even ideas and beliefs can help someone to decide his/her choice and he/she can be a power for others in deciding alternatives made by other people.⁶

Nye himself perceives that power consists of hard power and soft power (in the next article Nye adds smart

¹ Joseph Nye. *Soft Power and Higher Educatio.*, Harvard University retrieved from <https://net.educause.edu/ir/library/pdf/FFP0502S.pdf>

² Joseph Nye. (1990). "Soft Power" in *Foreign Policy* No. 80 Twentieth Anniversarry, Autum 1990

³ Corina Radulescu. (2009). "Communication Management or Public Relations", *Annals of University of Bucharest, Economic and Administrative Series*, Nr. 3 215-226.

⁴ Robert A. Dahl. (1957). "Concept of Power" retrieved from http://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/teaching/articles/Dahl_Power_1957.pdf. on 1 August 2016.

⁵ Peter Bachrachdan Morton S. Baratz. (1962). "Two Faces of Power". *The American Political Science Review*. Volume 56. Issue 4. American Political Science Association.

⁶ Steven Lukes. (2005). *Power: A Radical View*. 2ed Edition. Palgrave Macmillan.

power). It means, for Nye power is not merely military power. Soft power is the ability to attract people to agree on our ideas without any force. If the purpose of a country is accepted by other countries then force and threat are not needed to reach national interests.⁷ The core components of soft power are attraction and persuasion and are constructed based on a resource that can be used and applied and has significant influence. Soft power is carried out and managed by an institution called public diplomacy, that is an effort to give information and mark at the positive image of a country by means of short term, medium term, and long term efforts that enable the achievement of conditions that maintain national interests.⁸

One of the efforts that can introduce the values, norms, and cultures to other country is the development of long term relations through the students' exchange, trainings, seminars, conferences, and media networking.⁹ Mark Leonard classified activities of public diplomacy in three goals, namely, to give information, to promote the nation's positive images, and to build good long term relationships among countries. According to Mark Leonard, public diplomacy has three dimensions, namely, (1) daily communication, (2) strategic communication, and (3) relationship building. The first dimension refers to news story management that supports the government traditional diplomacy and national interests. This dimension moves in short term periods, which has preventive objectives by explaining domestic situations and foreign affairs policy to the non-state audience. The second dimension is forming image about a country. The main goal is to promote the country in the international arena supported by the cultural values. The third dimension is an effort to construct a long term relationship, which is built through individual bounds in the activities like trainings, seminars, conference, educational exchange, and cultural exchanges.¹⁰

The third effort or relationship building is accomplished through the international education exchange. Referring to Hugh M. Jenkins' concept, international education exchange is a cooperation framework that involves two or more members, students, education institutions and government as well as private institutions that provide educational funds.¹¹ In terms of public diplomacy, international education exchange is one of the ways to raise positive images of a country by giving an opportunity for the youngsters from other countries to directly see and communicate in the countries that give them the scholarship. Therefore, they can interact with the political system, culture, and

community's moral values from different countries. This kind of exchanges can also prevent prejudice that occurs between two community groups that have never met face to face, where the images constructed in their minds are only framed by the media or the third parties that full of personal interests. The program of international education exchange is in general as the most influential program toward someone's long term behavior. Based on a survey done by Anholt-GfK Roper Nation Brands Index and the Pew Global attitudes, US experiences to accept the arrivals of foreign students can be identified as an effective long term campaign.¹²

Referring to Lima's opinion¹³, education exchange can contribute to the following: 1. Nurturing reciprocal understanding, 2. Building up positive images about host countries, 3. Forming support to the host country's foreign affairs interests. The first argument was built from the analytical findings that the student exchange can decrease stereotyping and misconception from one to another. This possibly happens because their roles as culture carrier or culture courier were played by the students involved in the program. In the relationships that occur in personal level, better understanding is more likely happens than in relationships occur in group. Therefore, the selections of individuals who will commit in the program become important because they are the very individuals who will spread the values they get during the program when they return to their own country. Knowing about the hosting country is in indeed not easy. There are many factors around, which could be influential. However, the student exchange program that provides good facilities, friendly environment, and knowledge can improve the quality of an individual; at least, it can be the memory source for him/her to pose the hosting country in a positive image. Third, the support for the foreign affair policy of the hosting country can be constructed referring to the emotional bounds build in this program.

Student exchange program is one good effort to create a positive image of a nation and can improve the prospect of gaining the expected result. A study done by Mashiko and Miki¹⁴ on the student exchange program of US and Japan found some positive things in forming the perception among the participants. First, the significant interest in learning the language and experiencing the culture push each participant to understand more on the value and norm own by other countries. This kind of interest motivates them to be a more inclusive person and at the end of the program many of the participants want to return to the countries. Some participants even have more interest on some political ideas that developed in the US and try to have a better learning about American political system.

¹² *Influence and Attraction, Culture and the Race for Soft Power in the 21st Century*, British Council

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Ellen Mashiko & Horie Miki. (2008). "Nurturing Soft Power The Impact of Japanese-U.S. University Exchanges". Dalam Watanabe Yasushi & David L. McConnell, ed. *Soft Power Superpowers Cultural and National Assets of Japan and the United States*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc. p. 83-86

⁷ Richard L. Armitagedan Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (2007). *CSIS Commission on A Smart Power A Smarter, more Secure America*. Center for Strategic & International Studies. Washington: The CSIS Press.

⁸ Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs. p.107.

⁹ *Ibid.* Hal. 109.

¹⁰ Leonard, Mark, Catherine Stead and Conrad Sweming. (2002). *Public Diplomacy*, The ForeignPolicy Centre: London.

¹¹ Antônia F. de Lima Jr.. (2007). "Students Corner; The Role of International Educational Exchanges in Public Diplomacy". *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* Vol. 3, 3. Palgrave Macmillan Ltd. p. 236.

This fact is surely giving positive contribution to how Japanese community in the future sees and understands the foreign policy of America. There are also many of them who want to give their direct contribution on the relationship between US and Japan, although they do not always want to have careers that are institutionally related. However, through the positive perception about American, they will also be potential agents in forming public opinions, either in the levels of local, national as well as international.

Another research by Seong Hun Yun on the student exchange program between China and Korea shows that it is not only positive perception construction aspect from the counterpart about the host country but also the communication of culture exchange between the two countries. Borrowing the theory of human communication from Littlejohn, in the activity of student exchange, understanding one another occurs. The communication between human leads to communication between cultures. In this model, the diffusion process and dialog happens in both sides, so this influence foreign participants and the host in the context of intercultural interaction among the foreign participants and other members and the wide community where the program is held.¹⁵ Student exchange program seems to be one of the alternatives of effective strategy for the country in increasing its soft power. Through the student exchange activity the state does not need to use its military power and utilize its troops or giving detention to make the counterpart interested but it is sufficient using positive activity and information sharing.¹⁶ This activity is expected to create image or to communicate what is believed by the host country so that it can be the shared value.¹⁷ There are many administrators from various countries who believe that using the culture by means of international education exchange program is diplomacy equipment can be more acceptable by other party than military approach.

Nowadays the image of Indonesia does not get a positive place compared to other South East Asian countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. As an example, in Malaysia, based on information from TV One, 60% out of 1.499 news items in six Malaysian newspapers (4 in Malay and 2 in English) are the negative news about Indonesia.¹⁸ The news report broadcasted are illegal workers arrest, Indonesian worker who is accused to kidnap a Malaysian girl, crimes that are committed or suspected to be done by Indonesian citizen or worker, corruption stories inside the country that are reported in Malaysian news-

papers. Besides, based on the newspaper clipping for 12 months or along 2008, from 1,499 news items, 60% are negative stories and only 40% are positive stories about Indonesia. This shows that the negative side of Indonesia is more interesting to be shown by Malaysian mass media. From the big number of negative reports about Indonesian citizen in Malaysia, in the end it seems that Indonesian citizen who come to Malaysia are mostly illiterate people, forceful labors, lazy, robbers, etc. The Malaysian mass media describes as if Indonesia is on an inferior position.¹⁹ This is shown from the term 'Indon' that is often addressed to the migrant people from Indonesia who are called 3D (dirty, dangerous and difficult).

Negative stereotyping about Indonesia also comes in other countries. One example, among the Saudian people, Indonesian people have a bad image. They think that Indonesia is a poor and under developed country. Their opinion is surely based on the great amount of Indonesian people who work in informal sectors in this country. Besides, although Indonesia has the biggest Muslim population in the world, generally they respect Malaysian more because they think that Malaysia is more successful in all fields. The third image is, although Indonesia is the country with the biggest population of Muslims that takes democracy system, but they see it more as a failure.

Various negative views about Indonesia might be more problematical with the problems it encounters such as masses corruption, complicated bureaucracy, and ethnic conflicts. This condition makes a bad sense for Indonesia, moreover when terrorist attack in some recent years. This results in an image that Indonesia is not safe to visit. Even some countries such as US once gave difficult visa for Indonesian people who have Islamic names.²⁰ This for sure increases negative stereotype from foreign party toward Indonesia.

Starting from the negative images, Indonesia thinks that it is necessary to improve the foreign images toward it through a persuasive approach. The goal is to reach various constituent from different countries through cooperation and embrace all stakeholders of international relation for the sake of raising appreciation and understanding of community, culture, value and policy in soft power form. Through this soft power the problems of communication and interaction between countries and cultures that previously separated by geographical boundary can be solved. The communication and interaction touch various fields and politics does not dominate. The diplomacy of such kind can have a very important role in creating foreign public supports to Indonesia.

Indonesian effort in increasing its soft power is involving various departments. Ministry of Youth and Sports (KEMENPORA) held Inter Nation Youth Exchange Program or PPAN, in collaboration with some countries such as Australia, Japan, Canada Korea, and Malaysia. PPAN is

¹⁵ Seong Hun Yun. (2015). "Does Students Exchange Bring Symmetrical Benefits to Both Countries? An Exploration Case for China and Korea", *International Journal of Communication*. Vol. 9(2015). p. 710-731.

¹⁶ Joseph Nye, "Soft Power and Higher Education", Harvard University retrieved from <https://net.educause.edu/ir/library/pdf/FFP0502S.pdf>

¹⁷ *Influence and Attraction, Culture and the race for soft power in the 21st century*, British Council

¹⁸ Media Massa Malaysia Banyak Menjelekkan Indonesia retrieved from <http://www.tvone.co.id/index.php/cp/...kkan-indonesia> 5 September 2015.

¹⁹ "Muslim Asia Kecam Kebijakan Baru AS" retrieved from <http://www.suaramerdeka.com/harian/0210/03/int1.htm> on 23 April 2015.

¹⁹ Sri Issundari.(2012) "Mengelola Hubungan Indonesia melalui Media: Peluang dan Tantangan". unpublished article, presented on National Conference *Media, Bisnis dan Perdamaian*. Yogyakarta. 2012

²⁰ "Muslim Asia Kecam Kebijakan Baru AS" retrieved from <http://www.suaramerdeka.com/harian/0210/03/int1.htm> on 23 April 2015.

a combination of some sub program such as Australia-Indonesia Youth Exchange Program (AIYEP), Indonesia-Canada Youth Exchange Program (ICYEP), Indonesia-Malaysia Youth Exchange Program (IMYEP), Indonesia-Korea Youth Exchange Program (IKYEP), and also Ship for Southeast Asian Youth Program (SSEAYP). Meanwhile, the exchange program from the ministry of education is scholarships for S1, S2, and S3 and Dharmasiswa scholarship for foreign students to study in Indonesia. In addition, the ministry of foreign affairs provides scholarship in art and culture for foreign youths to learn about the culture in Indonesia.

IACS is a scholarship given by the Indonesian government through ministry of Foreign Affairs. IACS is an activity that is firstly brought to improve the network of collaboration with the country members of the South West Pacific Dialogue (SWPD); Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines and Timor-Leste. In line with the increasing scope of the collaboration done by Indonesia, then the scholarship program is increased for the member countries of ASEAN, ASEAN+3, PIF countries, as well as many countries from all regions in the world.²¹

IACS is one form of student exchange that involves the youths from various countries to learn about various things related to Indonesia. They live for three months to learn about Indonesia from Indonesian economy system, Indonesian politics system, and Indonesian multiculturalism. They also learn how to make batik, plant the paddy even join the traditional dance practices in certain regions. According to Purnowidodo, a staff of Public Diplomacy Directorate, IACS activity is mainly aimed at:

*"In fact, the aim of IACS is to introduce the young generation of the world about Indonesian personality that is specific, an affection to appreciate the diversity, the unity, civility, and tolerance so it is expected that the youths of the world can adopt Indonesian values. So, first they will become Indonesia's companions, and second, they can introduce Indonesia to their country. Third we make an effort in order to make those youngsters become a bridge builder of the unity of the world community to prevent various conflict existed in the world."*²²

In line with the opinion given by Purnowidodo, the Director General of Public Information and Diplomacy of Foreign Ministry of Indonesia, Ambassador Esti Andayani says that in this program Indonesia can reach the young generation from around the world to understand the Indonesian strategic potential and position. Learning the language and appreciating the culture of a country are not only enriching the experiences because unintentionally those young generations are building understanding bridge, peace, and prosperity for the world.²³ Through this program, the foreign young generations who have good

understanding of Indonesia will initiate better communication with Indonesia and become the bridge for the peacefulness between Indonesia and other country will occur. The scope of execution of IACS that involve the youngsters from various countries is a program to introduce the culture of Indonesia and also as a media of the meeting of various cultures, in which the participants share and learn the culture of the host country. Delis Flanja & Roxana Maria Gaz state that if two or more individuals who have different cultures have a contact, it is not easy to find shared values that can be used to make an effective communication. For an individual who stay outside his/her own culture environment, it is very important to feel a connection with the group where he/she stay in order to be able to communicate well and express his inner feelings.²⁴ However, this even opens the participants' thought toward the new ideas and pushes them to adapt each other. From this program, it is expected that there are shared values constructed either by the participants or the Indonesian community, which is at once also dealing with the potential conflict due to cultural differences.

The participants of IACS program who stayed in Indonesia for three months learned about various activities of Indonesian community at first hand. Through this activity the foreign participants will learn about all matters related to Indonesia including the economy system, politics and culture. They will also learn about local wisdoms such as making batik, plowing the paddy fields, joining gatherings, visiting historical places, and having active communication with local community. The participants of IACS also learn the Indonesian language and the local languages where they are located.

The responses given by the participants related to the administration of soft power activities are very positive. AronDieti participant of IACS from Austria started to love arts, especially Indonesian arts after joining IACS:

*"Several times we had the chance to visit a historically import the museum of The Asian African Conference, there we were also involved in some festive activities that was an extraordinary chance to learn more about Indonesian history. With all these activities and the great people to enjoy them with it was an enormously amazing time. Also the intensive time with arts cleared my mind and I still try to maintain it in any form as steady part in my life. Art gives you freedom, is universal and a good way to communicate outside of conventional borders. Before Indonesia I wasn't quite a musician. But through the class in angklung I discovered a lot of fun in the activity of creating sound."*²⁵

The occurrence of change in perceiving Indonesia before and after joining IACS is also recognized by Kathryn Kutznetsova, a participant of IACS batch 2014 from Russia. A deep impression on Indonesia makes her choose to be more focused in learning about Indonesia in her higher study. Kathryn said :

²⁴ Delis Flanja & Roxana Maria Gaz, "Intercultural Adaptation: The Case of International Student Exchange Programmes" dalam *Management and Socio-Humanities*.

²⁵ Beasiswa Seni dan Budaya Indonesia (pesan dan kesan). *Op. Cit.*

²¹ Indonesian Art & Culture Scholarship, Regular Programme, 2 March-15 June 2015. Retrived from <http://www.kemlu.go.id/rome/Documents/BSBI%20Reguler%202015/BSBI%202015.pdf>. On April 10 2015

²² Purnowidodo personal interview on 31 April 2015.

²³ *Beasiswa Seni dan Budaya Indonesia (pesan dan kesan)*. Kementerian Luar Negeri, 2015.

"I just want to thank The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia for IACS program that has changed my life. Now I continue my studying in the Moscow State University of International Relations and my major is Southeast Asia studies with the focus on Indonesia. Earlier I have had some doubts to choose Indonesia or some other country to research. But now there are no doubts. Living in unique and amazing country for three month convinced me to continue studying Indonesia. I graduate this May (2014), so I have to write a thesis and it is about the role of Islam in Indonesia foreign policy." ²⁶

Joy Kertanegara an IACS participant batch 2011 from Nederland felt a different change from affective and behavior sides. He said:

"Before BSBI I never thought I would ever have the chance to learn the Balinese culture and to learn the difficult dance and music. But I had the change to look inside their life, their rituals and to learn about their culture. I felt so lucky and blessed to be part of this program that opened my eyes, where I learned about myself and different culture.... I have definitely learned to be very patient (at least I tried in my own way) and that it is all about communicate with each other... a few participants spoke Bahasa Indonesia, a few spoke excellent English and some a little bit. We had our language barrier so now and then but we managed to understand each other and to be patient and helpful." ²⁷

What is gained by IACS participants during the program shows that there are changes of perception about Indonesia. Positive things about Indonesia were revealed from their good impressions about Indonesia. IACS participants can accept new values they never experienced before through their living experience in Indonesia. Therefore Indonesia's interest to give positive images about the situation and condition in Indonesia is reached. The manager of IACS Machya Astuti Dewi states:

"To my mind the general goal of IACS has been reached from the program of introducing multiculturalism in Indonesia. The indicators are the process and the results. The process is in the form of class room program, fieldtrip, dancing class, gamelan, batik making, and so on as well as the opportunity to interact and socialize with the community and students in college, all of them show the effort toward introducing Indonesian arts and culture. Moreover, in the speciality of the program in Yogyakarta, the IACS participants could see the diversity of students from different tribes in Indonesia mingle in harmony in Yogyakarta. Meanwhile from the indicator of result it seems that all participants reveal their very good impression to this program. They are very happy to learn about art and culture in Indonesia, they want to return to Indonesia and some participants indeed return to Indonesia with scholarship sponsor of Darmasiswa to come and learn more about Indonesian art and culture." ²⁸

In the international education exchanges, the partici-

pants are aware that there are some differences between themselves from the community they entered. This is what makes them make adaptations to the general value that work in the community. This is a process where the participants compare themselves to others. It is the process that makes them aware of the similarity and difference of their new culture. This also makes them aware of their own culture, see theirs objectively and compare the culture to other participants.²⁹ IACS program makes the participants get into a certain community that has different characteristics of values and culture. The existence of these differences makes them have information exchange and find out the similar values that make them understand each other. As an example of an IACS participant in 2013, Brian Jay de Lima Ambuls from Philippine, telling his feeling about the culture exchange between Indonesia and Philippine:

"The program generously offered me another dimension of the love for cross-cultural understanding, and I embraced such offer with open mind and open heart. It made me question where I want to head my life in more ways I can imagine. It made me want to see more of the world and acquire as much as wisdom and knowledge as possible to help Phillipine and Indonesia in my own little ways. I believe it will come to fruition soon.... As of writing, I am studying an international master's degree in dance practice, knowledge and heritage in Norway. I have planned to undertake a dissertasion about dance and cultural diplomacy between my country and Indonesia." ³⁰

In indirect ways, the existence of communication between IACS participants and Indonesian local people grows positive images toward Indonesia. If it is related to the soft power, a positive impression is naturally coming up through persuasive and intangible steps. The interaction early signed by the communication between cultures, and in its development is followed by the appreciation toward new values and norms.

Based on the above explanation, there are some conclusions in the accomplishment of Indonesian soft power strategy through IACS. The first is that the state's power approach of a country is one strategy in executing effective diplomacy without any violence or penalty approach, which in turns can have a contra-productive effect. The second is the natural tendency in international relationship context, which has the main concern on dialogical and non-violent approach. Soft power in this case moves elite groups as the actors of classic diplomacy and embraces the wide society as active actors in diplomacy. Third, it is necessary to develop an effective strategy in executing soft power. A persuasive approach initiated from IACS program cannot be stopped in the end of the program, but it should be followed by keeping the longevity of the good relations between Indonesia and the alumnae. When the

²⁶ Kathryn Kutznetsova personal interview on 30 April 2015

²⁷ *Beasiswa Seni dan Budaya Indonesia. Op. Cit. p 90.*

²⁸ Machya Astuti Dewi personal interview on 2 July 2015

²⁹ Irena Crhanova, *Some of the Main Benefits of Study Abroad*, bachelor thesis, Dept of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Education, Masaryk University.

²⁹ *Beasiswa Seni dan Budaya Indonesia (pesan dan kesan). Op. Cit.*

³⁰ *Ibid. p37*

IACS program comes to an end, the IACS alumnae get back to their homeland and spread the information and values about Indonesia. If the government does not provide a place for communication media between the alumnae and the government related to the Indonesian working plans, the existed symbolic investment will be useless.

CLOSURE

IACS is a government's program that is prepared in

supporting the Indonesian government soft power. Active involvement of Indonesian society in sustaining this effort is very crucial in terms that soft power does not only place the government as the main actor but also involving non-government actors as the supporter. The communication and dialog atmosphere developed in this activity can enhance the relationship building and communication and moreover improve the recognition and appreciation from partner countries toward Indonesia.

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Interview

Kathryn Kutznetsova personal communication on 30 April 2015

Machya Astuti Dewi personal communication on 2 July 2015

Purnowidodo personal communication on 31 April 2015

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Sri Issundari, SIP, M. Hum was born on 13 April 1973. She gained her Master's degree in American Studies from GadjahMada University, Yogyakarta. She is currently pursuing her doctorate degree in International Relations dept at Padjadjaran University. Cellular phone number: 08122779932. e-mail: issundari.ari@gmail.com

Iva Rachmawati, SIP, M.Si. was born on April 27, 1975. She gained her Master's degree in Political Sciences from GadjahMada University, She is currently pursuing her doctorate degree in Political Sciences at GadjahMada University, Yogyakarta. She is currently working at the Department of International Relations, the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta. Cellular phone number: 085878217585. e-mail: iva.rachma@gmail.com



Surabaya Single Window (SSW): Transparency and Public Service Innovation Towards Future City

Penyusun :

- **Fitrotun Niswah**
- **Eva Hany Fanida**

Universitas Negeri
Surabaya

vita.unesa@yahoo.com
efanida@yahoo.com

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Abstract

In line with the spirit to bring transparency and Good Electronic Government, the government has a responsibility to society to implement the principles of good governance. Public service providers should make innovations to the services provided to the community. One of which is public service providers must be responsive in order to serve the needs of complex societies. This is the underlying Surabaya City Government creating one innovation of public services, particularly in terms of the necessary permits. Surabaya called Single Window (SSW). (It is called Surabaya Single Window (SSW)).

In Surabaya, the image of permitting process is used to be taking longer time, being complicated and being costly that is now forgettable memory. Since the birth of the SSW in 2013, the process can be done rapidly, easily and affordably by the community. The fundamental difference between SSW with the previous system lies on the SSW mechanism allowing parallel processing. Some of the proposed permit applicants can be processed simultaneously, not mutually waiting among one license to other licenses. While, previous system still uses series method. Through parallel (integrated) mechanisms, it is automatically cut the term of the licensing process, thus permitting completion duration becoming faster.

On the other hand, the paradigm of New Public Service (NPS) also emphasized accountability and transparency that accompanied the government's responsibility in the public service. As a consequence, demand accountability of government is regarded as good government accountability. It is also a destination rather than bureaucratic management that are effective and efficient. Considering the accountability and transparency of public services as well as various positive values of SSW, it is deemed necessary analysis and research related to transparency and innovation to the future of public services in accordance with the needs of the city. Therefore the government of Surabaya strives towards that direction through a process of democratization. It is how to ensure the whole area and every society to get the rights and equal opportunities to participate in supervising the program and the perfor-

mance of the government. One of them is with equitable access to the Internet, which has access to information technology that becomes the foundation of public services in the city of Surabaya.

Since its release in 2013, Surabaya Single Window programs have been running for almost three years. However, as long as the program is running to get people's attention, there is quite unexpected response from the people. Public response to the implementation of the Single Window Surabaya program was partly influenced by a number of critical factors, among others perceived compatibility, trust, information quality, ability to use, and multilingual option. On the other hand, the response of the community in adopting Single Window Surabaya Program at the level of interaction and static has no direct influence on the critical factors perceived privacy, security and uncertainty. Based on the facts mentioned above, the author has an interest to know whether Surabaya Single Window is able to provide the value of transparency and public service innovation towards the future city.

INTRODUCTION

The need of an increasingly complex society makes good public service demands become higher and higher. Ironically, so far there are still a lot of problems in the public service. This is also confirmed by Kurniawan and Najih (2008) saying that Indonesia has a problem of public services including the following:

"First the poor quality of services, second the poor quality of service providers, third lack of access for vulnerable groups, the disabled and indigenous communities smallest, fourth absence of complaints and dispute settlement mechanisms, the fifth absence of public participation in service delivery."

This further reinforces the fact that in the delivery of public services, there are still going-on problems and the problems must be addressed.

In the framework of the implementation of good governance, it is proper of public service provider to carry out reformation and innovation to the services provided to the community. It can be realized through improved responsiveness of public services to meet the needs of an increasingly complex society.

In addition to be responsive, public service innovation is a step the government implement regional autonomy. By implementing regional autonomy, each region can manage their own areas so the area can be expected to understand the characteristics of citizens who would have eventually realized that better public services. According to Ratminto and Winarsih (2013), the implementation of regional autonomy will be able to improve the quality of public services, because:

1. Shorten the levels of the hierarchy of decision-making, thus decision-making can be done quickly.
2. Enlarge the authority and the freedom in formulating and implementing policies more in line with lo-

cal needs and demands of society.

3. Bring the organizers together with the governments and their constituents so that the organizers of the government will be able to respond to community demands more precisely.
4. Increase the level of accountability of governments for community organizers that are closer and have greater access to control the running of the government.

In line with these assumptions, it is also necessary to look at the three characteristics of a good service. All three of these characteristics have been revealed by Zethaml & Farmer (in Pasolong 2008) who say that:

1. Intangibility means that the service is essential to the performance and results of the experience rather than an object. Most services cannot be counted, measured, touched or tested before it is submitted to guarantee the quality. It is on the contrary to the goods produced by a factory that can be tested for quality before being delivered to customers.
2. Heterogeneity means service users or clients or customers have needs that are very heterogeneous. Customers with the same service may have different priorities. Similarly, performance often varies from one procedure to another procedure even from time to time.
3. Inseparability means that production and consumption are the integral service. Consequently, the quality of service in the industry are not engineered into the production sector of the factory and then delivered to the customer. Quality occurs during the interaction between clients and service providers.

The third characteristic of the above-mentioned services also began to be implemented in the city of Surabaya. The step is preceded by the efforts to improve service license

and non-license that are effective, efficient and transparent to the public, including businesses. Thus, it established the service system electronically that is called Surabaya Single Window (SSW). This system is one form of ministry of One-Stop Integrated Service Unit (OSISU) Surabaya in the field of electronic form. The system is integrated between working units.

DISCUSSION

A. Implementation of Surabaya Single Window on One-Stop Integrated Service Unit (OSISU) in Surabaya

Surabaya Single Window (SSW) was developed to allow a submission of data and information in a single data processing and information in sync. Decision making is in accordance with the duties and functions of each working units. Surabaya, through Single Window portal, will be the integration of information related to the process of licensing and non-licensing services online that ensures the security of data and information as well as its integrated workflow and process information between internal systems automatically.

The existence of Surabaya Single Window also aims to further speed the service process. Surabaya permit processing mechanism Single Window can be done in parallel. Therefore, some of the applicant's permits can be processed simultaneously. They do not have to mutually wait between licenses permits one to the other. Meanwhile, the previous system still uses the methods of the series that make the parallel mechanism cut the period of the licensing process automatically.

Surabaya Single Window also a system that is connected among working units so that relevant agencies are already interconnected and sped up the process. The purpose of the establishment of the Surabaya Single Window is to reduce direct contact between the officer and the applicant's permission. Thus, the potential for the practice of nepotism and corruption can be minimized.

The service flow in OSISU Surabaya is divided into two that are offline and online. In offline system, the applicant directly comes to the counter OSISU. It is divided into two services flow with the assessment of technical and non-technical. The online service flow is through Surabaya Single Window Service flow that means the applicant does not need to come to the OSISU but he/she can do so wherever the applicant resides. Applicant just opens the website address of Surabaya Single Window that is <http://ssw.surabaya.go.id>. The address will show the licensing procedure for the submission either in packs or partial. Package here means the complete package that the permit application has from the beginning to the end. Applicants, who wish to open a new business, by selecting the shape of the package, will get any information permits that must be filled. The applicant will receive a complete service which helps her from the beginning to the end of the opening of a service flow in OSISU Surabaya that is divided into two; offline and online. For offline system, the applicant directly comes to the counter OSISU. It is divided into two services

flowing with the assessment of technical and non-technical. The online service flow is through Surabaya Single Window.

B. Future City Concept

The understanding of future city infrastructure becomes wide as it embodies not only physical urban infrastructure but also human capital, information and newest computing technologies (software, server and network infrastructures, devices of citizens or city visitors). The specific of future city infrastructure is that all city infrastructures are interconnected in order to provide high quality services.

Barrionuevo et al (2012) state that urban development is possible only under these conditions: innovation (creative activities, participation of private sector, talent, technology), social cohesion (democratic values, health and safety, community spirit, diversity), sustainability (appropriate density, compact growth, energy efficiency, public spaces) and connectivity (efficient mobility, friendly pedestrian, communications, international connections). As one of the targets of future city is to create quality of living, social infrastructure plays important role too as it assures educational process, health and security service provision, and formation of recreation and leisure zones in a city. Washburn and Singhu (2010) distinguish seven critical contemporary city infrastructure components and services: city administration, education, healthcare, public safety, real estate, transportation, and utilities. Future city uses newest technologies in order to transform these infrastructure components for effective and quality service provision in both public and private sectors. The specifics of future city infrastructure can be described using the proposed classification:

1. Future city administration. It must be efficient, transparent and involving citizens. Technologies provide opportunities for citizens to participate in the process of city administration as e-government system ensuring easy access. Technological progress also allows implementing technologies for administration functions: sustainable use of buildings, transportation, etc. City administration must follow the principles of sustainable development and to assure sustainable urban development by balancing covered and green spaces.
2. Education. In order to transfer knowledge creation into economic profit, integrating education, research and innovation become significant. Using knowledge for economic and social progress brings changes to educational system as long life learning becomes inevitable. Information and communication technologies make education more accessible as remote learning reduces costs and it is as much effective as full-time studies.
3. Healthcare in future is more rapid and effective as there is possibility to react quickly to emergency calls; the information about patient is easily transferred in electronic form that is also useful for future researches.

4. Increased public safety in future city. Public video surveillance systems are very useful for public safety which together with location.
5. Based services allow receiving fast rescue help and they work as means of prevention. Geographical information system helps to reach the accident place faster. Anttiroiko (2013) also stresses the need of early warning systems for meteorology and earthquake monitoring services in order to avoid disasters and the need of ICT to monitor the condition of physical infrastructure (f. e. roads, bridges, tunnels which is very important as condition of present infrastructure is not adequate to rapidly growing demand).
6. Real estate in the future city will be better occupied for lower prices. Another issue: the empty buildings will be used to fulfill existing needs of local government, initiatives or business.
7. Transportation. Anttiroiko (2013) presents examples of South Korea in order to share the knowledge how ubiquitous infrastructure was built: ICT was applied in transportation in order to assure real-time communication and to avoid traffic congestions. Future city transportation was also oriented to use more alternative vehicles as bicycles, electric cars, etc. in order to reduce pollution. Researchers also note that transportation system is very important in cities image formation because it determines accessibility of a city that is significant for city economy in terms of trade and tourism.
8. Future city utility infrastructure will be improved to work efficiently. The main purpose of system development is to produce electricity from alternative recourses (smart grids, gas and water distribution systems), reduce amounts of waste and effectively manage water and energy losses.

Future city infrastructure components mentioned above create attractive environment for business development. But future city is inconceivable without effective infrastructure for business centers and networks, knowledge and innovation implementation in manufacturing process. As it is not physical infrastructure, it is to do with social capital forming and innovation implementation that depends on business support system and local economic policy. Performed analysis shows that modern infrastructure is essential for future city to be economically successful, providing quality and reliable living conditions in parallel with care to natural environment.

Scientific literature emphasizes that neither contemporary nor future city can function without infrastructure. As cities in global market are facing increasing rivalry in order to attract resources, investors and visitors, the key factors of city competitiveness and exclusivity play crucial role. According to classical economic theory and macro-economic fundamentals, city is understood as a working system (Sinkiene, 2008) which creates economic value: city uses its resources (geographical, physical and human) as inputs in production process and with the help of techno-

logical and intellectual assets; it produces specific products or services. Authors of scientific literature stress that the development of future city is no longer dedicated to only urban growth. Effective and quality (instead of growing) urban development in future city will provide infrastructure to individuals and business units to create economic value. Snieška and Zykiene (2014) mention that infrastructure assets together with other resources and assets of future city form certain characteristics of future city:

1. Internationally accessible (mixed modal access of the city).
2. Economically vital (competitive business sector).
3. Innovative (modern technologies implemented in infrastructure, business and social sectors).
4. Safe (increased public and information safety in the city).
5. Healthy (residents of the city live in ecologic environment promoting healthy lifestyle).
6. Attractive (natural conditions and tourism objects are desirable for city visitors).
7. Comfortable (public services assure comfortable living conditions).
8. Inhabited with responsible society (residents are initiative in all city activities).

It means that effective management of even small part of city infrastructure to big extent influences characteristics of future city. In addition, this causality is mutual: infrastructure must fit the demand of future city in order to fulfill changing needs of citizens and business sector.

CONCLUSIONS

The government's movement to bring innovation and service updates to the Future Surabaya city is in one embodied by the service program called Surabaya Single Window. Various indicators toward Future city are that they must be efficient, transparent and involving citizens. Technologies provide opportunities for citizens to participate in the process of city administration as e-government system to ensure easy access. Technological progress also allows implementing technologies for administration functions: sustainable use of buildings, transportation, etc. City administration must follow the principles of sustainable development and assure sustainable urban development by balancing covered and green spaces. Using knowledge for economic and social progress brings changes to educational system as lifelong learning becomes inevitable. Information and communication technologies make education more accessible, remote learning restriction, and reduce costs. It is also as much effective as full-time studies. Based rescue services allow fast receiving help and work as a means of prevention. Geographical information system helps to reach the accident place faster. With the implementation of the Single Window Surabaya service, quality can be optimized for interaction between the public and the government as a provider of services performed directly.

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Green city or grey city?

An urban environmental security perspective on Jakarta's waste management system

Penyusun :

• **Ucu Martanto**

Lecturer
Faculty of Social and
Political Science

Airlangga University

Abstract

Similar to other megacities, waste disposal is one of the most serious problems in Jakarta. Data from the local government showed that every day Jakarta produces more than 27.966 M³ or 6.000 tons of waste, and with 5% annual growth, 55.37% of waste is organic and the rest is non-organic. The problems lie in the substance and the quantity of waste that contaminates the environment and threatens the health of the community. In addition, a poor waste management practices have triggered conflict between Jakarta and its surrounding areas. This essay aims to analyze the impacts of a conventional perspective and to envisage the viability of a new perspective of waste management in Jakarta. To do so, I will begin by approaching the three characteristics (suppliers, backyard, and fixers) of the center-periphery relationship that come out of the conventional city development perspective. The new perspective that I propose is a shifting from "grey city" to "green city" in the framework of the urban system and its economic and political consequences in order to reshape a city-rural sustainable relationship. The shift will bring insight for better waste management.

INTRODUCTION

Jakarta serves not only as the capital of Indonesia but also as the country's economic, socio-cultural and political center. Located on the northwest coast of Java Island, it covers 662.33 km² and 10.177.924 inhabitants with the population growth rate of 1.02 percent per year (BPS, 2016).

Similar to other megacities, waste disposal is one of the most serious problems in Jakarta. Statistic Bureau of Jakarta noted that in a day Jakarta produces 7,147.36 tons of

garbage but only 6,491.75 tons were transported to landfill area. The garbage contains 55.37% organic and the rest is non-organic (BPS, 2016). The problems lie not only in a substance and a quantity of waste that contaminates the environment but also the community's health quality. Furthermore, the poor waste management practices have been triggering conflict between Jakarta and its surrounding areas.

This essay has two aims. The first is to analyze the impacts of a conventional perspective. The second is to envisage the viability of a new perspective of waste manage-

ment in Jakarta. To do so, I will begin by approaching the three characteristics (suppliers, backyard, and fixers) of the center-periphery relationship that come out of the conventional city development perspective. The new perspective that I propose is a shift from “grey city” to “green city” in the framework of the urban system and its economic and political consequences in order to reshape a city-rural sustainable relationship. The shifting will bring insight for better waste management.

GROWTH MACHINE AND CONCENTRIC CYCLE

Jakarta does not have areas for dumping and processing their waste. Until now, the local government of Jakarta was relying on two locations for dumping and processing of waste; one in Bojong village, Bogor District and the other in Bantar Gebang village, Bekasi District. Beginning in 2001, local residents in those two areas organized themselves and refused the government of Jakarta’s plan to build mega, modern waste processing facilities. They argued it would reduce environmental security, reduce health and sanitation quality, and jeopardize the neighborhood. Since then, several horizontal and vertical conflicts among the government of Jakarta versus the governments of the Bekasi and Bogor districts¹ as well as and the Bekasi or Bogor communities, have occurred in those two locations.

Assessing the waste disposal problem that often emerges in Jakarta, there is an obvious logical fallacy in how to achieve economic development in connection with center urban and peri-urban areas or center-periphery relationships. In relation to city economic development, the city stakeholders are characterized in the periphery areas (sub-urban and rural) as *suppliers*, *backyards*, and *fixers*. This is a common attitude of city stakeholders in justifying the roles of periphery areas.

As supplier, they are placing the consumer at the center and the producer at the periphery for environmental goods and services. In doing so, their policies are focused on how to increase the consumption capacity of city residents, as well as how to increase the environmental goods and services capacity of periphery areas. But, at the same time the increase of consumption capacity will increase the production of waste. As a backyard, peri-urban areas are seen as less important areas to develop. Inspired by “trickle-down economics”, a famous economic development axiom, the government believes that by prioritizing economic development at the center the externalities of these processes would be spread out into the periphery areas. As fixers, periphery inhabitants are often asked to participate in maintaining the environment in order to continue their goods and services provision to the center’s development.

A modernist center-periphery relationship mentioned above is the reflection of the image of Molotch’s (1976)

¹A tension between Jakarta City Government and Bogor and Bekasi District was gradually end when they agreed on co-management of waste disposal in 2006. Jakarta Government will pay US\$ 53 /tons to Bogor and Bekasi District. But, since the agreement did not address community grievances the tension is still going on at grassroots level. Recently, the inhabitant of Bantar Gebang blockage dumping truck that carries garbage from Jakarta (detik.com, 2015)

frameworks called “growth machine”. According to this framework, urban development is driven by the social relations of production and accumulation (Pitkin, 2001: 8; Schwirian, 1983: 94-95). In a more strict explanation, Friedmann quoted by Pitkin (2001: 8), said:

“the city was no longer to be interpreted as a social ecology, subject to natural forces inherent in the dynamics of population and space; it came to be viewed instead as a product of specifically social forces set in motion by capitalist relations of production”. (Friedmann, 1986: 69)

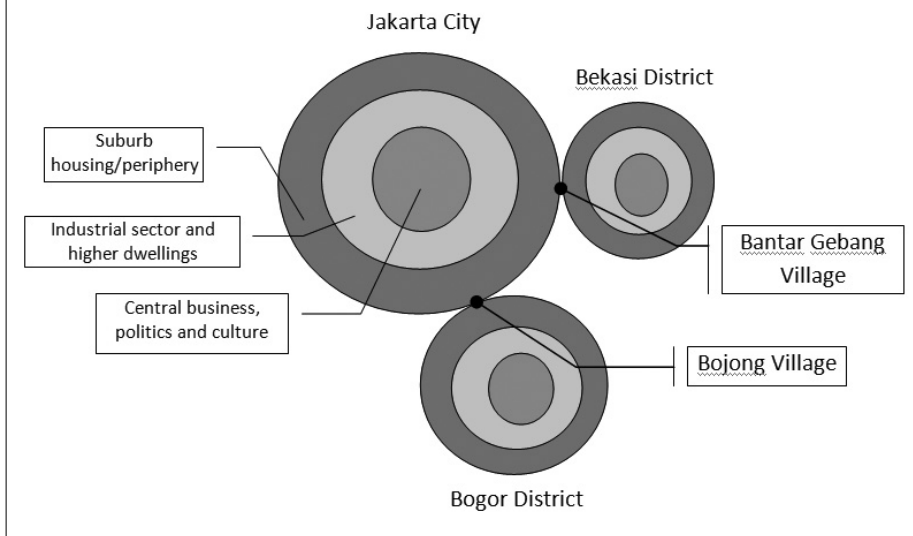
As the impacts of government and other members of the “growth machine” set in, economic growth supporters, urbanization and natural population growth have increased rapidly over four decades. Gordon McGranahan and Peter Marcotullio (2005: 802) wrote “the most urbanized nations are those with the highest per capita incomes, and the nations with the largest increases in their levels of urbanization are those with the largest economic growth”. The increase of income per capita will stimulate the increase of consumption capacity per capita on environmental goods and services. At the same time, the capability of government to provide better services for waste management was not equal with the rate of waste production per capita.

Similar to the “growth machine”, the concept of “concentric circles” from an ecological perspective, can be useful to explain the characteristic of suppliers, backyard, and fixers. Burgess, a proponent of the ecological school of thought, found that changes in neighborhoods were caused by resident’s competition for the city space (Burgess, 1925; Pitkin, 2001: 3-4). The competition causes the city to be divided into concentric rings: the innermost ring being the central business, political, and cultural district, surrounded by the industrial sector, higher-status dwellings, and sub-urb housings (slum, working-class, and commuter). Pitkin said “as the city grows outward, each ring places pressure on the ring surrounding it to expand” (Pitkin, 2001: 4). In the context of Jakarta City and other cities, it cannot be denied there was an overlap² between the rings, but in order to give a more clear picture I will identify and separate it into three concentric rings: central business, politics and cultural ring; industrial sector and higher-status dwelling; and suburban housing ring or periphery (see image 1).

If we look at the case, the locus of waste and environmental insecurity has happened in the outer ring of the “concentric cycle” concept. Those areas have a weak bargaining position with cities both politically, economically, and environmentally. For the sake of attracting investments and economic development, the government and city planners put city wastes at the outer ring. In the two areas, the final waste disposal areas are located between two cities. For instance, Bantar Gebang village is situated in the outer ring of Jakarta City and Bekasi City and Bojong village are also situated in the outer ring of Jakarta City and Bogor City.

²In many areas, there are slum housing areas surrounding the center business or industrial area but their population is less than those who live in the outer ring.

Image 1
The Concentric Rings: Jakarta City, Bekasi District, and Bogor District



Those perspectives shaped an unequal relationship between center and periphery in the city, as well as the relation between Jakarta City with surrounding areas (Bogor and Bekasi districts) in political, economic, and environmental arenas. Unequal economic opportunities occur when government policies prioritize economic and social infrastructures in the city area rather than the periphery areas. These infrastructures will stimulate economic prosperity and growth for its residents. Generally, a city is defined by its population or its population density (population based criteria). This criterion will have consequences on the political realm, since the political system is based on representative democracy system. A high dense population area (city and urban areas) will receive higher representations in local or national parliament compare to low density population area (rural or village). Environmental injustices were taking place when government policies were laid out rural area as a supplier for environmental goods and services and undesirable land.³

In the following sections, I will propose a new approach for city economic development and envisage a new framework for waste management in Jakarta. To do so, I will begin defining the causes of waste management problems in Jakarta and arguing the capacity of a new perspective to tackle these problems.

FROM GREY CITY TO GREEN CITY

From the previous section, I mentioned the three characteristics (suppliers, backyard, and fixers) of a center-periphery relationship, which came as the consequences of utilizing growth poles (capital concentration) and technocratic planning perspectives for developing a city. This

³ In his article, Lee (2006: 17) use the term of "undesirable land" to mention an area that not economically give direct benefit or generate urban development. This area becomes a place for waste disposal, power plants or transmission tower for mobile telephony. This area is getting undesirable when "not my backyard" become the city resident's attitude.

perspective formed an unequal political and economic opportunities and risk between the center and periphery areas. Furthermore, in the context of waste management, it has been triggering the tension among center-periphery areas and causing horizontal and vertical conflicts.

The lack of stakeholder consciousness and institutional arrangement of waste management, limited availability of land areas for waste dumping and processing, and low technology are the major causes of waste disposal problems in Jakarta. These causes can be categorized into three levels of limitations, which are mindset, institutional, and infrastructure.

The city development planning have been segregating humans from

their bio-physical and social environments. Dividing city areas into several sub-areas/rings which were based on economic function influenced the environmental capacity to produce goods and services. Naturally, the environment is an integrative concept which exists in a balance between bio and physical elements that interact with each other to produce goods and services that can be used for them and human beings. So, losing one element or dividing it from others, can generate imbalances that affect their capacity to produce goods and services. In this sense, both rural and urban areas should provide their own environmental goods and services to support their needs and capacities. Subsidizing environmental goods and services for urban areas by dumping wastes into rural areas will deplete rural environments in the long term, propagate health insecurity, and livelihood changes for rural residents.

Richard (2007: 53) said, "antisocial thinking about cities has been the dominant strain of urban discourse throughout most of its two and a half millennia history." The tendency for antisocial thinking was spread, if it not supported by, economic based human interactions in modern society. In the case of Jakarta, the antisocial behavior is also especially reflected by high-middle class residents. Based on efficiency and effective calculations, the high-middle class usually buys a house that includes excellent facilities for water and sanitation, electricity and waste disposal. As long as they pay the bills, they do not want to know how the developer provides water, sanitation, electricity and disposes the wastes.

Waste management institutions obtain minor attention from the governor and parliament compared to other government institutions. The governor and parliament give more attention to the institutions that generate revenues for local government. The intergovernmental cooperation between Jakarta City, Bekasi District, and Bogor District is not optimal to mitigate waste disposal problems in those areas. In downstream of 13 rivers, Jakarta receives 300-500 cubic meters of wastes from Bogor and the surrounding areas a day.

The poor of bargaining position of rural residents com-

pared to from city residents could be drawn from their political representation in local parliament. There are three factors related to the degree of political representation between rural and urban areas. Firstly, the number of residents living in urban areas is higher than residents living in rural areas. According to Indonesian electoral law, district magnitude is principally determined by number of voters (OPOVOV)/One Person One Vote and One Value, not by territory. Secondly, most of the parliament members in Jakarta come from the high-middle class and they live in urban areas. Third, although Indonesia uses a bicameral system, senators represent their province, not city or village areas. They also come from the high-middle class and their political arenas are limited to national issues.

PERCEPTION AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

The main feature of a new city development perspective is the change from “grey city” to “green city” in the framework of urban systems as human and ecological systems. Basically, a “green city” concept tries to incorporate the environment as a stakeholder in city development planning. Contrary to “green city”, “gray city” separates humans from their environment and social experiences. Dekay and O’Brien (2001: 19) illustrates a “gray city” as a noisy, congested, frustrating, and unhealthy city. Most of cities in the world can be categorized as gray cities. The similarity of one city to another cannot be eluded since city planners and decision makers have a strong tendency to neglect ecosystem services and other correlations between ecosystems and human well-being.

Segregating human-ecology relations not only creates environmental damage, but also makes human beings more vulnerable to environmental changes. It is because, naturally, a damaged environment has a low capacity to provide goods and services to humans. There are many urban areas that have a poor system and relationship with the ecosystem. A poor relationship between the urban system and ecosystem will involve issues of human well-being and social justice on three levels (McGranahan and Marcotullio, 2005: 806). First, unhealthy and unpleasant living conditions will effects vulnerable groups living in urban areas. They will be exposed to the risks when local ecosystem services are lacking and alternatives are inaccessible. Second, when urban development harms ecosystems in the surrounding region, there are more extensive issues of spatial injustice. In this case, rural residents as well as their environment will have negative externalities from urban development. Third, urban activities infringe on distant people and future generations by reducing their access to ecosystem services, because the ecosystems themselves are degraded.

Even though humans have the capacity to damage a city environment, they also have the capacity to rejuvenate a damaged city environment. City parks, green belt corridors, and green building codes are a few of the efforts used to repair city environments. But, the question is whether these efforts are superficial actions or integrated actions. If it is a superficial action, there must be a great shift to the more integrated ones.

Dekay and O’Brien (2001: 19) proposes, the there should be a shift of our perception, then, I believe a perception change must be followed by institutional changes. Perception changes can only happen if we learn to think ecologically because it is impossible to get us out of the urban ecological crisis with the same kind of thinking that created it (Dekay and O’Brien, 2001: 19). Building a sustainable city can be started by thinking of the city as a living system not a static one, as experience of nature, and as a particular place.

As a living system, the city should be seen in as a structural and functional pattern of a living system. Structural pattern means, “the form, composition, distribution, and configuration of its parts—rocks, soil, plants, animals” (Dekay and O’Brien, 2001: 20). Functional pattern means, “a relationship among these parts, involving the movement and transformation of energy, materials, and information” (Dekay and O’Brien, 2001: 20).

Thinking of the city as experience suggests we have to think of the city beyond the ecosystem services that provide our basic needs (Dekay and O’Brien, 2001: 20). The city not only provides goods and services, but can also affect our health and human development. We cannot guarantee our health and human development continuity when we live side by side with a damaged ecosystem. A healthy city ecosystem will maintain our health and human development pace in the future.

Thinking of the city as a particular place means we have to consider the city as a small part of a larger ecosystem and each of these small parts cannot be separated from each other. For example, every little change in city ecosystem will influence other city or rural ecosystems. Considering this tight relationship, to build a green city we have to shift our individual thinking to a contextual thinking that includes others (Dekay and O’Brien, 2001: 21).

The individual perception changes proposed by Dekay and O’Brien (2001) are not sufficient to shift a “gray city” to “green city”. We have to transform the perception changes into institutional or sociopolitical structural changes. Modern human civilization is driven by institutional or structural mechanisms that are attached to sociopolitical entity called a nation state. Modern states have played a major role in constituting, according to their own perspective, what their goals are, the good they want for their citizens, and how, with their power and authority, they will achieve them. But, many times, their goals are not parallel with citizens needs and the ways they achieve it endanger citizen rights. Scott (1998) argues that this occurs because states observe and resolve the problems in a sketchy way, like quantifying and normalizing key social features without trying to encapsulate a more comprehensive perspective.

Knowing and considering the state attitude drawn by Scott, the institutional changes become very relevant in shifting a “gray city” to “green city”. In the case of Jakarta, the institutional change can be started by promoting community or neighborhood associations, channeling their interests in policy making processes, and reforming the political representation of urban-rural residents. These steps can be realized politically since Indonesia has succeeded in squiring the democratic transition process for almost a

decade. Learning from Ciudad Guyana, Venezuela, a post authoritarian (democratic) era provides good momentum for reshaping city planning from central to local and from technocratic to participatory planning (Irazábal, 2004: 23).

CONCLUSION: SHARED WASTE MANAGEMENT

The idea of shared waste management is rooted on risk society and discursive democracy perspectives. Through these perspectives, waste management can be framed in a “green city” concept which is driven by sharing risks-responsibilities and collegial relations between urban and surrounding areas in responding to waste externalities.

The concept of risk society comes from Ulrich Beck’s work *Risk Society* (1992) and describes the continuity of industrial society. Risk society was not built as a new structure but is rather an extension of old sociopolitical structure that was already set up during modern industrial society. The differences between the two are the idea of the relationship between agents and social structures, and the level of consciousness of the individual to risks where in the risk society they are not only distributing wealth but also risks (Beck, 1992). The two characteristics are rising in risk society because of the capacity of human reflexivity to modernization.

If the risk society perspective gives a good rationale for citizens on what should be shared, discursive democracy offers governments and citizens the operational value and tools to make it work. Discursive democracy, a concept proposed by Dryzek (1990), is another keystone of shared waste management. Basically, discursive democracy puts discourse as the center of democracy. It comes from the assumption that the deepened democratic process requires intense communication exchanges in social contexts, including the definition of rules and institutions, processes of decision making and everyday interactions (Dryzek, 1990).

In the “green city” concept there are no clear boundaries between urban ecosystems and rural ecosystems because both are living systems and made up and interrelated with, each other. This will bring us to an idea of sharing risks and responsibilities in waste management. Sharing risks and responsibilities mean every resident, no matter where they live, has the same quality of risks on waste externalities. Therefore they have the same responsibilities to managing their own waste.

Through long and complex negotiations, Jakarta City, Bogor, and Bekasi District finally came to an agreement on co-management of final disposal areas at Bojong and Bantar Gebang village in 2006. The agreement has to be followed through a reconciliation process at the community level in those areas and the attitudes of city residents must be change. Jakarta government should urge their residents to manage and recycle household waste before disposing of it into the final disposal area. Jakarta government should be promoting household associations and place them at the forefront of community waste management. Lastly, these practices should be institutionalized by regulations.

In order to minimize political inequality of urban-rural areas, city and district governments should promote a “collegial political voice” in every political domain (local parliament and local government). The collegial political voice can be realized in two ways. First, there should be a reform of legislative candidates and district magnitude. Election law should be strictly arranged to say where the candidate come from and who they will be representing. District magnitude should not only be determined by the number of voters, but also by the territorial representation (urban and rural area). Second, city and district governments have to open up the political space for community associations, especially those which represent rural residents, in policy making processes. A deliberative or discursive policy making process is the best way to maximize community participation and engagement in city planning.

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Urban Water Transformations: Can social innovations and entrepreneurships transform governance and citizenship in developing cities?

Penyusun :

(a)• **Erika M. Duncan**

(b)• **Megan A. Farrelly**

(b)• **Briony C. Rogersc**

(a) Graduate Research
Interdisciplinary Program,
School of Social Sciences,
Monash University

(b) School of Social Sci-
ences, Monash University,
Clayton VIC 3800, Australia

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sanitation, citizenship,
governance, Indonesia.*

Abstract

Global environmental change and increased resource consumption are driving the need for urban water transformations. The complexity of this challenge calls for strategic action to advance alternative governance and citizenship practices. This paper reviews literature on social innovations and social entrepreneurship and conceptually integrates it with insights from sustainability transitions scholarship to explain how social innovators and entrepreneurs influence transition dynamics. It proposes seven core ingredients (social mission, creative innovations, entrepreneurialism, social networks, hybridisation, social value-creation, and social change) and four key processes (opportunity recognition, resource mobilisation, empowering and embedding, and learning and adaptation) to explain the influence of the social innovation and entrepreneurship within the context of inadequate sanitation in developing countries. The results show that social innovations and entrepreneurships affect transformational changes in governance and citizenship while creating multi-dimensional value in the areas of social inclusion, economic development and environmental sustainability.

1. INTRODUCTION

Cities worldwide face complex challenges in managing urban water resources under conditions of rapid urbanisation, climate change and resource scarcity (UN 2014). The situation is particularly severe in rapidly developing Asian cities, where a critical lack of sanitation infrastructure is

leading to acute water pollution and increase health and environmental risks under pressures of burgeoning population, widespread poverty and inequality, and lack of investment capital (Larsen et al 2016; WB 2009; WSP 2013). The Millennium Development Goals brought significant advances in reducing global poverty and expanding water supply coverage but failed to meet sanitation targets

in many developing countries (WHO and UNICEF 2014). Impeded by social, cultural, financial and institutional barriers, sanitation has historically received much less institutional support than water, leaving individual households responsible for fulfilling their own needs (Isunju et al 2011; Okurut et al 2015; Van Dijk 2012; WB 2009). Despite aspirations to achieve universal access to sanitation by 2030 under the new UN Sustainable Development Goals, Hutton and Chase (2016) estimate it will take another 60 years before improved sanitation reaches poor and marginalised citizens. This has led scholar and practitioner to have an interest in exploring alternative practices to improve sanitation for the poor, while ensuring socio-economic development and environmental sustainability.

In Indonesia, where small-to-medium sized enterprises play vital roles in the economy, *social entrepreneurs* have emerged as key players in delivering improved sanitation services for the poor, while contributing to social inclusion, economic development and environmental sustainability (Gero et al 2014; Idris and Hati 2013; Rostiani et al 2014; Tambunana 2007; Sachs 2015). The work of social entrepreneurs has also been reported in relation to diffusing toilets as pro-poor innovations in India (Ramani et al 2010), operating franchise sanitation business in Kenya (London and Esper 2014; Ziegler et al 2014), and upscaling eco-neighbourhood initiatives in Tunisia (Leitaifa 2016). The concept of social entrepreneurship (SE) is closely related to *social innovations* (SI), now adopted as cornerstone policy in Europe and attracting the largest public research funding (Bonifacio 2014). SE and SI emerged as civic responses to meet underserved needs of society and recently evolved into global phenomena. A significant amount of literature has developed around SI and SE in recent years, along with growing interest from government, business and civil society for their ability to tackle complex social and environmental problems while catalysing change (Howaldt and Schwartz 2010; Huybrecht and Nicholls 2012; Osburg and Schmidpeter 2013; Phillips et al 2015). However, the current scholarship lacks theoretical explanations and empirical evidence of the strategic approaches used by social entrepreneurs and innovators to affect transformations and to influence governance and citizenship.

Research on sustainability transitions has to date contributed many valuable insights that can be used to analyse how change occurs in urban water and other complex societal systems (Brown et al 2013; Ferguson et al 2013; Paredis 2011; Loorbach 2010; Rotmans et al 2011). Despite a focus on science and technology, these insights have been useful in diagnosing critical enabling factors that influence transition dynamics and their governance (Brown et al 2013; Ferguson et al 2013; Paredis 2011). Defined as “long-term, multi-dimensional and fundamental transformation processes through which established socio-technical systems shift to more sustainable modes of production and consumption” (Markard et al 2012; p.256), sustainability transitions involve a continuous process of system innovations that co-evolve with changes in needs, demands, institutions, cultures and practices (Rotmans et al 2011). In the context of urban water, sustainability tran-

sitions research has previously focussed on overcoming institutional inertia and technological lock-ins associated with conventional urban water systems in developed countries (Brown and Farrelly 2009; Farrelly and Brown 2011; Ferguson et al 2013). However more recently, scholarly interest has expanded to explore alternative pathways and practices for enabling developing countries with underdeveloped infrastructures to leapfrog directly towards more sustainable forms of urban water management (Binz et al 2012; Butler et al 2016; Leach et al 2012; Revi et al 2014). This paper provides the first step towards conceptually linking understanding of social innovations and entrepreneurs with scholarly insights on sustainability transitions to make explicit ingredients that make up these alternative practices in influencing transition dynamics. Such insight is critical to assisting planners and policy makers in devising strategic initiatives to support social innovations and entrepreneurs in driving urban water transformations.

This paper serves two objectives: 1) to develop conceptual links between theoretical explanations of transition dynamics and the practice of social innovations and entrepreneurship, and 2) to propose a preliminary framework that can be used to guide strategic initiatives that support social entrepreneurs in developing countries towards urban water transformations. The research approach used to achieve these objectives involved: (a) examining the literature on social innovations, social entrepreneurship and sustainability transitions to identify and synthesize findings on core ingredients that make up the alternative practices, (b) aligning these core ingredients with critical enabling factors recognised in sustainability transitions research to synthesize understanding of the transition dynamics and strategic approaches used by social entrepreneurs, and (c) applying the identified ingredients to illustrate examples in the context of the Indonesian sanitation sector to analyse how social entrepreneurs can become important drivers of transformative change and improved governance and citizenship. With empirical testing, refinement and validation throughout the course of the doctoral research, the preliminary framework developed as a result of this study may serve as a basis for guiding and designing strategic initiatives to support social innovations and entrepreneurs targeted at urban water transformations.

2. UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP (SE) AND SOCIAL INNOVATION (SI)

2.1. Historical and contemporary trends in the literature

A significant amount of literature has developed around SI and SE in recent years with increased interest in their potential to create transformative change. A systematic search on SCOPUS returned 9610 and 2620 studies respectively under keywords ‘social innovation’ and ‘social entrepreneurship’ between 1978 and 2016, progressively increasing in volume after 2010. Similarly, a combined search of the two keywords returned 492 results over a period of two decades, evidencing growing convergence

between the two concepts after 2005. The emerging significance is also made evident by the number of specialised journals dedicated to the topic: *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, which is primarily targeted at the business sector, *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, geared towards social innovation research in Europe, and *International Journal of Social Entrepreneurship and Innovation*, which aims to bridge cross-boundary communication for the development of social innovations. This paper excludes studies focussed on organisational change and the information technology, agriculture, hospitality and tourism sectors as they were considered less relevant for the context of water and sanitation.

As noted by Phillips et al (2015), the scholarship is dominated by descriptive and conceptual analysis of definitions and key concepts covering a range of topics including: *social capital* (Alguezaui & Filieri 2010; Bhatt and Altinay 2013), *social networks* (Sonne 2015), *social change* (Grimm et al 2013), *social value-creation* (Di Domenico et al 2010; Jokela et al 2015), *social impact* (Paunescu 2014), *social enterprise* (Gero et al 2014), *social responsibility* (Harazin and Kosi 2013), *bottom-of-the-pyramid and pro-poor innovations* (Hall et al 2012; Ramani et al 2010; Pervez et al 2012), *empowerment* (Raheem et al 2014), *scaling* (Desa and Kosa 2014; Westley and Antadze 2010), *policy significance* (Adam and Hess 2010; Bonifacio 2014), *sustainability* (Di Zhang and Swanson 2014; Hall et al 2010; Mueller et al 2011), and *governance* (Baker and Mehmood 2015; Letaifa 2016). Empirical studies began emerging after 2012, along with studies exploring the emergence, development and internationalisation of SI and SE and their role in effecting change (Letaifa 2016; Phillips et al 2015). However, engagement with theoretical work such as sustainability transitions is still at nascent stage, as evidenced by a combined search of SI or SE with 'sustainability transitions' returning only 26 studies in the last two decades.

Despite the 'social' element, SI and SE do not have a background in social science (Cajaiba-Santana 2014). SI was first introduced into academia in 1912 by Joseph Schumpeter as a process of 'creative destruction' undertaken by entrepreneurs to shift resources from lower to higher productivity areas, and later reintroduced by Peter Drucker in the 1980s as a practice used by non-profits to increase efficiency in social services (Caldwell et al 2012). The concept did not gain much academic interest until the late 1990s, only growing into a major area of study in innovations after 2005 (Howaldt and Schwartz 2010; Paunescu 2014). Consequently, an overwhelming majority of studies come from the business and management disciplines, while more recently discussed is innovation studies, environmental studies, developmental studies, social policy, social psychology and urban studies.

SI and SE are areas of study in which practice preceded theoretical development (Cajaiba-Santana 2014; Mulgan et al 2010). Whilst they are relatively new to social science, the practice has existed long before the 20th century in the form of social movements and social interventions such as the Steiner and Montessori schools and civil rights movements led by visionaries, reformers, philanthropists

and humanitarians (Howaldt and Schwartz 2010; Jiang and Thagard 2014; Roy et al 2014). Among more recent examples include the Fair Trade and microfinance, which both provide impoverished communities with increased access to resources through empowering and altering socio-economic dynamics (Osburg and Schmidpeter 2013). Compared to historical examples, contemporary SI and SE are increasingly operating in areas that traditionally offer no socio-economic incentives for private and civil society participation, while creating larger and more direct impacts on greater society (Idris and Hati 2013; Kayser and Budinich 2015; Osburg and Schmidpeter 2013; Nicholls 2006).

2.2. Conceptualising SI and SE

Social innovators and social entrepreneurs are widely recognised as society's change agents. However, there still remains much confusion on what these practices mean due to lacking convergence on definitions, scattered and fragmented literature, interchangeable use with related concepts, lack of theoretical framework, and *fuzzy* boundaries that defy conventional ways of thinking (Cajaiba-Santana 2014; Joshi et al 2015; Paunescu 2014; Phils et al 2008; Sinclair and Baglioni 2014). Value-laden, multi-dimensional and multi-purposeful, SI and SE can mean different things depending on where the emphasis is placed (Choi and Majumdar 2014; Moore and Westley 2009). For example, when seen as a *product*, they are alternatives to satisfy social needs in the absence of state and market welfare but when seen as a process, they are models of change and enablers of hybrid governance that increase socio-political capabilities and access to scarce resources (Huybrecht and Nicholls 2012; Moulaert et al 2011; Paunescu 2014). Similarly, when seen as an *outcome*, they are change makers at three different levels: individual needs satisfaction, community and network building, and societal change (Cukier et al 2011; De Ruyscher et al 2016). Alternatively, they can be conceptualised into typologies: social bricoleurs who address small scale social issues using locally available resources, social constructivists who exploit scarce resources to fill institutional gaps, and social engineers who address systemic problems to bring about transformative change (Nandan et al 2015; Zahra et al 2009). Lastly, they can be analysed as interrelated sub-systems consisting of communities of practitioners and organisations jointly addressing social needs through innovations that bring benefit to broader socio-political, economic and environmental contexts (Westley and Antadze 2010). From these dimensions, it is evident that SI and SE are systematic approaches consisting of a variety of inputs, processes, strategies and outcomes that are strategically aimed at creating multi-level changes in society but exist at different scales depending on stage of development.

Several scholars have sought to map definitions to identify core ingredients that make up the SI and SE phenomena, many coming up with own variations of definitions that now number more than 50 across the two scholarships. For example, Dees (1998, p.4) describes social entrepreneurship activity as 'adopting a mission to create and sustain social value; recognising and relentlessly pursuing new

opportunities to serve that mission; engaging in a process of continuous innovation, adaptation and learning; acting boldly without being limited by resources currently at hand; exhibiting heightened accountability to the constituents served and for the outcomes created'. Similarly, Bonifacio (2014, p.146) defines social innovation as 'new ideas (products, services, models) that simultaneously meet a social need (more effectively than alternatives) and create new social relations and collaborations that are not only good for society but also enhance society's capacity to act'. Overall, definitions on SE tend to reflect individual leadership attributes (e.g. ambitious, ethical, creative, strategic, resourceful, results-oriented, mission-driven) and organisational processes (problem solving, networking, capacity building, opportunity recognition, entrepreneurialism), whereas SI tends to focus on impact (e.g. social change, empowerment, improved wellbeing, behaviour change). Collating and coding definitions across the two scholarships, this paper identifies seven core ingredients that make up the SI and SE phenomenon. They are: *social mission, creative innovations, social networks, entrepreneurialism, hybridisation, social value-creation, and social change*.

SI and SE emerged from separate schools of thought but are increasingly converging to expand reach of impact (Moore and Westley 2009). Inspired by public entrepreneurs shifting resources to create value, SI emerged to create new and better ways to address social problems, while SE began from the desire to bring business and social sectors together through creating and maintaining private enterprises and earning an income (Dees and Anderson 2006). Both schools share in common an explicit social mission and the potential to effect systemic change but differ in emphasis on outcome or inputs (Dees and Anderson 2006; Howaldt and Schwartz 2010; Lehner and Kaniskas 2012). When earning an income, they are known as social entrepreneurs, social enterprise, and social ventures, while when not earning an income they are known as non-profits, public entrepreneurs, policy entrepreneurs or social intrapreneurs (Datta 2011; Huitema and Meijerink 2010; Peredo and McLean 2006; Ziegler et al 2014). While SI does not necessarily require business principles, they are increasingly hybridising, forming cluster concepts with SE as they become mutually inclusive of one another (Choi and Majumdar 2004). The benefits of bringing the two together are threefold: hybridisation across the social and business sectors, increased access to existing resources, and opening multiple pathways for socio-economic development (Dees and Anderson 2006; Groot and Dankbaar 2014; Huybrechts and Nicholls 2012; Nandan et al 2015; Seelos and Mair 2005).

The recent rise of the social economy has fuelled the emergence of numerous social business and initiatives, ranging from purely philanthropic institutions engaging business principles to purely commercial enterprises up-taking social issues (Howaldt and Schwartz 2010; Huybrechts and Nicholls 2012; Nandan et al 2015). Blending social and market orientations and bridging the for-profit and non-profit sector, SI and SE differ from existing institutions and initiatives in several ways (Dees and An-

derson 2006; Volkmann et al 2012). For example, SI and SE differ from commercial enterprise and corporate social responsibility in *value proposition*; by having an explicit social mission and ethical orientation towards improving the lives of marginalised citizens versus exploiting shared value and mainstream markets for profit maximisation (Elmes et al 2012; Joshi et al 2015; Seelos and Mair 2005; Ziegler et al 2014). They differ from government and other non-profits in earning an income (*entrepreneurialism*), which can be invested back into the business to ensure financial and operational sustainability, and provide employment opportunities for the poor (Dees and Anderson 2006; Di Domenico et al 2008; Groot and Dankbaar 2014; Huybrechts and Nicholls 2012; Nandan et al 2015; Weerwadeena and Mort 2006; Volkmann et al 2012). They also differ in their ability to gain legitimacy and accountability, not through law or positional power, but through creative problem solving capacity (*innovativeness*), fostering ownership through inclusion and participation (*empowerment and local embeddedness*), and bringing outside recognition to the problem and encouraging others to take action to reach greater society (*social impact*) (Elmes et al 2012; Howaldt and Schwartz 2010; Letaifa 2016; Mair and Marti 2010; Martin and Osberg 2007; Partzsch and Ziegler 2011; Ziegler et al 2013). They rely on community and networks (*social capital*) to gain access to scarce resources through empowering internal capabilities, building bridges across sectoral boundaries to enhance opportunities for learning and knowledge sharing (Alguezuai and Filieri 2010; Baker and Mehmood 2015; Bhatt and Altinay 2013; Cajasanta-Santana 2014; Dal Fiore 2007; Grimm et al 2013; Paunescu 2014; Yujuico 2008). Lastly, they differ in *social value-creation*, which can be created at any step of the innovation process through finding new and better ways to influence government, engage community, mobilise resources, deliver products and services, or market their services, while constantly learning and adapting (Dees and Anderson 2006; Di Domenico et al 2008; Weerwadeena and Mort 2006; Lehner and Kaniskas 2012).

Five iterative phases of innovation can be identified from the literature: (a) *opportunity recognition*, in which a social entrepreneur recognises a problem or a social need and finds new and creative ways to solve the problem, (b) *prototyping and demonstrating*, in which the idea is tested in pilot projects while making creative adjustments, (c) *mobilising resource capabilities*, in which communities and networks are engaged, and new collaborations and partnerships are formed, (d) *empowering and embedding* the innovation through recognising internal capabilities, changing behaviour, and fostering local ownership, and (e) *constantly learning and adapting* through engaging community and networks (Bhatt and Altinay 2015; Datta 2011; Groot and Dankbaar 2014; Mulgan et al 2010; Ramani et al 2012; Ziegler et al 2013). However, these phases are non-linear and overlapping, with every action purposefully and strategically planned to create long-term sustained change through building resilience into the innovation (Ebrashi 2013, Howaldt and Schwartz 2010; Jokela and Ela 2015).

The issue of upscaling has attracted much attention due

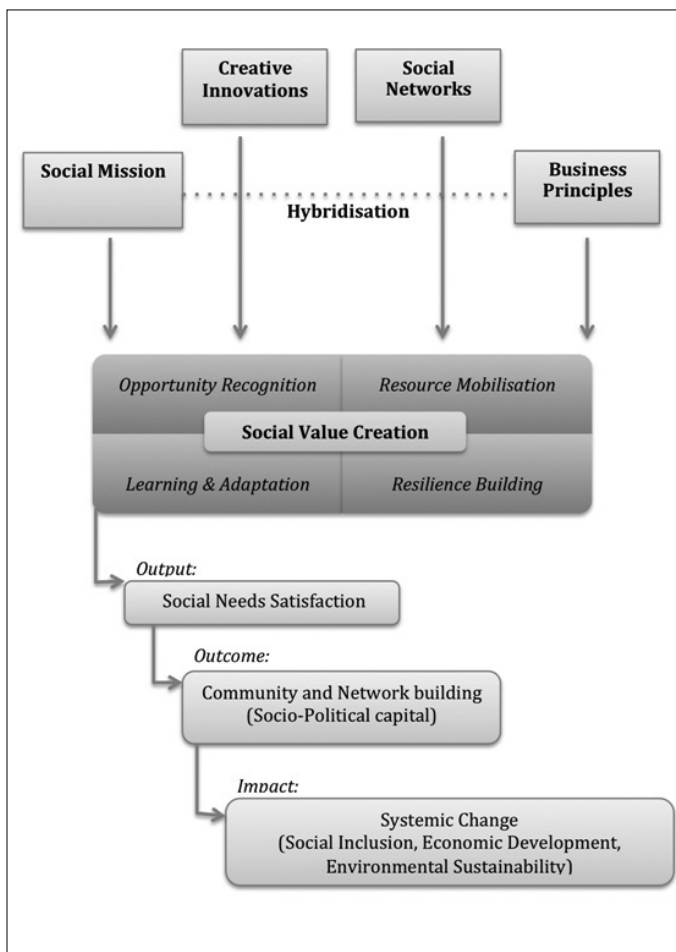
to prevalent thinking of diffusion of innovations (Murray et al 2007; Rogers 1995). According to Ashoka (2015), most SI and SE scale their impacts through changing policy, but reaching impact can also be achieved through creating grassroots movement, franchising, and spreading awareness and acceptance through media and social marketing. Desa and Koch (2014) assert that upscaling in SI and SE differ from conventional notions of expansion through increasing in number and business activity, which are commonly achieved by increasing efficiency through economies of scale. Scaling in SI and SE is rather assessed through impact, which can be measured by the extent to which the affected groups are empowered by the innovation, and by the level of influence it has on changing norms, values, beliefs and behaviour within government and society (Baker and Mehmood 2015; Ebrashi 2013; Jokela et al 2015; Mulgan et al 2007; Yujico 2008). In the context of social and environmental problems like sanitation, which traditionally offered no incentives for private and civil society participation, impact can also be measured in terms of the positive outcomes on socio-economic development and environmental sustainability.

Several authors highlight the critical role that governments play in replicating and upscaling innovations (Bonifacio 2014; Desa and Koch 2014; Kayser and Budinich 2015; Westley and Antadze 2010). According to Mulgan et al (2007), successful scaling requires effective collaboration between the 'bees,' who are quick to mobilise individuals with the ability to pollinate, and 'trees' of powerful institutions with capacity and resilience to scale innovations. While mainstream innovation scholars have long approached innovations from a binary perspective, practitioners in SI and SE argue that strategic innovations are 'sandwiched,' taking advantage of top-down management techniques and bottom-up participatory methods by bringing together a variety of actors at different levels of society (Schwab 2015; Westley et al 2011).

Looking back to the various dimensions, definitions, perspectives and key processes identified in the literature and applying them to a simple logic model consisting of inputs, processes, strategies and outcomes, this study proposes the following working definition for SI and SE: "A systematic process aimed at creating social, economic and environmental value at three different levels: social needs satisfaction (micro-level), community and network building (meso-level), and effecting systemic change (macro-level). Operating in a hybrid zone and combining a vision for social value-creation with creative innovations, social networks and entrepreneurialism, SI and SE recognise opportunities, mobilise resource capabilities, empower communities and networks, and embed innovations locally, while constantly learning and adapting." This working definition can then be translated into a preliminary conceptual framework, which consists of: **inputs** (*social mission, creative innovations, social networks, entrepreneurialism*), **strategies** (*social value-creation, hybridisation*), **processes** (*opportunity recognition, resource mobilisation, empowering and embedding, and learning and adaptation*), **output** (*needs satisfaction*), **outcomes** (*community and network building*), and **impact** (*systemic change and*

sustainability) as shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1.
Conceptual framework of social innovation and entrepreneurships



3. LINKING SI AND SE WITH SUSTAINABILITY TRANSITIONS RESEARCH IN URBAN WATER CONTEXT

3.1. Sustainability transitions and the discourse of sustainable development

Sustainability transitions find its origins in the discourse of sustainable development that seeks to meet present generation needs without compromising the needs of future generations (Paredis 2011). Despite this equity principle, most sustainability initiatives in the past have been technology-oriented following mainstream ecological modernisation thinking, which views progress to be achieved through adopting and diffusing new technologies (Castellaci et al 2004; Paredis 2011). For this reason, sustainability transitions research has long remained relatively disconnected with value-based alternatives innovations, despite constantly existing as niche practices. However, there is now increased evidence that scholarly and practitioner interest is expanding towards alternative pathways and practices like SI and SE in response to growing needs for more equitable and sustainable forms of development (Cook 2014; Leach et al 2014; Thomas 2014). This normative shift is reflected in the new UN Sustainable Develop-

ment Goals, which is aimed at achieving social inclusion, economic development and environmental sustainability through global network problem solving and local social change, rather than through traditional technological transfer and foreign aid that characterised the millennium development goals (Sachs 2015).

In the context of urban water, sustainability transitions has been studied primarily from developed country perspectives, where socio-technical systems like water are managed using centralised infrastructure systems, which are necessitating change towards more decentralised approaches under growing pressures from increased consumption, a changing climate and aging infrastructures (Farrelly and Brown 2014; Keath and Brown 2008; Pahl-Wostl 2007). However, transition has been difficult, impeded by many interlinked institutions, supply chain networks, regulations and user practices, which has created institutional inertia and path dependencies towards technocentric solutions (Geels 2002; Brown and Farrelly 2009, Brown and Wong 2008; Falcone 2014). Incremental institutional change through experimentation and niche accumulation has therefore been prescribed as the way forward for developed countries through sustainability transitions research (Bos and Brown 2012; Ferguson et al 2013). However, the rich insights from sustainability transitions research has yet to be tested in developing countries, and in particular for applicability with non-technical alternatives like SI and SE.

3.2. Aligning research in sustainability transitions with SI and SE

Built upon understanding that different actors interact within the constraints and opportunities of existing systems to influence transitions, sustainability transitions scholars assert that the role of agency is critical to achieve transition towards a desired state (Geels 2004). Agency, in this case, can be defined on two levels: actors, which include niche actors (innovators, entrepreneurs), regime actors (regulators, policy makers, planners), outside actors (intermediaries, community), and their governance (Brown and Farrelly 2013). Several transition scholars have reported on actor-related variables such as leadership (Kavimaa 2014; Rotmans and Loorbach 2009; Taylor 2009), networking (Olsson et al 2006), bridging organisations (Berkes 2009; Folke et al 2005; Olsson et al 2006), social learning (Bos et al 2013), and the role of individual and collective actors in maintaining institutional stability, disrupting existing institutions, and creating new rules and practices towards institutional change (Lawrence and Suddaby 2011). In highlighting the role that agency plays in enabling sustainability transitions, Brown et al (2013) identifies six key variables that need to change

over time in order to influence transition dynamics. They are: *narrative, actor-networks, bridging organisations, research and scientific progress, experiments/focus projects, and administrative tools*. In identifying the role that governance plays in influencing transitions, sustainability transitions research further argues that a hybrid form of adaptive governance, consisting of a variety of interactions across the public, private and community sectors is needed to steer transition towards sustainability (Farrelly et al 2012; Rijke et al 2012; van de Meene et al 2011). According to Farrelly et al (2012), there are four structures (*narrative, regulatory and compliance agenda, economic justification, and policy and planning frameworks*), and four processes (*capacity building, leadership, behaviour change and partnerships*) need to enable adaptive governance in the urban water sector.

Looking back to the SI and SE literature, we find that each of these variables identified in sustainability transitions research conceptually align with the core ingredients identified earlier in the preliminary conceptual framework. This provides great opportunity to leverage SI and SE for advancing sustainable change under sustainability transitions research. Table 1 shows an analysis of core ingredients of SI and SE and how they align with transition enabling factors and adaptive governance related variables identified in sustainability transitions research.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1.
SI and SE and variables that influence sustainability transition dynamics

Critical enabling factors that influence transition dynamics (Brown et al 2013)	Core ingredients of SI and SE identified through a literature review	Structures and processes that enable adaptive governance (Farrelly et al 2012)
Narrative A shared vision for environmental sustainability develops across actor-networks overtime	Social Mission Seeks to meet unmet social needs but is strategically oriented towards social value-creation	Narrative
Actor-Networks During transitions, a variety of actors and networks at micro-niche and meso-regime level interact with one another to influence change	Social Networks Community & networks are harnessed to access scarce resources, while leaving behind compelling new social relations (social capital)	Leadership Partnership
Bridging Organisations Formal institutions that bring key actors together for learning, sharing and generating ideas	Hybridisation Combines social and business orientations using entrepreneurialism to engage market principles, and empowerment to engage community and networks.	Capacity building Behaviour Change
Research & Scientific Progress From problem identification to the development of technological tools and institutional guidelines	Creative Innovations Develops context-specific solutions to social problems in a way that makes sense to local community to gain their support and attention.	Regulatory and compliance agenda
Experiments and focus projects Testing, demonstration and implementation, and upscaling	The process involves opportunity recognition, resource mobilisation, empowering and embedding, and learning and adapting.	Economic justification
Administrative Tools Development of guidelines, regulations, modelling tools and political mandates	Social change Achieved through impact at three different levels: needs satisfaction, community and network building, and systemic change	Policy and planning frameworks

Aligning the core ingredients that make up the SI and SE practice with transition enabling factors and structures and processes needed to advance adaptive governance, this paper shows that SI and SE are capable of steering change and influencing transition dynamics towards sustainability through strengthening governance and citizenship. Using the case of Melbourne's urban water transitions as an example, Brown et al (2013) showed that a variety of actors and networks interact with one another to influence transition dynamics, each playing different roles at different times. Led by bridging organisations, which are formal

institutions that bring key actors together for learning, sharing and generating ideas, these actor-networks develop a shared vision towards sustainability over time, jointly creating research and scientific progress through technological experimentation and demonstration projects. The results of these efforts in the case of Melbourne were manifested in the form of best practice guidelines, regulations, and political mandates to push the new agenda forwards. Critical to these actor-network interactions were processes such as leadership, capacity building, behaviour change and partnership, which together with long-term vision, regulatory and compliance agenda, economic justification, and policy and planning frameworks enabled improved governance. Believed to be an outcome of interactions between various actors across the public, private and community sectors capturing dynamic interactions between these variables, Farrelly et al (2012) defines adaptive governance as “multi-level, flexible, reflexive, robust and self-organising structures that manage networks, community and market relations through strong leadership, long-term visioning and collaborative decision making based on soundly researched data.”

Like research in sustainability transitions, the SI and SE literature recognises the critical role that actor-networks and bridging organisations play in transformations, and the role of the four key processes in enabling improved governance. However, while in sustainability transitions research, bridging organisations are recognised as formal institutions that bring key actors together for learning, sharing and generating ideas (Brown et al 2013), in the case of SI and SE, it is usually the social innovator or entrepreneur that bridges community and actor-networks at local level. Similarly, while all the variables that enable adaptive governance are recognised, in the case of SI and SE, community and networks are harnessed to access existing resource capabilities, while capacity building and behaviour change are sought through fostering collaboration, empowering participants, and socially embedding innovations. A good example comes from a case of a social entrepreneur in Indonesia, who developed a communal wastewater treatment system for the purpose of providing improved water quality in his local village. Stimulating local behavioural changes and capacity building through improving the environment and creating income-generating opportunities for the poor, the initiative gradually began to take care of its development in a self-perpetuating way, gathering the attention and support of local community. Additionally, on gaining support from local government officials and social networks afar, the idea was replicated in several different locations, eventually working up to a nationwide program known as community-based sanitation.

In another example of a social entrepreneur engaged in raising awareness for industrial river pollution, we see that behaviour change was induced by bringing together industry, government and community to engage in discussions and creating platforms for learning and knowledge sharing. Involving various other methods to engage children, tourists and citizens in river clean-up efforts, this initiative has also been recognised by the national government for potential upscaling. Similarly, in the case of public toilet service

provision, we find that a social entrepreneur brought community and government together in facilitating agreements to jointly address sanitation issues in slum communities while providing income-generating opportunities for the poor. As we can see in these examples, communities are typically social containers where radical and specialised innovations can breakthrough and become socially embedded but require networks for boundary-spanning learning and propagation (Dal Fiore 2007).

In terms of experimentation and progress, the literature review showed five iterative processes involved in SI and SE practice, which align with similar structures and phases identified in sustainability transitions research. Like the critical enabling factors identified by Brown et al (2013), SI and SE begin from identifying a social problem and developing solutions, which is usually tested in several pilot projects before developing innovations. However, in SI and SE, problems are recognised as opportunities for change; pilots areas are arenas for learning and adaptation rather than for demonstration, and tools and guidelines become creative innovations that combine social value-creation with social networks and business principles. Among examples of these include two cases of social entrepreneurs from Indonesia, respectively providing savings accounts and free medical care to the poor in exchange for rubbish, which can then be recycled rather than sent to the landfill. While both of these examples are relatively new cases of SE that have sprung up in the last few years, they have been recognised for possible upscale, demonstrating the capability of social entrepreneurs to find new and creative ways of creating a business case for local socio-economic development and environmental sustainability to influence regulatory and compliance agenda and policy and planning frameworks. However, similar to all other innovations, not all social entrepreneurs succeed, and there have been reported cases of failure that took several attempts and adaptations before being recognised as social entrepreneurship. Similarly, while SI and SE share with critical enabling factors identified in sustainability transitions research the importance of having a narrative, in the case of SI and SE, this is the only variable that remains the same throughout the innovation process amongst all other context-specific variables. From this, we can conclude that there is applicability between sustainability transitions research and SI and SE practice, and that they can be brought together to complement one another.

In addition to finding applicability, aligning sustainability transitions research with SI and SE core ingredients also reveals three critical insights that may influence leapfrogging pathways for urban water transformations in developing cities. They are: (a) the need to focus on social capital, (b) the need to strengthen citizenship along with governance, and (c) the need for innovations to take into consideration socio-economic development and environmental sustainability. Firstly, in developed countries where there is universal access to water and sanitation, there is a tendency to rely on science and technology in times of trouble. However, in developing countries where there is underdeveloped infrastructure, social entrepreneurs rely on social capital to build capacity and change behaviour

to create sustained social change. Similarly, in developed countries, where there is mutually agreed understanding between community and formal institutions that the provision of water and sanitation is a responsibility of the government, there is a strong focus on formal networks and institutions. For this reason, most research in sustainability transitions in developed country contexts has to date focussed on institutional change and governance to influence transition dynamics. However, in the context of developing countries where such hydro-social contract has not had the opportunity to develop, it is important to strengthen both citizenship and governance in steering change towards more equitable and sustainable forms of urban water management. SE activity in sanitation, which has traditionally been considered an individual household responsibility, therefore provides a perfect learning ground to gain insight into strengthening governance and citizenship simultaneously. Among tools identified in the literature include engaging, empowering, embedding and encouraging, which will be empirically tested for validation and refinement in Indonesia throughout the course of this doctoral research.

Lastly, in developed countries where there is advanced social welfare, there is a tendency for innovations to focus on environmental sustainability and economic rationalism in line with mainstream views for ecological modernisation. However, in developing countries where there is widespread poverty and inequality along with severe water pollution and increased health and environmental risks, there is need to support innovations that take into account the socio-economic development of poor and marginalised citizens and environmental sustainability to create self-perpetuating outcomes while ensuring sustainable social change. The large presence of the informal economy in developing countries therefore hold potential to be harnessed as social capital towards urban water transformations. While these insights can be useful to inform leapfrogging pathways in developing cities, they can also be applicable for informing pathways to overcome institutional inertia, technocentric path dependency, and balancing the triple bottom line in developed country contexts.

5. CONCLUSION

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This papershows through an extensive literature review that social innovations and entrepreneurship can enable transformative change while strengthening governance and citizenship. The paper reveals the key strategies and processes used by social innovators and social entrepreneurs using illustrated examples of social entrepreneurships in Indonesia. This paper also shows through conceptually linking research in sustainability transitions with SI and SE that there is applicability across the three bodies of knowledge, which can complement one another despite contextual differences. Through an analysis of critical enabling factors that influence transition dynamics, structures and processes that enable adaptive governance and the core ingredients of SI and SE identified through a literature review, this study highlights three important implications for developing cities in advancing sustainable development. They are: the need to build citizenship and governance in the absence of formal institutions, the need to focus on social capital, and the need to focus on 'social' factors for social value-creation to enable social inclusion, economic development and environmental sustainability.

The preliminary framework developed as a result of this study demonstrating the core ingredients of SI and SE will be tested empirically in the Indonesian sanitation sector and refined throughout the course of this doctoral program. However, it can also provide the basis for validation and future study in other sectors under different contexts.

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Development of Apparatus Soft Competence for Improving Poor Health Services in Surabaya City

Penyusun :

• **Falih Suaedi**

Departemen Administrasi
Universitas Airlangga

Email :
suaedifalih@yahoo.com

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Abstract

The problem of providing health services especially for the pocket of poverty is the existence of injustice and equitable service to the community with certain economic status. The quality of services provided by public health centre that spearhead first level healthcare providers need to be designed in such a way to create a fair and quality health service. The existence of competent human resources is the main sources that must be owned by public health centre especially in the pocket of poverty to realized it. This study focuses on developing the soft competence model of human resources to improve the quality of health services by using competence model of helping and human service approach. The purpose of this research is to produce a soft competence development model design in order to facilitate more effective, cooperative and synergistic way in providing services for the poor.

This research uses qualitative method with case study approach, which then will be done by interactive analysis on the problem statement as the base of formulation the soft competence development model. The result of this research is the majority of health service officer at Semampir Public Health Center can be said quite skillful in hard skill aspect, but there are some health service and administration officer still do not have enough soft competence in their field that can influence to the service quality result. The development of soft competence model for health service and administration resulted in this research include Analytical reasoning competence, Flexibility, Oral communication and Troubleshooting that developed through Emotional Intelligence approach to generate social maturity to improve the quality of service provided by the officer.

INTRODUCTION

The poor generally have lower health status than the average health status of the population. The low health status of the poor is mainly due to the limited access to health

services because of geographic constraints and cost barriers. The 2012 IDHS data shows that most (46.6%) problems to obtain health services are due to cost, distance, and transportation constraints. In addition to the problem of constraints, the poor are usually more susceptible to dis-

ease and easy transmission of the disease due to various conditions, such as the lack of environmental hygiene and coincide housing, healthy lifestyle of society that has not been entrenched, knowledge on health and education that generally still low.

The conditions above get worse because for the poor having satisfactory health services is a very difficult thing. The study of hospital services for the poor shows that poor patients in government and private hospitals generally have inadequate levels of satisfaction, including in administrative services that are considered to be complicated, inadequate, less friendly, Given generic prescription drugs, and services that consumed time. In addition, the necessity to make a down payment also becomes a barrier for the poor to obtain health services in hospitals.

Public health centre have significance role in providing first level health care to the community. According to the reason, it is very important for public health centre to be able to provide the best quality of health services for the community. Based on these conditions, the quality of public health centre services are closely related to the competence of human resources that provide services for the community. Quality health service is the level of service that can give satisfaction to each patient in accordance with the level of satisfaction of the average population and the procedure of implementation according to standards and professional ethics that have been established. However, the services provided by public health centre to the poor are in fact not maximized. In fact, the condition is still found in large cities, one of which is in Surabaya.

Surabaya is a metropolitan city that has highly need health services. But the city of Surabaya also has a region as pockets of poverty which is the health care delivery is still apprehensive. According to the Secretary of Commission D of the Welfare and Education Division of DPRD Surabaya, Muhammad Alyas, the complaints felt by the citizens during this time is the high cost of tickets for once service. In addition, the lack of responsiveness given by paramedical staff at the Public health centre when providing services, making deterrent residents to seek treatment to the Public health centre. Chairman of Commission D of DPRD Surabaya, Baktiono, stated that his side often receive reports from the public about shorter operating hours of public health centre. Many communities report rejection from public health centre to provide referral to hospitals. It is an average complained of by patients from poor families.

Human resources are an important factor in improving the quality of health services for the poor. Because the responsiveness of the officer in dealing with patients and their integrity in providing a fair and quality service can be a stimulus for improving the performance of health services. So far, the healthcare provider's officer is skilled and good in terms of hard skills but still low in soft skills, especially interactions with patients from poor economies. Health services in the pockets of poverty have their own challenges. With a variety of economic backgrounds, education, psychological aspect that is different from most other layers of society, certainly required certain competencies to provide optimal service for them. The poor must

have equal rights in accessing health, although sometimes service cost being one of the inhibiting factors for poor getting health facilities properly. So the quality of services provided by public health centre as first level health care providers need to be designed in such a way as to create a fair and quality health service.

Various kinds of problems related to public health centre service in Surabaya especially for the poor community, mostly begin from human resource performance which still not optimal. Therefore, based on the problem statement above, this research tries to develop the soft competence model of officer to improve the quality of health service for the urban poor: study at three public health centre in Semampir Sub-district of Surabaya City.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. Competence

According to Clark (1997a: 297), Competence is a knowledge or know how to do a effective job. Meanwhile, according to Davis (1999: 299): Competence is a capability perspective and people knowledge, especially to impact on the ability to need in a business via minimize cost and optimization services to customer more for less. According to Mitrani, Palziel and Fitt, (1992), Spencer & Spencer, (1993), competence define as people based characteristic and implication on job effectiveness. Competence can be divided into two categories namely "threshold" and "differentiating" based on the performance used to predict the performance of a job. Furthermore, Mathis and Jackson (2001) mentioned that Competence is a basic characteristic that can be associated with improving individual or team performance. Spencer & Spencer (1993) provides an explanation of the characteristics of competence in which competence has basic characteristics consisting of knowledge, skill, and attitude.

Competence in public services has its own characteristics and characteristics. Spencer & Spencer (1993) describes six general competence groups including Ability to plan and apply, service ability, leadership ability, managing ability, thinking ability, and adult ability. Based on the competence group, the group that is in accordance with the core of public service is the ability to serve (helping and human service). Ability to serve has two derivatives of competence that is Interpersonal Understanding and Customer Service Orientation. Competence interpersonal understanding has five derivatives of competence include: 1). Emphaty; 2). Listening; 3). Sensitivity to Others; 4). Awereness of Other's felling; 4). Diagnostic Understanding. This competence focuses more on how to treat others within the scope of their work. While the next competence has a derivative of competence include: 1). Helping and Service Orientation; 2). Focus on the client's needs; 3). End-user focus; 4). Attention to patient satisfaction; 5). Partnering the client. This committee focuses on the quality of service in accordance with its function.

The concept of competence is generally applicable in all fields. Competence applications in each field are set by Standard Operational Procedure (SOP) in each field.

Health is a unique scope especially the interaction between health workers with patients (users) where among them do direct interaction that requires the competences with the treatment itself. The Institute of Medicine of the United States set up the framework of the 21st century health system. Among them are mentioned about some of the competencies needed in health services to meet the professional health services. The US Institute of Medicine commission comprises five core competencies in providing health services: Provide patient-centered care, work in interdisciplinary teams, employment-based practice, apply quality improvement, and utilize informatics.

B. Soft Competence

Soft Competence is a competence that is closely related to the ability to manage work processes, relationships between people and build interactions with others. Soft Competence is often associated with emotional intelligence or emotional intelligence quotient (EQ) (Jufrizen, 2014). Some literatures call Soft Competence with underlying characteristic or better known as personality trait. This statement explains that although soft competence is interpreted by EQ that represents a personality that is more likely to be due to innate habits and traits. But from the standpoint of the definition of competence that consists of skills, knowledge, attitude, traits and motivation. If referring to EQ perspective, soft competence can not be trained so that if it is related to competence definition then soft competence can be categorized as follows: a) Caring (concern); B). Serving (service); C). Teaching; D). Mediating; E). Designing (design); F). Strategizing; And g). Selling (sales).

C. Soft Competence Development Model

In general, the development of soft competence is done simultaneously with hard competence known as holistic competence development. Porvaznik (2013) demonstrates a holistic approach to developing competence models. This holistic model is used to evaluate the management of competencies holistically based on knowledge, ability to apply and social maturity. The three pillars underlying the holistic managerial model of competence consist of professional (knowledge) abilities, that is knowledge-based capabilities is a reflection of professional ability and organizational management. This region also marks the functional part of the capacity. Next is social maturity, this phase is directly related to the personality of the individual. Social maturity is complex, it explains the social responsibility, the good, and the moral habits of humanity. While Application Skill is a practical ability and ability to provide information about how the manager understands its function.

The development of soft competence focuses on the individual. Personally competence development refers to the three pillars as the element of competence that is knowledge, skill, and behavior. In each of the elements undergo several processes namely standardization, measurement, analysis and development. Competence development

starts from the process of standardization of knowledge, skill and behavior where generally done through education and training programmed to understand its work according to SOP. Next will be an assessment of the performance and evaluation of expertise in the field. After experiencing analysis then analyzed to determine the appropriate development model such as self-education, seminars, training, coaching and assessment with new methods.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses advocacy and participatory philosophical paradigms or assumptions. The research method used in this research is qualitative research method. This research can also help the participants to express their rights and opinions, so that later it will be able to refine the previous policy. In this study the authors apply the perspective of inductive style of research and focus on the meaning of the individual. Thinking of the direction of the particular problem and then generalizing. This study uses descriptive approach, is an approach to get a picture of how the competence of health care providers in providing services to the poor. Research strategy used in this research is case study. Robert K Yin (2003) defines case studies as a scientific study that investigates an unclear phenomenon and context.

The focus in this research is public health centre in Semampir Sub-district in Surabaya city. Semampir Sub-district has three public health centre namely Wonokusumo Health Center, Pegirian Public health centre and Sidotopo Public health centre. The location is determined through a study of poverty level in the city of Surabaya. Besides the three public health centre, the research location is also located in Surabaya City Health Office.

Data is the result of typical events that are stated as facts in the form of measurement results. Data can be facts, numbers, graphics, and other forms that explain a thought, object, condition, and situation. The data in this research consist of primary data and secondary data. Primary data obtained from interviews and observations, while secondary data obtained through search results documents related to research. Data collection was obtained through field observation, interviews, and documentation. Informants in the study were chosen purposively, meaning that individuals who become subjects were selected as needed. The activity of collecting research subjects begins with observation in the research area. The main consideration determining informants, is the mastery of information and data that the author needs. The informants in this study are the community of users of health services in Public health centre scattered in the district of Semampir Surabaya, the patients from the health center Wonokusumo as many as 5 people, patients from Public health centre Pegirian as many as 5 people and patients from Sidotopo Public health centre 5 people So, the total informant in the study this is 15 informants.

Data analysis technique used in this research is qualitative analysis by using interactive model. In this model there are three components of analysis that is reduction, data presentation, and conclusion (Miles and Huberman,

1984). After the series of data presentation process, the data will then be analyzed and interpreted with the theory to produce an overview results of the study. Where the results are used as material in preparing of soft competence development model of human resources in improving the quality of health services for the poor.

DISCUSSION

A. Soft Competence Model at Semampir District Public Health Center

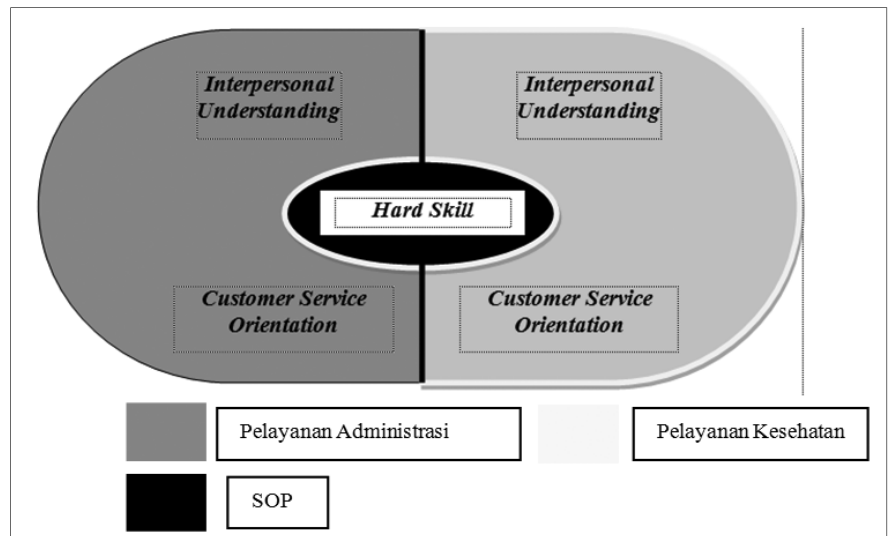
The result of the analysis based on service competence theory shows that the soft competence of officer in the puskesmas is in the interpersonal understanding and the Customer Service Orientation has been used and applied well. There are several points that indicate that the person in providing the waiter is still too prosedural so that the convenience aspects of service delivery is still lacking. However, the outline of the three puskesmas especially in responding to the demand / patient needs quite well.

The Spencer & Spencer Help (1993) theory of Help Service Competence is a fundamental starting point for the competencies of service providers in the public sector. Especially in health services, the provision of services in the health sector is different from other public services. It is not enough just to provide services that meet demand, but also be able to respond to other needs concerned with the service, the article hard skills (science / skills in health) is not all understood by service users (the public). So the sensitivity of service is an important point in this process.

The poor as well as those known to be entities with various lacks, including lack of education, culture (ethics), financing and access. On the other hand they have the same rights in obtaining public services, especially in obtaining health services. The limitations they experience make the pattern of life of the poor tend to cause them to become a community group that uses a lot of health services. Starting from socialization, prevention, treatment to treatment. So that service providers have their own challenges in treating poor patients without undermining their right to health care.

So far, human resource development of health officer focuses on education and training that prioritizes of expertise in each field of their hard skill. Such conditions are important, because every officer is required to be expert on the field of responsibility. However, expertizing of soft skills in providing services is not less important to be developed from the perspective of human resource development in the health sector. When viewed from the results of observations on the administrative area and the provision of health services at the Public Health Centre subdistrict Semampir, can be described the soft competence model of human resources service provider described as follows:

Figure 1.
Human Resources Soft Competence of Public Health Service Officer at Semampir sub-district



Source : Author's Illustration

In the illustration above seen that the core skill that is officially owned by the officer is medical or administrative ability in accordance with the applicable standard or known as hard skill. Then the black circle that covers the hard skill is Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) which is the operational control of the organization. SOP is what governs what can and should not be done. As Spencer & Spencer (1993) has pointed out, competence is like an iceberg, where the perceived side (performance) is usually reflected in the skill in performing tasks according to procedure, whereas on the invisible side it has great potential to improve service quality. The side is soft competence which in this case is help and service competence consisting of Interpersonal Understanding and Customer Service Orientation.

Interpersonal understanding is interpreted by the quality of individual interaction. How service providers can respond to user (community) needs. The poor have their limitations and therefore considerable effort in interaction both orally and in the treatment. Based on the results of observation enough efforts to communicate (communication), listening (listening) and understand the patient's feelings (awareness of other's feeling).

While in Customer Service Orientation more emphasis on service that is institutional. Service orientation based on the user more put the patient's need as a reference in providing services. However, in some aspects the officer tendency is still not too rigid with procedural. So that the output given still seem dynamic. The description of service delivery reflects that the officer is still too afraid to provide services outside the procedure. So it takes a mix between Interpersonal understanding and Customer Service Orientation so that it can produce quality services for the poor.

B. Development of Soft Competence Model of Public Health Centre Officer

The development of soft competence model for public health centre officers focuses on the flexibility and capabil-

ity of the officer in providing services to the poor. Characteristic of the treatment of the poor allows the development of human resources, especially in Soft Competence, more flexible and aware of the patient's position. Factors affecting the development of the model is the position of the nature of soft competence, healthcare service and the flexibility of treatment of the poor.

The poor with various limitations require different facilities. Besides the capacity to be qualified required to have good emotional ability in providing services. Their limitations make communication ineffective so that simplified service flow and clear direction will facilitate service delivery. So the development focuses on the emotional processing associated with self-management, especially in communicating.

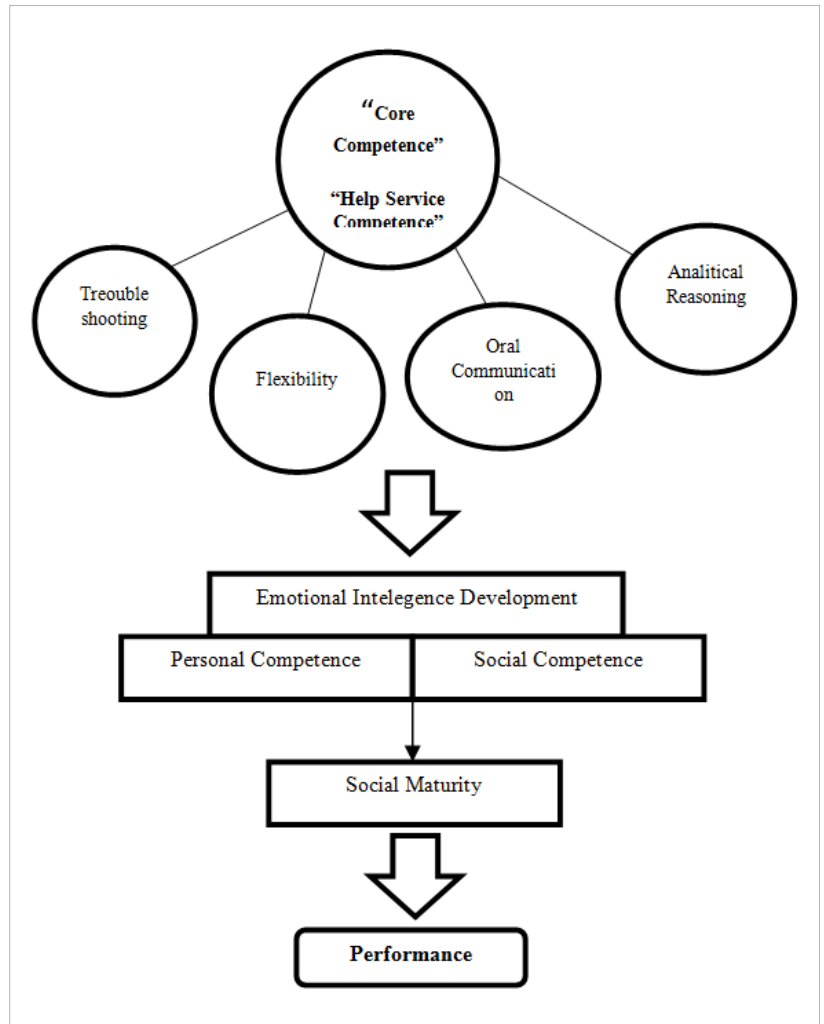
Improving the quality of service is determined by two things, the first quality of service produced by the individual and the services provided by the organization (system and individual). The development of soft competence for each region is represented by the development of Interpersonal understanding and Customer Service Orientation. From the results of the analysis and theoretical interpretation there are at least four soft competences that need to be improved by the officer of public health centre in improving the quality of service to the poor. Competence needed in further development among others. Competence needed in further development include: 1). Analytical Reasoning; 2). Flexibility; 3). Oral communication; And 4) .Troubleshooting.

According to Porvaznick (2013) human resources in public service must have Social Maturity which is indicated by the quality of character and willingness, the quality of understanding and creativity, the quality of character and emotional as well as the quality of body and soul. Meanwhile in the health service there are five competencies in the service according to the Institute of Medicine United States (2003) that is Provide patient-centered care, work in interdisciplinary teams, employ evidence-based practice, apply quality improvement, and utilize informatics. Provide patient-centered care is the ability to identify, respect and care about differences in values, preferences (what likes and dislikes) and patient needs. Ability to cure pain, continuous care and ability to communicate, provide clear information and educate patients. Such competence requires good soft competence quality so that it can accompany the realization of the main task.

The development of soft competence is closely related to Emotional development where soft competence is basically built by emotion-based habits. Emotional intelligence is represented into two personal competence and social competence. Personal competence is developed through the habits of daily life while social competence is based on the intensity of social relationships. Organizations need to create organizational culture to support the

formation of emotional intelligence of the apparatus. Thus, the development of soft competence of public health centre's human resources in improving service quality can be described as follows:

Figure 2.
Soft Competence Model Development



Source : Author's Illustraton

The development of soft competence can be done through emotional intelligent approach. Technically the officer has done as it should, but the human touch is still lacking, so in the development of soft competence required processing emotions to achieve social maturity. It is expected that the combination of hard skills and soft skills can improve the quality of performance. No less important is the environmental conditioning and organizational culture that is instrumental in the formation of behavior. Improving the environment can have an impact on the behavior of both the service provider and the patient.

CONCLUSION

Based on the interpretation of competence model theory Spencer and Spencer (1993), especially the competence model of helping and human service which consists of 2 main competencies, namely interpersonal understanding and customer service orientation shows that all aspects of soft competence have been done but the quality of ser-

vice is still to be improved especially in communicating (Communication), listening (listening) and understand the patient's feelings (awareness of other's feeling). Object of targeted health services is the poor so that additional competence is needed to improve the resulting performance, such competencies are: Analytical Reasoning, oral communication, flexibility, and troubleshooting.

The development of soft competence model is done by using emotional intelligence development approach which is integrated with health service model. Technically the of-

ficer has done their task based on the main task, but a touch of humanity is still lacking in providing health service so that the development of soft competence requires emotional processing to achieve social maturity. It is expected that the combination of hard skills and soft skills can improve the quality of officer performance. the environmental conditioning and organizational culture is as important as instrumental in the formation of behavior. Improving the environment can give an impact on the behavior of both the service provider and the patient.

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CHAPTER 3

Global Justice and Security

PROCEEDING

**RE-EXAMINING
GOVERNANCE:**

**STRENGTHENING
CITIZENSHIP
IN THE CHANGING WORLD**



Market Share Limitations in the Search Engine Industry: Comparative Study of Google Inc. in Russia and South Korea

Penyusun :

- Atika Wardah
- Citra Hennida

Universitas Airlangga
Airlangga 4-6, Surabaya
Indonesia

Keywords :

search engine, market share, market, culture, management.

Abstract

Based on the data shown by Manish Agarwal and David K. Round in 2011, Google Search was uncompetitive in China, Russia and South Korea. In the three out of ten countries with the world largest share of searches, the local companies' search engines Baidu (China), Yandex (Russia) and Naver (South Korea) dominated the market share. This was different from the situation where Google always get the first position in seven other countries listed. Google Inc. was even titled as the third most valuable multinational companies and the most popular in the world. Based on this background, the research aimed to find out why Google Inc. was not able to compete in the Russian and South Korean search engine market share. The case of Google in China was excluded because Google Search had discontinued its operation since 2010 when it decided to no longer compromise with the hacking issues and Chinese government censorship. With the crosscutting approach among the market, culture and management, the hypothesis of this comparative study covered three points. First was government's effect on demand conditions and related and supporting industries. Second was the cultural prestige taking shape as country of origin effects and bilateral animosity to help forming consumer preferences. Third were inaccuracies of Google Inc.'s global business strategy, which is adaptation, when entering new markets, shown through CAGE distances and ADDING value score card.

INTRODUCTION

Google Inc., as the third most valuable multinational corporation in the world and the most popular in the world, is experiencing limitations in market share in the search engine industry in China, Russia, and South Korea. As a company in the communications technology field and sub-industry internet media (Bloomer 2014), Google Inc. has a search engine named Google Search, which becomes

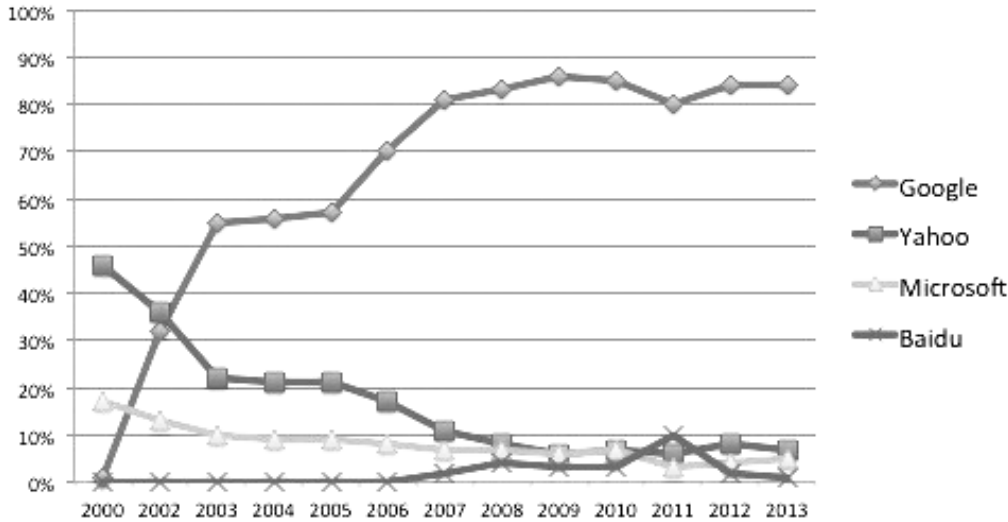
the flagship product since the company's founding in 1998. The data in Graph 1 shows that at least since 2000, Google Inc. experienced rapid growth in the global search market share. Although in 2000 Google's market share did not reach 10%, in 2007, its market share rises sharply to pass 80% and continues to increase until 2013. Even Google is able to compete with technology giants such as Microsoft and Yahoo! that were established a few years earlier.

Google Search popularity around the world even con-

trived the term "to google" which is being recognized by the American Dialect Society and the Oxford English Dictionary. The definition of the term is "to search for information about (someone or something) on the Internet,

Given the mission of Google Inc., to organize the world's information and make it universally accessible and useful (Google n.d), the search engine becomes a product which is being prioritized by the company. Although Google Inc. has a variety of products such as Chrome (web browser), Maps (map), AdWords (advertising), Gmail (email), Google+ (social media), and others; Google Search is still significant. It is not only based on Google Inc.'s normative mission, but also because of the peculiarities of the search engine industry itself. Search engine companies, like Google Inc., derive most revenue from advertising. Dependence on ads automatically makes a search engine depend also on the number of users. This is because the keyword, keyword statistics, and user search results are being used as a

Graph 1
Market Share of Search Engines by Global Year



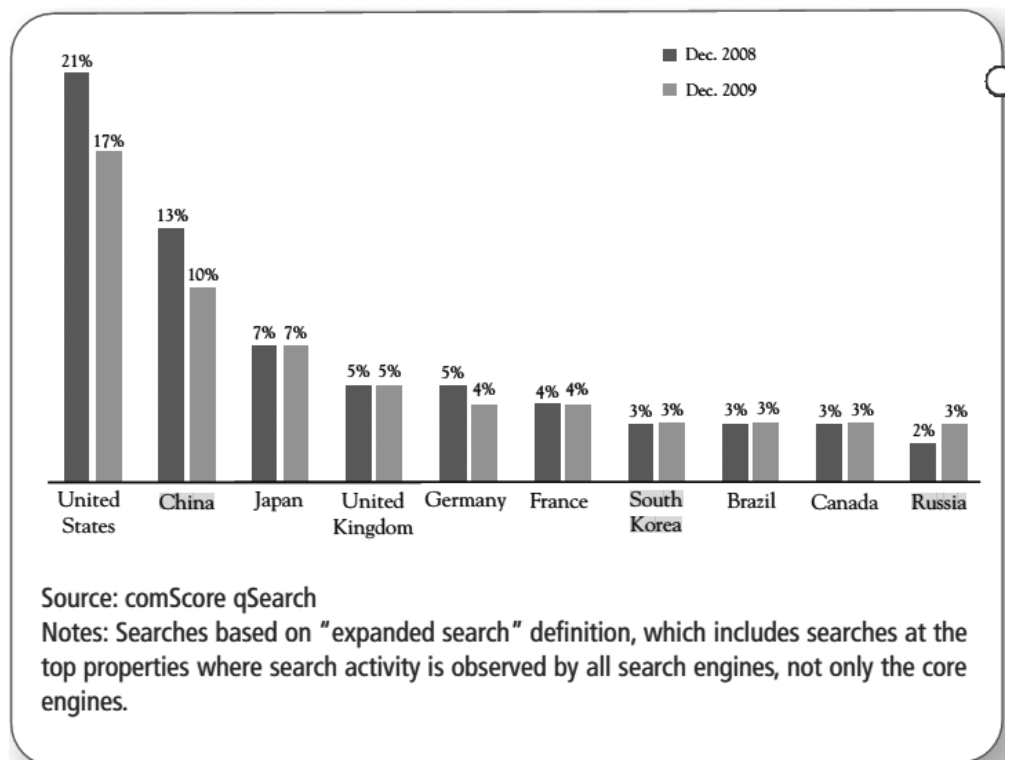
typically using the Google search engine" (Goss 2008). Financially, Google Inc. is classified as a large technology company. Google Inc. stock trading which now has been taken by management of the holding company Alphabet Inc. has a market capitalization reaching US\$483,261,218,430 for GOOGL in class A, and US \$502,017,394,289 for GOOG in class C (Nasdaq 2015).

The superiority of Google Inc. in the search engine industry cannot be separated from the company's philosophy which is implemented in the business operation, for example, its focus on users (consumers) and its "do not be evil" (Google n.d). For Google Inc., providing the best service for users of the company's product is not by simply giving them what they want (Schmidt 2014). Developing products with excellence in the technical insights becomes a crucial point in order to give users something they have not thought to be needed in the future. That's why this company is considered as the best service for its customers. Therefore, Google Search is equipped by special feature in order to display quickly the search results that are relevant to the keywords entered. The relevance of the search results takes precedence over displaying ads that are not related at all to the keywords.

commodity for the company to be sold to advertisers (Lee 2011).

Because the user is an important element of the search

Graph 2
Ten Countries with Largest Share of Searches
(Agarwal & Round 2011)



engine, market share is also important, especially in the countries that most widely use search engines. Graph 2 lists the ten countries that are in the highest position in share of searches, which is the percentage of search engine use per country. Of the ten countries, seven of which

have Google as the most widely used search engine. Meanwhile, as shown in Table 1.1, local search engines actually surpass Google in China, Russia and South Korea. Baidu has more than half the market share in China in 2007 that is 54% and rose to 63% in September 2009. In Russia, Yandex had 52% market share in 2007 and increased to 64% in December 2010. Meanwhile, Naver in 2007 was able to secure a 65% market share in South Korea even though slightly down in May 2010.

Table 1.
Leading Search Engines per Country (Agarwal & Round 2011)

Region/country	By share of searches				By rank* 2011 ^a
		2007 ^a		2009/2010	
<i>Asia Pacific</i>					
China	Baidu	54%	Baidu ^a	63%	Baidu
Japan	Yahoo!	49%	Google ^a	48%	Yahoo! Japan
South Korea	NHN (Naver)	65%	NHN (Naver) ^b	63%	NHN (Naver)
India	Google	81%	Google ^a	89%	Google
<i>Europe</i>					
U.K.	Google	74%	Google ^b	91%	Google
Germany	Google	80%	Google ^b	80%	Google
France	Google	82%	Google ^c	90%	Google
Russia	Yandex	52%	Yandex ^d	64%	Yandex
<i>North America</i>					
U.S.	Google	64%	Google ^e	72%	Google
Canada	Google	78%	Google ^e	80%	Google
<i>Latin America</i>					
Brazil	Google	90%	Google ^f	90%	Google

Source: comScore qSearch; comScore qSearch 2.0; comScore World Metrix; alexa.com (viewed 17 April 2011); LiveInternet (Russia); Hitwise (UK); Webhits (Germany); At Internet Institute (France); Koreanclick (South Korea); Evans (2008)^g.

Notes: Data excludes visits from public computers such as Internet cafes or access from mobile phones or PDAs.

^aThe sites in the top sites lists are ordered by their one month alexa traffic rank. The one month rank is calculated using a combination of average daily visitors and page views over the preceding month. The site with the highest combination of visitors and page views is ranked number one.

^bData are for December 2007; ^cData are for September 2009; ^dData are for April 2011; ^eData are for May 2010; ^fData are for May 2008; ^gData are for June 2009; ^hData are for April 2009; ⁱData are for December 2010; ^jData are for August 2010; ^kData are for July 2009.

The data in Table 1 shows it is reasonable for Google if it did not even get the second place below Baidu. This is because Google already did not operate directly in China through google.cn since 2010 so that users who access the site will be redirected to google.com.hk. Google.cn site itself was launched in 2006 as a compromise measure with strict rules of the Chinese government related to the accessibility of information online. The existence of google.cn became a compromise because Google's Chinese version was often not available to users in China and was redirected to local search engines. With the compromise, Google Inc. obey Chinese government rules to block certain search results, and do not operate the products related to personal or confidential data such as electronic mail and blogs (Schrage 2006). However, google.cn stopped operating af-

ter there was hacking case against Google even though the perpetrator and the motive were still undiscovered. Hacking has become a big problem when Google decided to no longer compromise with Chinese government censorship, thus, this company should be withdrawn out of the search engine competition in China (Jacobs & Helft 2010).

Because Google already did not operate its search engine in China, this study focused on the cases in Russia and South Korea. The research question raised in this study is: "although Google Inc. has superiority based on global market share, why does Google Inc. experience limitations in the search engine market share against local firms in Russia and South Korea?" Comparative study was conducted in researching these issues in order to analyse the cases in the two countries with the same variables, but produced different outcomes. This type of comparative study is called the most similar system design. In a study based on the design, there are three things that become the main focuses; they are the market, culture and management. In accordance with Hamilton and Biggart research, industrial activities can be explained best through the market approach, the cultural approach and the approach of the authority. Market and cultural factors explain the company's response to situations in host countries that indicate organizational growth. Meanwhile, authority approach shows how the pattern of managerial and organizational structure is formed although being influenced by the environment (Hamilton & Biggart 1988).

MARKET SHARE

Market share is a factor that shows that the company is able to compete and even dominate the market. Based on existing literatures, high market share is linear with profitability and competitive advantage. However, there are also opinions that deny the absolute linkage between market share and profitability. Boulding and Staelin (1990) expressed that a high market share was not always accompanied by increasingly wide profit margin because companies could have set a product at low cost, but the price is still high or vice versa. In addition, company's market share position which also sometimes does not match the return on investment (ROI) is obtained. In the midst of the debate, it needs to be understood that the deterministic relation between market share and profitability can be built in a certain context. The contexts are market experience, maturity, fragmentation, and decline (Prescott, Kohli, Venkatraman 1986), also the environment with low power buyer (Boulding & Staelin 1990). Not only the environment, but also the success of company's competitive strategy does not solely determine the advantage of the market share. Buzzell, Gale and Sultan mentioned if the company did not get a satisfactory ROI and liquidation, market share

oriented strategy must be applied (Newton 1983).

Based on Carolyn Y. Woo (1983), companies generate market share advantage in the form of recognition of the brand name, economies of scale and greater bargaining power with the supplier and distributor. Market share, according to the Boston Consulting Group, is achieved through "the experience curve effects" that encourages skyrocketing sales and even market dominance (Wernerfelt 1986). In addition, the market share is also accompanied with market power that makes the company able to determine the price in the market (Boulding & Staelin 1990). However, market power is not the main thing in analyzing market share because basically, the significance of the market share is a factor which shows the competitiveness of companies in a particular industry. Handerson said company would not be able to be an effective competitor if its market share was less than a quarter of the largest market share holder in a stable market (Karnani 1983). The minimum market shares became barriers to entry for new entrants to compete with existing industry players.

Companies have strong competitiveness in terms of market share if the industry has particular structure, such as a high concentration level of the industry. In the industry with high concentration, the market share stability tends to be high so that there is little potential to shift the market share positions (Kato & Honjo 2006). Such structure exists in search engine industry so that market share consists of only a handful of competitors. Thus, the companies able to control market share in the industry certainly have a good competitiveness. These companies are also competitive because market share not only indicates the cost structure and competitive interaction between firms, but also the demand structure those companies succeed to respond (Karnani 1983). In the search engine industry, responding to the users demand are very important because of the fact that they determines market share, thus determines the companies' revenue from advertising. Another importance of search engine users is their status as "prosumer" (producer-consumer).¹ Such dualism emphasizes the requirement to fulfil users demand because of company's needs of user data resources to be sold to advertisers.

Consumer preferences in certain product rather than the other similar products will determine whether or not a company can control market share. Generally, the market share leadership takes place when there are similar products with different quality and price (Telang, Rajan, Mukhopadhyay 2004). However, that happens when interdependent companies compete in a shared market and with the same resources (D'Aveni, Dagnino, Smith 2010). The competitions do not only happen in the domestic market, but also in a new location after the company internationalization. There is a greater likelihood that the companies with high market share in home country will lead market

share in the new location. However, it is not an absolute relationship because market share is co-determined by the company's strategy when entering new markets.

While still in the local competition, most companies use single-country oriented strategy, for example in the form of profit maximization by exploiting market imperfection. This strategy often continues to be applied when companies internationalize even if it is not appropriate. This is because the market imperfection is man-made condition, unlike the naturally created market failure (Boddewyn & Brewer 1994). As a result, the company is too comfortable with the privileges generated from market imperfection so that it is not competitive in the new market. The tendency to generalize the strategy at all operational locations are based on the assumptions about world changes which is believed as globalization. Thomas L. Friedman declared that the world was flat because everything was seen similar to each other, and demand consumer converged due to the globalization of markets (Dutta 2008). Similar statements are also contained in the concept of Levitt's "globalizing market", Ohmae's "borderless world" (Ghemawat 2002) and Frances Cairncross's "death of distances" (Vives & Svejenova 2007). Levitt even mentioned that multinational companies would soon disappear, replaced by global companies, because product and process adjustments take a lot of costs, while uniformity of product and sale are more effective. Another assumption came from Robert Holton that the consequence of globalization is the homogenization of the world in the form of convergence character and cultural practices (Holton 2000).

Differ from the globalist assumptions, Pankaj Ghemawat (2003) criticized the assumptions and claimed that it was actually semi-globalization because there were still barriers that prevented full market integration. However, the ideas about globalization of production, markets and cultural are already stimulating the development of ideas in company business strategy. As a result, companies tend to respond to cross boundary differences through homogenization (Boddewyn & Brewer 1994), even when the company's need is more than just a "one-size fits all" strategy (Dutta 2008). MNCs from developed countries often perceive fundamental challenges in internationalization, such as how global strategy can be expanded and adapted with minimal changes in the host countries. However, the strategy does not always work, especially in countries that are included in the bottom of global economic pyramid (Peng, Wang, Jiang, 2008). Ultimately, companies that do not pay attention to cross-border differences becomes difficult to be accepted by consumers. Such mistakes can only be overcome with a realistic strategy, not the idealistic approaches such as global business strategy.

Because the globalization process is still incomplete, the wisest choice for companies in order to lead market share after internationalization is to take a middle ground between complete standardization (global strategy) and complete localization (single-country strategy). In order to analyze how the company's strategy is formulated and applied in semi-globalization era, three concepts were offered by Ghemawat (2007). First is CAGE distances which consist of cross-border cultural, administrative, geograph-

¹ The term "prosumer" was introduced by Alvin Toffler to refer "progressive blurring of the line that separates producer from consumer". "Prosumer" is consumer who works for company without getting paid and even exploited through a commodification of consumers elements. In search engine industry, the commodification exists in order to gather private information such as from email, queries and cookies which show users preference (Fuchs 2011).

ic and economic differences between home and host country. Second is ADDING value scorecard, it is to evaluate and map the global value creation. Global values include the increasing volume or growth; decreasing costs; differentiating or increasing willingness-to-pay, for example related to research and development (R & D); normalizing or optimizing risk; and generating knowledge (as well as other resources and capabilities). Third is the AAA model that gives companies strategy options including adaptation, aggregation and arbitrage. Each of these strategies is described briefly in the following quote: "Adaptation' is a form of local (national) responsiveness; 'Aggregation' is basically the achievement of economies of scale; and 'Arbitrage' is the exploitation of national differences" (Rugman 2008).

There is no consensus among experts about what strategy is most appropriate for company to lead market while there are differences across borders. Therefore, global business strategy cannot be implemented simply by ignoring cross border differences and internal capabilities to deal with those differences. In the Google Inc. cases in Russia and South Korea, adaptation is applied as a response of understanding the cross border differences. Adaptation is perceived as a strategy able to avert companies from the inability to compete due to a state that does not support optimization of opportunity, such as the absence or limited market size (Andries & Debackere 2006).

Adaptation at the enterprise level is even considered capable of producing excellent performance despite the volatility of the market or internal pressure, for example through the adjustment of business concepts (Morris, Altman, Pitt 1999). Such a view is to create a widespread assumption that the company's competitiveness in the host countries market share pegged at how big the sustainability and adaptability (better fit) of the company (Dow 2016). However, the weak position of the company's market share is not solely due to the low level of adaptation. The fundamental problem is more likely to emerge because the adaptation itself is a poor strategy when faced with cross-border differences. Adaptation still takes advantage of cross border similarities to adjust to the difference in host countries (Dutta 2008). This is different from the aggregation strategy that mastered the differences, or arbitrage that exploit cross-border differences. Thus, adaptation does not help much in the market share in unique locations, even though the company has excelled in the home country and other countries.

Other than business strategy, relations within the market influence the reason behind company's weak position in market share. There is interpenetration of non-market social elements in the market, such as in the form of cultural prestige. As presented by Lyn Spillman, the interpretation of market should be explained with notice on cultural constructions of the object, actor and norms involved in market exchange.² For market exchange is part of social

²Cultural construction of the objects is related to the commodification and decommodification, for example about what good/service society considers as acceptable to trade. The cultural construction of the actors discusses the range or limits that makes actor (individuals, corporations, nations, etc.) a potential partner in market exchange, such as

life, economic practices cannot be separated from the social aspects that encourage actors to take certain actions. The construction is already rooted in society that it becomes social stratification that Zenonas Norkus explains through Max Weber's model of social stratification. Social stratification makes the orientation of social life not only in the form of economic prosperity, but also in the form of prestige or honour (Norkus 2004). In the model of social stratification, wealth, prestige and power determine classes. Prestige accounts ideal interests of an actor which is expected to be respected and appreciated by all other actors. With the aim to get classified as elite, actors try to actualize their ideal interests. "The basis for the feeling of belonging to the world 'elite' can be the conviction of the extraordinary value of the culture of 'one's own' nation or of its extraordinary contribution to 'world culture'" (Norkus 2004).

The approach based on cultural construction disproves the traditional assumptions that have been around a long time-probably since the beginning of the modern Economics discourses, which explained economy as abstract, rational and beyond human control. As a part of social life, the economy is not influence free from social interaction as contained in the following quote. "... Market processes are rarely pure, but rather that economic action is a form of social action, that economic action is socially situated, and that economic institutions are social constructions" (Spillman 1994). Zhu Majie also mentioned that culture designs economic and social structures. One of its elements is cultural identity which includes social rewards and a prerequisite to economic success. Both of them determine whether an actor will be prosperous and competitive in the economic and social structure (Majie 2002).

The influence of culture on the economic structure and activities generally did not happen immediately, but accompanied by actors' action. For example, the cultural prestige could be traced through a country's history and long processes before being operationalized in market exchange. Samuel P. Huntington describes the example of cultural renaissance from Asia which was preceded by conflicts, wars, divisions and humiliation by the West and neighbouring nations (Huntington 1996). The renaissance fostered self-confidence, cultural assertion and resistance to foreign ideas. The unhappy past contributed to the forming of national solidarity to rebuild the country's prestige that had collapsed. Naoki Sakai said as well, "Where else,... could one possibly actualize the concrete and practical senses of liberty, equality, and fraternity if not in the Midst of a struggle against colonial powers and the oppressive remnants of the past?" (Sakai 2005).

Cultural prestige arisen from the past events has implications for the nation acceptance of products from other countries. Lyn Suzanne Amine (2008) was doing research with ethno-consumerism approach and found that con-

cultural and social ties. Meanwhile, the cultural construction of the norm exists due to a deviation derived from the competitive and profit-seeking behavior in the market. That behavior would generate negative sanctions, and put the actors and market in unstable condition. The instability forces cultural and social norms to guide more moral-based market transactions involving trust, actor identity, redistribution and reciprocity (Spillman 1999).

sumer behaviour was influenced by the country of origin effects (COE) and bilateral animosity. COE can be drawn from practice of nationality, as well as historical background that shape consumer perceptions. Ettenson and Klein also mention the importance to look at the country's relations' history to find the reason why the animosity appears (Ettenson & Klein 2000), also to analyse the country's dimension of war, economic, religious, and personal mentality (Amine 2002). COE and bilateral animosity bring closer explanation towards economic relations with the cultural prestige and international business. This is because the COE and bilateral animosity are able to explain realistically that product resistance in host countries are almost always present together with the cultural prestige. However, it should be emphasized that the emergence of COE and bilateral animosity is based on another country's image, but not always absolute. "A country might rank high in the consumer's mind for one product class, but low for another" (Pappu, Quester, Cooksey 2007).

In the concept of cultural prestige accompanied by COE and bilateral animosity, there has been no coherent explanation of how consumer demand can be formed only by nationality or history of any nation. Therefore, the role of the state must be considered as influence to the creation of demand condition that directly confront consumers in consumption as described in Michael Porter's diamond framework. The government's role is inseparable from the assumption that the contemporary global politics is a marketplace of ideas (Jentleson & Weber 2008). Thus, the benefits of the country are no longer measured by the war, politics, hegemony, or the balance of power, but rather how the country can have excellent idea in the market competition. However, the realization of the ideas and values will not happen without any encouragement from the government through policy. Siho Nam also said that the government issued a policy which influences the culture by recreating its identity to maximize the brand value of the territory, politics, economics, history, people and culture (Nam 2013). The result varies from national economic growth, the stimulation of demand for national products, to the capability to compete with foreign competitors. To sum up, the appropriate use of culture is able to give impact on the country and important achievement in guiding decision-making (Jentleson & Weber 2008).

The government's influence in the market is to set barrier for foreign companies mainly applied to demand conditions and related and supporting industries. In the cases of this study, both of them directly affect Internet users in the search engine preferences. The government influence on demand conditions takes forms of government procurement, regulation of products and processes, buyer industry structure, stimulating early or sophisticated demand, buyer information, technical standards and foreign aid and political ties (Porter 1999). Meanwhile, the government's influence on the related and supporting industries for example, include a policy toward the media, cluster formation and regional policy. Not all of these factors must be applied, otherwise the respective governments can adjust its policies to influence demand conditions or the related and supporting industries. Relation between state and market as a

result of the implementation of government's influence on demand conditions and related and supporting industries in Russia and South Korea will be discussed in the next section.

GOVERNMENT'S INFLUENCE IN THE SEARCH ENGINE MARKET

Foreign company limitations of market share control in host countries may happen under certain market conditions, especially in terms of demand. In the Google Inc. limitation in South Korean, search engine market, government regulations, as well as related and supporting industries, contribute to shaping users demand. The development of local search engine in South Korea was preceded by the government's monopoly over telecommunications development in the 1960s and 1980s. Since 1982, Korea Telecommunications Authority (KTA) was built to become an arm of government to monopolize the telecommunication carrier. This is reinforced by the Law on the Establishment of KTA (1981), by the Framework Act on Telecommunications (1983) and the Telecommunications Business Act (1983) (Ahn 2012). At that time there were already telecommunication service provider and carrier other than KTA, but their presence was insignificant at least until the 1990s.

The open competition of telecommunications sector began when the South Korean government invites private companies to provide database and data processing services in 1987. In 1997 and 1998, the government revised the Telecommunication Business Act to increase private companies' involvement in the telecommunications sector. It was then used to carry out informatization shown through the making of The Framework Act on Informatization Promotion (1996) and the Act on the Management of Knowledge Information Resources (2002). In the mid-1990s, there has been a shift in science and technology related to policy focusing from industrial technology to information technology. Therefore, the Korean Information Infrastructure Project was launched which then resulted in the availability of one telephone per household, direct dialling system and the elimination of installation delays (Cambell 2012).

The South Korean government realized that the informal process of private sector couldn't run smoothly unless government help to lift private's financial constraints. Thus, government issued procurement through the Promotion of Digitalization of Administrative Work for E-Government Realization in 2001. The procurement aimed to promote broadband networks in government, schools and homes. Ten Million People Internet Education Project 2000-2002 became one of such promotional efforts, encouraged people to use the Internet and indirectly helped creating early users of local search engines as Google Korea that had not yet launched (Ahn 2012).

Local companies gain advantages from the incentive-driven innovation and invention encouraged by the government and the buyer market structure (Farber 1981). Incentives to undertake research and development (R&D) activities enable the company to meet the needs of early

anticipatory or sophisticated buyers such as those in South Korea. The government encouraged not only government institutions and universities, but also private institutions, to conduct R&D carried out within the framework of the Initiative 577 (Campbell 1998). The initiative was named in accordance with the objectives to be achieved by the government. First, spending on R&D should reach 5% of GDP in 2012 that were previously only 3.23% in 2006. Out of the 5%, R&D spending in the private sector should be at least three-quarters of the total. Second, the 577 Initiative focused on developing seven technological areas which three of them are automobile and electronics industry, big science (i.e.: space program, nuclear energy development and military technologies), as well as the convergence technology (such as nanotechnology and robotics). Third, the government wants South Korea climbed from twelve to seven major world powers of science and technology. The ratings assessed on several criteria are the science citation index and registration of international patents (Stone 2008).

As South Korean government created effect trough policy, the Russian government also gave its effect on demand conditions and related and supporting industries through innovation encouraging policies. Russia built clusters; *naukograds* (science city) such as in Moscow, Saint Petersburg and Yekaterinburg, as well as technology development and special economic zone (SEZ) such as in Tomsk and Dubna. Through these clusters, Russia emphasizes high technology as a form of diversification of the economy that was dominated by natural resource exports. The aim of the policy is macro-economic stability, international competitiveness of domestic enterprises and national security (Ablaev 2015).

Although Russian information technology and internet-based communications companies hardly compete with U.S. companies internationally, but local companies are able to prevent foreign companies dominate the domestic market share. In this study, Yandex demonstrated its ability to block Google in the Russian search engine market. The same situation goes for Naver in South Korea. Both cases indicate the success of Russian and South Korean government in giving effect on demand conditions and related and supporting industries. The policies of the two governments encourage domestic firms to innovate faster than foreign companies. Yandex's search engine has been launched since 1997, while Naver since 1999. Meanwhile, Google was founded in 1998 and launched a Korean and Russian language features in 2001 (Ilhwan 2008). Thus, Russia and South Korea have had early users in the search engine market, making it difficult for Google Search as late mover to compete with Naver and Yandex.

RUSSIA AND SOUTH KOREA'S CULTURAL PRESTIGE AS A DETERMINANT OF DECISION MAKING PROCESS

There has been no single definition of cultural prestige, but it can simply be interpreted as a sense of pride and honor that the cultural values of a society perceived as superior to other societies' values. In etymology, the term

culture has the following definition: "[A] product of man-made is part of the environment that subsumes an ensemble of knowledge systems, beliefs, traditions, languages, arts, literatures coalescing into a collective world view" (Harshe 2006). Meanwhile, prestige could be interpreted as self-confidence, arrogance and belief in the superiority of one's culture or soft power than others' (Huntington 1996). It may arise because of the increasing hard power or there is an attempt to develop and rise after humiliation.

Google's case in South Korea, cultural prestige emerged because of humiliation through war and imperialism. South Korean society has *han* which is the outrage over the destiny for thousands of years, one of which is four hundred invasions of the Korean Peninsula. From those events, *han* has become anger that never diminish and even get stronger. Euny Hong mentioned that *han* is not only revenge by the Korean society, but also becomes the source of success of this country. "A race that has been under threat constantly knows they can survive in any condition" (Hong 2015).

In the modern era, *han* revives South Korea's prestige after experiencing a variety of failures such as the Asian financial crisis. The crisis became the unfortunate thing because South Korea has just experienced significant economic growth of semiconductor and phone production. The government also added a humiliation by accepting foreign debt from the International Monetary Fund. So, to maintain the country's prestige, there are only two choices facing society that are becoming bankrupt or try crazy things. At that time many young people tried crazy things, but it brings good luck, through the business in information technology, music, drama, movies and video games field (Hong 2015). These fields have a common thread, namely the content industry, especially on popular culture. Search engine companies were involved in the transition of industry focus in South Korea. Young people who contribute to the economy of the country built Daum and Naver in the era of Asian crisis. Thus, the existence of the cultural prestige of South Korean society gets stronger as a result of the rejection of constant and failures.

On the opposite side, Russia also has a cultural prestige as a country and nation that once hold a great power. Russia always has prestige on local values and is against Western domination over the world and local culture. Since the end of the 19th century, Russia experienced industrial development, entrepreneurial and trade which is precisely not driven by industrial and trading class, but by individuals from different social categories. Starting from that time, there have been cultural sophistication and civic engagement.

The resistance to foreign products aids operationalization of cultural prestige in terms of decision-making for consumption. This resistance is a rejection of things that are contrary to a person or society's values (Subramaniam 2000). For example, denial of Western social values that is morally dubious based on the perspective of a society related to Asian values. Forms of resistance to foreign products are namely country of origin effects (COE) and bilateral animosity. COE shows the level of product foreignness and has three forms that are cognitive, affective

and normative COE. The cognitive COE shows a preference for quality, while the affective COE is the symbol of affective and emotional values such as patriotism and prestige. Meanwhile, normative COE indicates social consumers or personal norms. In the other hand, Ang et al. categorizes duration and scope of animosity to the stable and situational, and personal and national ones (Amine 2002).

In Russia and South Korea, COE and animosity toward products from the U.S. get a particular level, even though it is not in the complete form. There are assumptions that cultural imperialism brought about by the U.S. media caused significant negative effects on national level (Elteren 2003). The COE and animosity also built up because of the concern that foreign search engines could carry information that should not be opened to the local community. COE and animosity primarily targeted Google as a company that produces the greatest information at this time around, and one of the U.S. companies with the biggest financial growth (Vise & Malseed 2005). In South Korea, Naver's search engine is considered more humane and promotes community involvement than Google Search (Choe 2007). That is why as if there is resistance to the use of Google in South Korea.

THE INACCURACY OF GLOBAL STRATEGY IN SOUTH KOREAN AND RUSSIAN SEARCH ENGINE MARKET

The definition of global business strategy is still being debated, especially in terms of whether the strategy is defined as an absolute standardization or is still considering the standardization level. Meanwhile, the definition of global company is a company that operates worldwide constantly at a low-cost and selling the same products (Ramarapu, Timmerman, Ramarapu 1999). The definition of global company indicates the global business strategy as a strategy that uses standardization and did not give special attention to national borders as in globalization assumptions. Standardization itself is an effort to homogenize product, set price, distribute, and promote worldwide (Jain 1989). "The worldwide marketplace has become so homogenized that multinational corporations can market standardized products and services all over the world, by identical strategies, with resultant lower costs and higher margin" (Jain 1989).

In some cases, even R&D for a product obtained with a global strategy because it can increase the company's strategic position (Zou & Ozsomer 2016). Company's global strategy is successful when it can obtain five following dimensions:

"The extent that the worldwide standardization of customer needs, worldwide product awareness, a worldwide standardization of product technology, existing competitors in all key markets, and competitors marketing standardized products worldwide Characterized in the which the industry segment Reviews their business unit competes" (Roth, Schweiger, Morrison 2016).

Ideal global business strategy tends to be hard to achieve, that is why Google Inc. tries to covers the whole

world with its services through the help from Global Business Operations and Global Business Strategy teams. The teams that work in the business operational and corporation development fields stated that their job is to work in global and cross-functional projects. While there is no official statement on Google Inc's current business strategy, the company has acquired approximately 190 companies and uses wholly owned subsidiaries mode of entry in countries that need physical presence in order to stay ahead. The practices Google show the use of global strategy because each country's market is seen as an interconnected global market (Daniels, Radebaugh, Sullivan 2007).

Google Inc. has set the operational area on a global scale, but the flow of finance and product were still centralized in the home country. In addition, companies acquired by Google Inc. are mostly from its home country. Google Inc.'s attention on the cross-border differences and similarities, and adaptation were chosen as its strategy although has not brought success in facing semi-globalization. This is because decisions are taken globally, but forced to decentralize at the local level.

Adaptation itself is interpreted simply as an adjustment to the existing differences. Meanwhile, the broader definition of adaptation is "adjustment to environmental conditions as: (a) adjustment of a sense of the organ to the intensity or quality of stimulation; (b) modification of an organism or its parts that makes it more fit for existence under the conditions of its environment" (Leiria 2009). The implementation of adaptation is based on how sub levers-focus, design, externalization, innovation- applied to attain a lever in the form of variation. The focus is needed to reduce the need for variety, while the design is to reduce the cost variations. The externalization is to reduce the load variation, while innovation improves the effectiveness of the variation. Google Inc. tends to apply maximal adaptation to innovation and standardization as demonstrated by prioritizing technical insights than market research (Schmidt, Rosenberg, Eagle 2002). Google's biggest adjustment is only made through providing languages feature and opening local offices to take care of things that cannot be done in Mountain View.

Changes related to adaptation are done with three considerations. First is the pressure for change coming from within the organization or business environment. Second is the time to make changes in periodic or ad-hoc term. Third is the nature of the changes which are radical or gradual (Andries & Debackere 2002). In addition, resources and capabilities as a organizational strategy parameter may make the adaptation happen. However, adaptation does not only need resources and capabilities because the barriers may emerge from sunk cost fallacy of investment, barriers to information and internal political obstacles. Structural inertia and status quo are part of the internal barriers that have an impact on the level of adaptation, thus shows whether it is under-adaptation or already optimal based on the view of maximizing profit. The structural inertia is associated with the rejection of adaptation because of company's ideology and values, while the status quo denotes individual leaders bias because transition takes up cost such as changes in organizational structure that threat-

en their position.

In the cases of Google Inc., status quo bias does not happen because the company welcomes the Googlers to participate in decision-making process (Schmidt, Rosenberg, Eagle 2002). Regular meetings are held in a fun and relaxing way, making the Googlers comfortable to express their opinions openly when corporate higher officers deemed unright. On the other hand, Google Inc. has inertia because of its ideal philosophy, one of which is showed through the motto "don't be evil". In Russia, Google Inc. received strong criticism from the government because it is considered dissident toward local rules regarding information censorship.

Despite the CAGE differences in Russia and South Korea, Google still uses the same strategy without much consideration. Google sticks to big data business model, thus differs it to local search engine company business model. Yandex, Naver, Daum and several other companies use user-generated content (UGC) because of the limitedness of content in Korean and Russian language. The UGC business model allows the search engine to crawl, index, and display search results from organic sites, advertisements, blogs, social media, forums and even social media

comments. Meanwhile, Google Inc. insisted on using PageRank in its search engine results for relevant keywords because it is the best system according to the company. However, in reality what Google considers as best is not always the best response to the users perception. Google's uniformity in strategy around the world also does not take into account the cross-border differences greater than languages.

CONCLUSION

This comparative study has shown that Google's market share limitation in Russian and South Korean search engine industry is caused by three factors. First is government's effect on demand conditions and related and supporting industries through policies. Second is cultural prestige in the form of country of origin effects and bilateral animosity. Third is company's global business strategy and adaptation to localize its strategy in host countries. The three factors applied to Google cases indicates that government involvement in early industry creating, significance of culture and cross-border differences still matter in this semiglobalized world.

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The Transformation of Coffee Industry in Brazil: the Development of Country Image and Regimes' Adaptation

Penyusun :

- Ika Devi
- Citra Hennida

Universitas Airlangga
Airlangga 4-6, Surabaya
Indonesia

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Abstract

Brazil is the largest coffee producer in the world. Brazil shares a third of global coffee production. By emphasizing on government's role, this article argues that the success of Brazil is due to two reasons. First, Brazil's government has an ability to make position at micro and macro level. At macro level, the government positions itself as the agricultural country. At micro level, the Brazilian government has concentrated to the development of product equity. Second, Brazilian government has an ability to adapt in the international regimes those are World Trade Organization (WTO) and International Coffee Organization (ICO). Brazil initiated to form G20 as a counter for the USA and European Union's joint proposal. The proposal ruled agricultural subsidies for the farmers in the USA and Europe. It also ruled limited access to their markets. In the WTO, there is a difficult negotiation between the consumers' countries (the USA and EU) and the producers' countries (Brazil, Australia, New Zealand, etc.) regarding agriculture. Previously, Brazil and other agricultural countries such as Australia and New Zealand negotiated through the Cairns Group. The result was not satisfying. Since then, Brazil has approached the developing countries to form G20 and to negotiate with the USA and EU. The negotiation was successful and gave more benefits to Brazil. The other international regime that Brazil has adapted to is ICO. In ICO, Brazil works hand in hand with NGOs to make sustainable farmers. In addition, Brazil is the one of the committee in ICO.

INTRODUCTION

Coffee began to enter Brazil in 1727 and since 1770 the cultivation of coffee spread throughout Brazil. Brazil's natural conditions allow coffee to flourish, including the availability of vast land, abundant water resources and

geographical conditions in form of mountainous area with suitable amount of rainy and dry season. The combination of natural conditions and the application of supportive agricultural policies put Brazil as the largest coffee producer in the world, with production level reaching 49,400 60 kg bags of coffee in 2015 (United States Department of Agri-

culture, 2015). Brazilian coffee production accounted for 32% of the total global of coffee production (SSI Review, 2014).

The higher level of production each year compared to other producing countries proved that Brazil is not only managed to reach the position as the largest coffee producer, but also it has succeeded to maintain that position. In addition, the ability of Brazil can be explained by positioning that it has been set by the government since the beginning. President Cardoso put agriculture as an engine of economic growth so that agricultural expansion is a top priority (Hopewell, 2014). Along with Cardoso, his successor President Lula da Silva declared that Brazil's economic stability depends on the agribusiness sector. Similar statements were submitted by Wager Rossi as the Minister of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply that Brazil played a major player as a supplier of global agribusiness products (Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply, 2010).

Brazil production capability was tested when there were changes in the coffee commodity, both domestically and internationally. First is the coffee crisis in the 1990s. Coffee crisis in general reduces the incentive of producer to produce. This is primarily due to declining of coffee prices. The price drop has implications for the losses to be borne by the farmers since the production cost is greater than the revenue. Second is the market reform in Brazil that has been overshadowed by mega inflation and large government debt. While the external market reform was caused by the shift in the ideology of the post-Cold War and the global geopolitical conditions that led to pressure from the international financial institutions and the United States against the coffee producing countries (Topik et al., 2010). Full government intervention through credit and subsidies was eliminated so that the coffee farmers could not afford the high costs of production. The decline number of coffee farmers turned into a serious problem because it can reduce the production levels. Third is the increase in coffee production by Brazil's competitor countries. This fact can be seen from the increased production significantly. These conditions can be a turning point for other coffee producing countries to shift the position of Brazil as the largest coffee producer. Brazil is managed through these challenges and maintains its position, which is proved by the level of coffee production that is always higher compared to other producing countries until now.

From these explanations, the research question posed in this paper is "How are Brazil's efforts to maintain the position of the largest producer in the global coffee market?" There are two arguments put forward to answer the question: *first*, the ability of Brazil to establish the positioning on country image in macro dimension through investment promotion and interaction within the international regimes; *second*, the ability of Brazil to establish the positioning on country image in micro dimension through the product equity and price-quality. The description of these two arguments is divided into four main sections. The first section outlines the theoretical explanation related to the two arguments put forward. The second section describes the positioning on the macro dimensions. The third section describes the positioning in the micro dimensions. Finally, the fourth section contains the conclusion.

STATE'S ROLE IN POSITIONING

Regulation made by the state is considered to be a barrier to the economic growth. But that does not mean that the state's role is omitted, but minimized. Liberalism does not mean the absence of political regulation at all, the state created required minimum benchmark for the market to function properly (Jackson and Sorensen, 1999). The presence of state authorities is not to restrict the market, but rather to give the maximum range of operation to the market. Embedded liberalism theory complemented the assumptions of liberalism by emphasizing the role of the state in economy. The balance between authority and market fundamentally changed the relationship between the state and the society. There is a redefinition of social objective, ultimately the achievement of domestic stability that required the state intervention in the realm of domestic economy. The state's role is to establish and maintain the market.

Market condition through free trade mechanism often does not benefit the society in domestic level. This is primarily due to the lower domestic competitiveness. The essence of embedded liberalism is the mutual relations followed by the domestic stability (Ruggie, 1982). Domestic intervention can predict countries position in the multilateral relations. Therefore, the state presents to manage the changes in market mechanism so it provides benefits to the domestic side. Furthermore, the state ensures that the domestic side is able to compete in a competitive international market. State's support to strengthen the pillars of economy and to improve the quality of human resources can be categorized as the domestic capacity building efforts (Ehrlich, 2010). The main goal is the state is able to achieve maximum benefits and maintain its position in the market.

Researcher used positioning concept to explain the country's effort to maintain its position in the market. Positioning is intended as a strategy to build the perception in accordance with the desired position in the market (Yuswohady, 2014). Furthermore, Kotler and Keller defined positioning as an act of designing the offer and the image to get a special place in the minds of target market (Kotler and Keller, 2009). In other words, positioning becomes the main reference for the operations. All activities undertaken, including production, sale and distribution are designed to support and achieve the positioning that has been determined. Determination of positioning is vital for the long-term success. Positioning determined the criteria to compete in the market, including the identification of what is desired and needed by the market, the strengths and weaknesses of competitors and the ability to meet the market demand better than any competitor. Strong positioning ensured that the country can maintain its position in the market. Walker (2011) explained that positioning target consisted of: (1) attributes; (2) usability; (3) users; (4) categories of products; (5) the price-quality; (6) competitive position.

Positioning is related closely to the image that wants to be built. Positioning is a strategy used to build the image. In the end, image represented the power of producer in the market. Specifically, it is related to the country image.

Country image consists of two dimensions: (1) macro refers to country as a whole; (2) micro includes the products produced by certain countries (Pappu et al., 2007). Information and views on the state ultimately affect the perception of the products produced by the country. Country image has a positive impact if the state is regarded as the origin of a product or related to the high standards of the quality and innovation (Baker and Ballington, 2002).

Country image is given by evaluation from the market. However, the state played an important role in the process to form the image. Furthermore, the country image can affect the individual decisions regarding the purchase, investment and migration (Kotler and Gernet, 2002). Strong country image is capable to affect the product equity originating from that country. Product equity can be understood as the relationship between the target market and product. Product equity is related to preference, loyalty and financial benefits of target market. Product equity includes four dimensions: (1) product awareness; (2) product associations; (3) perceived quality; (4) product loyalty.

POSITIONING IN MACRO DIMENSION

Country image in macro dimension refers to Brazil as a country, in particular how the other actors looked at Brazil. Operationalization of production process in the global coffee market could not be done by the state alone, but it takes the role of other actors, both state and non-state, although it should be stressed that this whole process is controlled, monitored and geared to the interest of Brazil. Positioning for country image in macro dimension is not aimed directly at the consumer of coffee, but at the level of the state and business in the coffee commodity chain. Brazil sets the image as the largest coffee producing countries at the international level through investment promotion and interaction within the international regimes. Investment promotion is the catalyst to produce coffee, while interaction within the international regimes affects the expansion of market access for coffee.

Brazil is the largest recipient of FDI in South America. In 2014 the total FDI inflows into Brazil amounted to USD 754,768.9 million (UNCTD, 2016). This amount represented approximately 45% of the total FDI inflows to South America. The large amount of FDI is supported by the activity of investment promotion. Investment promotion is an activity undertaken by the countries to attract FDI inflows (Harding and Javorcik, 2011). Investment promotion is based on the fact that to produce coffee with a high quantity and quality requires the high production cost as well. High production cost requires the availability of large amounts of funds. The state alone could not provide the large amount of fund since the allocation of state's fund is intended for various sectors. This is where the investor appears. Investor will invest in places that are considered to have a prospect of high profit in the future. Therefore, the state has a role to create the climate conducive to investment, which is specifically done through the investment promotion.

Brazil restructured the economy system through the market reform with the aim to minimize the barriers of foreign investment. By the late 1980s South American coun-

tries including Brazil adopted the Washington Consensus as a policy orientation. There are five important points of Washington Consensus: (1) reducing inflation through fiscal adjustment; (2) privatization of state-owned enterprises; (3) trade liberalization including reduction of tariff and non-tariff; (4) equity in market interest rates and the opening of almost all sectors to foreign investment; (5) reduction in the control of foreign capital (Amann and Baer, 2002). Market reform changed Brazil's economic system, from closed economy system-based on government support- to open market-based on market. Countries with a high degree of economic openness are more attractive to MNCs compared with countries that had closed economy system. Therefore, the country's efforts to liberalize the market indicated a prospect of higher FDI in the country. Market reform is a form of restructuring policies that form the basis of FDI inflows in Brazil. Brazil must reform the market to survive as well as to engage in the global economic structure.

These efforts are reinforced by the policies that facilitated the entry of FDI inflows. The Brazilian government amended its constitution in 1995. Amendment 1995 redefined the Brazilian firm. Brazilian companies are defined as all companies incorporated in Brazil, regardless of the source of its capital (Almeida, 2000). The same treatment to domestic and foreign companies aims to attract the investors to invest in Brazil. Brazilian government also provides tax incentives for the investors through two mechanisms. First, the Lei do Bem (Good Law) regulates the tax exemptions for companies investing in R&D. Second, regional incentives such as tax reductions are up to 75% for the investors who invest in the following areas: (1) SUDAM (Amazon Region Development) included three coffee growing regions, Acre, Mato Grosso and Pará; (2) SUDENE (Northeastern Brazil Development Agency) included two coffee growing regions, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo (Government of Brazil, 2014). The Brazilian government also signed Double Taxation Treaties with 28 countries to eliminate double taxation, easing the tax burden borne by the investor.

The economic condition was built in accordance with resource seeking motives underlying the actions of investors. The first factor that should be owned by the state in the resource-seeking motives is the availability of abundant natural resources. The availability of coffee in Brazil can be seen from the level of production, harvesting and land that is increasing every year. To strengthen the country image as a potential location for investing FDI, Brazil builds reliable R&D system. R&D aims to increase the productivity, expand the planting area, reduce the production cost and improve the competitiveness of agricultural exports from Brazil (Santana and Nascimento, 2012). Brazilian Agriculture Research Corporation (Embrapa) is a major component in the R&D activities in Brazil. Embrapa was created as a public company and designed to focus its R&D activities in areas related to the national priorities. The model used by the agency of Embrapa is decentralized geographically with 47 research centers. The aim is to facilitate an interaction with farmers and communities in all regions of Brazil. Strengthening the aspects of R&D is to ensure that the Brazilian coffee production is constantly

evolving and will be able to generate profits for the investors.

The success of Embrapa is developing innovations and technologies that enable the farmers to transform the unproductive savannah region into the most important production area in Brazil. The region is known as Cerrado. Cerrado covers 25% of the territory of Brazil and currently accounts for 50% of the total agricultural production. Embrapa's success can also be seen from research Agricultural Climate Risk Zoning. Agricultural Climate Risk Zoning is a research developed with aim to minimize the risk of climate change by determining the best planting time in each region since the soil and planting cycles are different in each region. This research was conducted by Embrapa and subsequently adopted into agricultural policy by the Ministry of Agriculture of Brazil.

Recently, Brazil established Investment Promotion Agency (IPA) to facilitate the investment process. IPA in Brazil is known as the Apex-Brazil. Services offered by Apex-Brazil included the identification and communication with potential investors to provide a better understanding of investment opportunities available in Brazil. Apex-Brazil provided information regarding certain strategic sectors, market analysis, economic trends, legal and fiscal rules for investments, production costs, the choice of location and the availability of human resources (Government of Brazil, 2014). Apex-Brazil also provided support for the investors who want to establish cooperation with local companies, universities and research centers. Apex-Brazil is based in Brasilia and is spread through eight countries, UAE (Dubai), Angola (Luanda), Cuba (Havana), United States (San Francisco and Miami), Colombia (Bogota), China (Pequim), Belgium (Brussels) and Russia (Moscow). All services provided by Apex-Brazil are free. APEX-Brazil attended several international events related to coffee commodity, for example, the Melbourne International Coffee Expo and Seminar on Investment Opportunities in Expo Milan. APEX-Brazil also signed Memorandum of Intent (MOI) with IPA from United States, Select USA.

The second step of building country image in macro dimension is attempted through interaction within international regimes. The regime plays an important role since it enabled member countries to trade or in other words to allow its members to sell their products on global scale. Brazil succeeds to maintain its position as the largest producer in the global coffee market, which means that Brazil is not only playing in the technical level of production, but also active in the international regimes. Brazil's interest in coffee commodity was achieved through two international regimes, World Trade Organization (WTO) and International Coffee Organization (ICO). WTO provided a forum for Brazil to achieve the interest of market access for coffee commodity through the rules related to import tariffs, while ICO facilitated the cooperation with various actors in coffee commodity and set the standards for the quality of coffee. WTO and ICO played complementary role for Brazil in the process of establishing country image as the largest coffee producer.

Brazil built ammunition as the best agricultural negotiator in the world. It was started by the Cancun Ministe-

rial Conference in 2003, which was held to determine the direction of the negotiations in Doha Round. Before the negotiation in Cancun started, each country started preparing strategies and proposals that will be submitted. United States and the European Union formed alliance and made joint proposals to be submitted to the Cancun Ministerial Conference. Negative reaction emerged in response to the joint proposal between the United States and the European Union. A similar reaction was shown by Brazil. Along with its dissatisfaction with the joint proposal submitted by the United States and the European Union, Brazil was also not satisfied with the current performance of its alliance, the Cairns Group. Cairns Group considered firmly against the joint proposal submitted by the United States and the European Union. Cairns Group's respond underlie Brazil's action to shift its position in Doha Round negotiation. Cairns Group no longer becomes the media to achieve Brazil's interests. Therefore, Brazil began to approach other developing countries. Dissatisfaction of joint proposal between United States and European Union provided an opportunity for Brazil to mobilize developing countries to fight those joint proposals so that they are willing to reform, particularly related to subsidies (Hopewell, 2014). Later, the alliance of developing countries was known as the G20.

Brazil recognized that achievement of the interests in the Doha Round could not be done independently. It needs the support of the alliance. Brazil is willing to compromise and take a larger portion for the preparation of negotiations in order to secure the support of G20 countries. Brazil played central role in G20, such as: (1) group coordination; (2) providing strategy and communication, (3) organizing and running meetings; (4) doing most of the research and technical analysis for proposals (Hopewell, 2014). A step towards negotiations are accompanied by the good preparation by establishing a private sector, ICONE, which is assigned to conduct research, develop proposals and other technical matters required in negotiation process. Some negotiators from both G20 and non-member stated that Brazil was the one who do the 'heavy lifting' for G20 (Hopewell, 2014). Brazil also approached other alliances that have a common vision and mission with G20. Cairns Group and the African Group were approached by Brazil to support the proposal submitted by the G20. African Group also stated its support through the merger of Nigeria, Tanzania and Zimbabwe in the membership of the G20 (Vegia, 2016). The success of Brazil in WTO interaction was proven through the acceptance of proposal submitted by Brazil together with G20 in the July 2004 Framework. Brazil managed to achieve its interests to open up access to a wider the market for coffee through the reduction of import tariffs.

Brazil also maintained interaction with actors in coffee commodity chain through International Coffee Organization (ICO). Brazil became a member of the ICO in 1963, after International Coffee Agreement (ICA) signed a year earlier. Brazil played an active role in the ICO through its involvement in the high ranks of the ICO committee, for example, its role as a representation of producer countries in the International Coffee Council. The Executive Director of ICO is now also held by citizens of Brazil, Robério

Oliveira Silva (ICO, 2016). Silva is a former Director of the Department of Agriculture Ministry of Coffee in Brazil. As the only regime in coffee, ICO created important decisions for Brazil. The standards are set by the reference ICO coffee production. ICO also become an effective medium to communicate with all the actors involved in coffee commodity chain. Interaction with coffee producing countries becomes media for Brazil to determine the extent of the country's production capabilities. While the interaction with the consumer countries allows Brazil to obtain information related to the demand for coffee as well as a platform to introduce Brazil's coffee production. Recently, Brazil establishes interaction with the private sector mainly NGOs to ensure that Brazil's coffee production meets the standards established by NGO.

POSITIONING IN MICRO DIMENSION

The success of Brazil to maintain the position as the largest producer in global coffee market is supported by its ability to capture the market opportunities. Coffee demand patterns move dynamically, so that the competitiveness of producing countries is determined by the extent of its ability to adapt to these changes. Brazil offered advantages in the availability of the type, quality and price of the coffee variety. Mastery of the product becomes an important point to maintain the competitiveness of these products in the market. Coffee products are not only intended to meet the demand but also shape the perception of the market. Strong market perception ensures that the introduction of products in general has always been associated with producer in particular. When the market sees the coffee products, they are directly attributed to Brazil, despite the fact whether that coffee is from Brazil or not. Mastery of the market in forming the product equity is the key factor for Brazil to maintain its position. Brazil retained its coffee products through positioning on user and price-quality.

Along with the market dynamics, the demand for coffee has led to environmental and social considerations. Coffee demand is closely related to the consumer or user of the coffee itself. Positioning on the user is based on increasing demand of sustainable coffee from consumers, companies and international regimes. According to the US National Coffee Association, 31% of consumers of conventional commercial coffee are aware of the organic coffee, about 51% of the consumers who are daily or weekly drinkers of specialty or gourmet coffee are aware of the organic coffee and 13% say they purchase the organic coffee at least once, about 12% are aware of shade grown coffee (Giovannucci & Koekoek, 2003).

Sustainable coffee can be understood as the fulfillment of coffee for the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet environmental, economic and social need (Giovannucci and Koekoek 2003). Sustainable coffee consists of three categories: (1) organic coffee is coffee that is produced by the method that prioritizes the protection of soil, without the used of synthetic chemicals; (2) fair trade coffee is coffee purchased directly from small-scale coffee farmer's cooperative with determining a minimum price to benefit farmers; (3) eco-friendly or shade coffee is the type of coffee grown in shaded forest in

order to maintain biodiversity, habitat for birds and other conditions that benefit the environment.

Increasing demand for sustainable coffee created new market opportunities for Brazil. Adaptation strategies aim to meet the user demand for sustainable coffee. Sustainable coffee market is growing rapidly and promising a greater advantage so this category of coffee production should be a priority. Fulfilling demand refers to certification of sustainable coffee from trusted institution. Awareness of sustainable coffee does not necessarily guarantee that the coffee is acceptable in the market. This is where the role of third parties arises through certification. Certification can be defined as a proof regarding products, processes, systems or individual (ISO, 2016). Certification ensures that the quality of the coffee is recognized in the market. Furthermore, the certification standard specified the coffee production process is needed by both producers and consumers. Brazil occupies the highest position as the producer of sustainable coffee through certification released by 4C Associations, Nepresso AAA, Organic, Rainforest Alliance and UTZ. Brazil is also a country with the higher export rate of sustainable coffee compared to other countries. Brazil's performance can be explained by the laws related to social and environmental aspects in agricultural production (IDH, 2013). Implementation of law related to social and environmental aspects is the key to meet the standardization of the certification. Brazilian laws even exceed the criteria of international standards. These rules are mainly related to the following matters: (1) the protection of forests; (2) the used of water; (3) the rules related to working conditions.

Brazil's effort to expand certification meets obstacles when it comes to small-scale coffee farmers. This is due to the cost of certification that quite expensive, starting from \$ 400 until \$ 1,200. One of the largest coffee producing regions in Brazil, Minas Gerais, offered a solution to this problem through the establishment of Certifica Minas-Cafe (CMC) (IDH, 2013:8). CMC is a local certification bodies that offers audit and affordable certification costs for farmers, about \$ 35. CMC is also attempted to use the same standards as the 4Cs and UTZ that CMC certification holders have the opportunity to expand market access with the international standards's certificate. Recently, CMC provides technical guidance and supervision of sustainable coffee production process.

Moreover, Brazil has formed positioning on price-quality by producing two best selling varieties of coffee in market, Arabica and Robusta. Arabica coffee has higher quality compared to Robusta and the price is higher also. Selling prices are higher because the cultivation of Arabica coffee is more difficult than Robusta coffee. Arabica coffee is picked manually by experienced workers, while Robusta coffee can be picked using the machine. Moreover, in general Arabica coffee has a higher quality specifications compared to Robusta coffee. Both also have the characteristics of a different flavor, Arabica offers a sweet taste with high acidity, while Robusta has a stronger taste and higher caffeine content. Increased demand for Arabica coffee is demonstrated by the rise of coffee shops that target the upper middle market segmentation, while the increased demand of Robusta coffee can be explained by

the level of consumption of instant coffee and targeting the mid-market segmentation.

Brazil is the largest producer of Arabica coffee in the world and the second largest producer of Robusta coffee after Vietnam (United States Department of Agriculture, 2015). Brazilian coffee had diverse price and quality, Arabica coffee had high price and quality, while Robusta coffee had lower price and quality. Coffee's broad range strengthened the position of Brazil in the global coffee market. The ability of Brazil to present a diverse variety of coffee types is supported by the ideal natural conditions and agricultural practices and technology-based on innovation. Natural condition is a crucial factor for the competitiveness of Brazilian coffee production considering that not all countries have the same advantage.

Arabica coffee thrives in southern Brazil with higher ground. In contrast, Robusta coffee thrives in lower-lying areas, mostly in the north. Coffee production spread in 15 regions of Brazil, Acre, Bahia, Ceará, Espírito Santo, Goiás, Federal District, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, Minas Gerais, Pará, Paraná, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, Rondônia and São Paulo (Brazilian Ministry of Agriculture, 2016). The diversity of the region gives unique taste for Brazilian coffee. Coffee quality is determined by a combination of climate, soil types and topography of a particular geographical area (Five Senses of Coffee, 2016). So the more diverse coffee growing in the region is made, the more unique the character of coffee will be. Coffee quality is not only determined by the combination of plant varieties, topography and climate, but also determined by the maintenance process during planting, harvesting, storage, preparation and transportation exports (International Trade Centre, 2012). The Brazilian government uses R&D to ensure that the process of planting and harvesting coffee meet high standards.

Brazil's coffee production capacity has been so strong to ensure product equity in market. Product equity plays an important role to ensure the sustainability of the product. Four elements in product equity have contributed positively to the country's position in global market, (1) product awareness; (2) product association; (3) perceived quality; (4) product loyalty. Product awareness and product association are created through an extensive distribution network and targeting various market segments. Brazil ensures that the coffee product is known by consumers in various countries and then used continuously. The second category is the opening for the position of Brazilian coffee products in market. Furthermore, perceived quality is created through improved quality both in taste as well as the production process. In addition, quality is patented through certification. Lastly, product loyalty is shown by the fact that Brazil is a major supplier of coffee for coffee trader, manufacturer coffee, coffee roasters and coffee retailers operating within multinational level. Country image is boosted with product equity. Product equity targets the consumer mindset so that when they get to know the coffee products they directly attribute to Brazil, irrespective of the fact whether the coffee comes from Brazil or not.

Brazil becomes the power that is hard to compete in coffee production since Brazil is also the second largest coffee consumer in the world after United States. So it can

be said that the market share of Brazilian coffee is guaranteed domestically. The high level of consumption of coffee also means the high levels of demand, the impact of incentives for production increases. Drinking coffee has become part of the Brazilian; even it has become part of the tradition. Daily coffee consumption is dominated by Robusta coffee, while for Arabica coffee, coffee roaster in Brazil seeks to use the Arabica coffee as much as possible as part of a quality improvement (Lewin et al., 2002). The existence of coffee shops also has encouraged the increased consumption of Arabica coffee in Brazil.

CONCLUSION

The ability of Brazil to maintain its position of the largest producer in global coffee market shows the relation between the embedded liberalism theory positioning concepts. Embedded liberalism emphasizes the role of the state to ensure that the state has been prepared domestically so that it will be able to compete in the international level. More specifically the role of the state is explained through the concept of positioning. Positioning is the foundation for the state to decide what is to be achieved and maintained. So that when the market moves dynamically, the state is able to survive. Positioning ensures that the state is able to adapt to the changes that occur in global coffee market. This is because the steps that must be taken to achieve and maintain its position are projected. At the end the purpose of positioning strategy intends to build the country image.

In the domestic level, Brazilian coffee is in the established position, both in terms of production and consumption. Brazil's coffee production is out of conventional ways with the emphasis on innovation and technology. This is achieved through the support of research activities. In line with the strengthening in the aspects of production, Brazil manages to create the coffee potential market domestically. It is proved by the fact that Brazil is the second biggest coffee consumer in the world. So it can be said that in the domestic level, Brazil's coffee commodity is ready to compete at the global level.

Related to global coffee market, Brazil moves aggressively into two sides, supply and demand. The supply refers to Brazil's effort to attract the foreign investment in the form of FDI and the interaction within the international regime. In terms of demand, Brazil captures the market opportunities by producing the coffee products that meet the market trend with diverse quality and price range. Strengthening the supply side and demand ensures that the coffee produced in Brazil can be absorbed by the market.

Further, to maintain its position in the global coffee market, Brazil plays a role in various levels of the coffee commodity chain, both in terms of production, distribution and consumption. Production is the main area for Brazil and it is also the reason why Brazil succeeds to achieve the position as the largest coffee producer. However, to maintain its position Brazil should be involved in the other two levels, distribution and consumption. Distribution is achieved through interaction with other actors in the coffee commodity chain, including both state and non-state actors. Strong performance of production is the capital to

produce the products that can reach a wide range of distribution network. Lastly, Brazil is involved in the consumption side through the ability to meet the market demand, in terms of both quantity and quality. Brazil has proved that to maintain its position as the largest coffee producer does not necessarily mean that Brazil only plays on the production side, but also the distribution and consumption side.

Although there are the coffee traders, manufacturer coffee, coffee roasters and coffee retailers, it does not mean that Brazil fully hands over the management of coffee in to those parties. The ability to work directly in the various levels of the commodity chain puts Brazil as the highly competitive coffee producing country.

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Combating Transnational Crime In The Pacific Region

Penyusun :

*• **Sistya Asri
Prasetyo**

• **Baiq Wardhani

*Undergraduate Program,
Department of International
Relations

**Lecturer of International
Relations

Faculty of Social and Political
Science, Universitas Airlangga

Jl. Dharmawangsa Dalam
Surabaya

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Abstract

This study describes the factors that affect the low level of collaboration against transnational crime in the South Pacific region, which was initiated by the Pacific Islands Forum as an intergovernmental organization of the major countries in the South Pacific.

Pacific Islands Forum has initiated efforts of securitization and fight against criminal activities since 1992 through the Honiara Declaration.

The declaration was then followed by other declarations. However, such collective implementation did not result in an effective and significant level of collaboration.

The causative factors were explained through regime effectiveness, international organization dysfunction, and political economic concept from transnational crime that affect the capacity of South Pacific countries in fighting against transnational crime activities.

1. INTRODUCTION

As a region known as the "arc of instability" (Dibb et.al., 1999:18), the South Pacific region faces many transnational security challenges. South Pacific region is an area that is culturally and socially heterogeneous with isolated geographical aspects and small population size. The degree of heterogeneity can also be seen from the capacity of the government and law enforcement. Heterogeneity becomes the main attraction of this region for cross-border criminal activities. With more vague national frontiers

and the increasing mobility of goods, money and services, cross-border criminal activities are no longer hampered by the geographic and demographic aspects. Systematically, transnational criminal activities shape international structures and break the rules of more than one country to gain benefit from changes in the global market and the existing regulations. Those criminal organizations exploit the heterogeneity of the financial system and laws in various countries for their best advantage. This essay investigates why the efforts to fight against cross-border crime carried out by the Pacific Islands Forum fails to reduce significant-

ly the activity of transnational crime in the South Pacific region.

Cross-border criminal activities began to appear in the South Pacific region in the 1990s. During the period, there was the evidence of illegal trade of heroin and cannabis products from Southeast Asia and South America to the South Pacific region. In addition, there was illicit trade of drugs of LDS and ATS type from Europe with various scale and intensity proven with Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Tonga, Tahiti and New Caledonia as their transit points. In 1987, along with the coup in Fiji, a hijacking of an Air New Zealand plane took place, which then caused the Pacific Islands Forum to establish a system of information exchange in order maintain regional security (Spillane, 2006:199). Those facts then encouraged the countries in the South Pacific to realize the importance of collective action in the efforts of fighting against cross-border crime effectively and efficiently. The collective action was initiated through the securitization process and the efforts in fighting against cross-border crime regionally.

Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) is a regional intergovernmental organization of the major countries in the South Pacific region, which also involves Australia and New Zealand. Pacific Islands Forum was formed in 1971 under the name of the South Pacific Forum. In 2000, the South Pacific Forum was changed to Pacific Islands Forum with the purpose of more specifically reflecting the geographical location of its member countries in the north and south of the Pacific Ocean. Related to the collective efforts against cross-border crime, South Pacific Forum meeting in Honiara, Solomon Islands in 1992, approved the Honiara Declaration which aims to improve the effectiveness of law enforcement. Honiara Declaration¹ became the regime of cross-border crime and the first regional effort to tackle cross-border crime in the South Pacific region. The Declaration also simultaneously indicates the first securitization efforts undertaken by the South Pacific region, as quoted in the first paragraph (Forum Secretariat, 1992): "An adverse law enforcement environment could threaten the sovereignty, security and economic integrity of Forum members and jeopardise economic and social development."

2. THE INCREASING OF TRANSNATIONAL CRIME ACTIVITY IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC REGION

¹ There are four laws to proceed on transnational crime in the Pacific: 1) Honiara Declaration focuses on the commitment to develop national legislation related to extradition, mutual assistance on criminal matters, money laundering and drugs (Forum Secretariat, 2002); 2) Aitutaki Declaration of 1997 articulates the concept of regional security and establishes principles of cooperation based on an integrative approach on regional security and recognition of the relationship between security, governance and national; 3) Biketawa Declaration of 2000 introduces the regional mechanism for responding to conflict and crisis in a member country, in this case related to the crisis in Fiji and the Solomon Islands; 4) Nasonini Declaration of 2002 emphasizes on the growing vulnerability of the current international security environment as a result of the events of 11 September 2001 in the United States of America. The declaration reaffirms the importance of a strong commitment of PIF member countries in combatting terrorism and other cross-border crime.

During the period of the 2000s, along with the acceleration of globalization, cross-border criminal activities were proven to increase in the South Pacific region, which also proved the insignificance of efforts by PIF and its member countries to suppress cross-border criminal activity. International Financial Action Network states that in 2000, Cook Islands, Nauru, Niue and the Marshall Islands were four of the 15 countries worldwide that became the center of international money laundering. In addition, in December 2000 there was also found the involvement of three other South Pacific countries, namely Nauru, Palau, and Vanuatu in cooperation with the Russian mafia and South American drug cartels in money laundering activities (Seneviratne, 2000). These facts became a collection of contradictions for Aitutaki Declaration in 1997, which was specifically issued by the Pacific Islands Forum to tackle drug smuggling and money laundering cases. In fact, the countries of the South Pacific allowed criminal organizations such as the drug cartels and the Russian mafia to keep their money in the banks in those countries. These data also indicates the ineffectiveness of regional efforts related to the issue of cross-border crime that had been done by the Pacific Islands Forum.

In addition to the findings of money laundering cases, the activity of drug trafficking is a form of cross-border crime that had long been a major concern in the South Pacific region. In the global context, based on the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), the South Pacific region is not a significant producer of illegal drugs (Schloenhardt, 2006:161). South Pacific region began to gain international attention related to illegal trade of drugs after the confiscation of amphetamine-type stimulants (ATS), which consisted of five kilograms of crystal methamphetamine and 1000 kilograms of chemical precursors on June 9, 2004 in Laucala Bay, Suva by authorities Fiji. This was because the confiscation managed to expose the biggest metamphetaminelaboratorium in the whole southern hemisphere which could produce 500 kilograms of crystal methamphetamine within only a week. Fiji authorities mentioned that the chemicals seized were the materials used to manufacture illicit drugs imported from Australia and New Zealand. The finished products would be exported to Australia, the United States and Europe. Related to the various findings, in April 2006, Secretariat of the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) issued a strategic assessment (strategic assessment) as follows (Forum Secretariat, 2006):

There has been, are currently and are likely to continue in the future, efforts to develop large methamphetamine production facilities (clandestine laboratories or "clanlabs") on the model of the Suva clanlab in 2004. There are continued efforts to import large volumes of methamphetamine precursor agents into certain Forum Island Countries (FICs). This is a clear notice of intent where a country has no pharmaceutical industry that someone wants to produce ATS and is trying to either trans-ship the precursors through the FIC or even manufacture ATS in the importing country.

In reality, the strategic assessment did not produce an action plan that was able to reduce the number of production and consumption of ATS in the South Pacific region, which

reached 0.4 percent of the total proportion in the whole world in the period 2005 to 2009 (UNODC, 2011:43). The consumption of illicit drugs in the South Pacific region in general and globally by UNODC, was categorized as high (UNODC, 2011:44). The consumption of cannabis and ATS was of 9.3 to 14.8 percent in the population by age category of 15 to 64 years, while the consumption of ecstasy was 3.6-4 percent, amphetamine was 2-2.8 percent and cocaine was 1.4-1.7 percent. The main problem related to ATS in the South Pacific region is the issue of trade through the region and strong evidence related to their local production. It then impacted on the increasing abuse of amphetamine and methamphetamine locally. These facts indicated a shift in South Pacific from the impossibility of drug markets due to economic constraints, to a transit area that resulted in region with the biggest number of consumers of illegal drugs.

Based on the data released by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime in 2015, it is known that there were an increase in the cases of cocaine and ATS findings from the 2005-2008 period to the 2009-2013 period despite the significant reduction of cases of marijuana finding cases and the stagnation of heroin finding cases (UNODC, 2015). South Pacific region also showed the proportion of the biggest ATS finding worldwide, which increased from only 25 findings in the period of 2005-2008 to 40 findings in the period of 2009-2013. It can be seen that those criminal organizations had reached a transnational level in carrying out their activities. It means that combatting efforts at the local and national levels alone would not be effective. Countries in the South Pacific region came to realize that combining forces and coordinating their efforts to prevent and fight against cross-border criminal activities was the right choice for the fight against cross-border crime. However, regional efforts that had been done so far turned out to show that the results tended to be negative, as proven by a significant increase in the number of cases of transnational crime in the South Pacific region.

To analyze this problem, the regime effectiveness concept is employed. Regime effectiveness concept serves to determine the indicators that affect how far a regime achieves the objectives that are already set. The level of collaboration in the regime effectiveness becomes one of the indicators that show whether an output issued by a regime effectively produces a change in behavior as expected. The level of collaboration is influenced by the type of malignancy and the problem solving capacity of the system in the regime (Underdal, 2002). The variable of problem type stresses that the more malign a problem is, the less effective a regime is. A benign problem is characterized by a coordination issue that indicates the harmony of importance from all parties but no harmony of activity. Meanwhile, seen from the variable of problem solving capacity, there is a general argument that some issues can be solved effectively compared to other issues because they deal with a stronger intuition or system. There are three determinants that can be used to measure the capacity of solving, namely the institutional arrangements, organizational structure, and political capabilities (Underdal, 2002). When the three determinants of the problem solving capacity are weak,

they will not be able to solve coordination problems that affect a weak collaboration within the regime.

In explaining the inability of international organizations in reaching their stated objectives, one can see through the theory of international organizations' dysfunction (Barnett and Finnemore, 1999). This theory of international organizational dysfunction can be categorized in two dimensions, namely (1) what causes an international organization dysfunction to happen inside or outside the organization (2) whether the cause of it is material or cultural. Dysfunction of international organization which emphasizes on the achievement of material interest in an organization concerns with how a competition between sub-units that exist on the material resources causes the organizations to make decisions and engage in actions that are not efficient and are not expected. Organization dysfunction of cultural interests views that an organization is vulnerable to the environment both inside and outside the organization. Meanwhile, the dysfunction of the organization can also be caused by internal cultural factors, in this case is natural characters of the bureaucracy, which is bureaucracy as a social form.

In analyzing the effect of the variable of cross-border crime in the level of collaboration regime, the relation between economic and political aspects in cross-border criminal activities is used. Political economy explanation includes a description of the impact of the structural condition to the crime tendency in its population and how these conditions also produce legal forms and controls which can affect the social construction of crime (Lynch, 2013:138). Political perspective of organized crime focuses on causes such as the weakness of the state, violations of law and security vacuum. Organized crime emerged as a response to the opportunity given by dysfunction within the country (West, 2006: 2). Transnational organized crime then not only emerged as a response to political opportunity, but also as a process that is constantly trying to undermine the political life of a country. This raises the idea that organized crime can be most probable cause for the occurrence of a failed state and strengthen the country's inability to govern by establishing incentives greed and misery (West, 2006: 3).

3. PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM AND IMPLEMENTATION OF TRANSNATIONAL CRIME-RELATED DECLARATIONS

Pacific Islands Forum secretariat upholds the mission to ensure the effective implementation of the decisions that have been issued by the leaders for the benefit of the entire community of the Pacific. In connection with the declarations that have been made related to transnational crime, PIF secretariat has undertaken various activities to assist member countries in implementing their commitments, primarily to Honiara Declaration (Spillane, 2006: 201). However, the implementation and continuation of the declarations in reality produced results that are not fully effective (mixed results) (Spillane, 2006: 203). On the one hand, PIF managed to help follow up the declaration by developing and implementing models of regional legisla-

tion in certain aspects that are prioritized in Honiara and Nasonini Declaration. PIF’s efforts were made to harmonize legislation among existing jurisdictions and directly facilitate legal cooperation among the member states of PIF. Model legislation created by PIF include development of a model law related to extradition in coordination with the Pacific Islands Law Officers' Meeting (PILOM) and the Commonwealth; and a model of regional laws related to mutual assistance in criminal matters and on the proceeds of crime are developed in conjunction with PILOM (Spillane, 2006: 201). The Secretariat also established a specific mechanism of regional coordination, such as the annual meeting of the Forum Regional Security Committee to regional annual events such as training and technical assistance (Spillane, 2006: 202).

On the other hand, looking at the results of which tend to be negative, the leaders of the PIF member countries expressed their concern related to the lack of progress of the implementation of the Honiara Declaration, as contained in the communiqué forum in 1997, 1998, and 2001. It can be seen that the targets, of which are all member states to establish legislative priorities listed in Honiara Declaration, were not reached based on the deadlines in 2000 and 2003. The model legislation issued by PIF and other organizations to assist member states in implementing the Declaration of Honiara has been proved disappointing.

Based on the evaluation that has been described previously, the efforts undertaken by Pacific Islands Forum related to transnational criminal activities through declarations since 1997 showed their output in a regional security regime.

A regime is said to be effective if successfully perform a set of functions or solve the problems underlying the establishment of the regime (Underdal, 1992a: 227-240). The effectiveness of the regime can be seen from a change of action (stage outcomes) and impacts resulting from these changes. In explaining the effectiveness of the regime (the dependent variable), there are three important indicators that must be considered: output, outcome, and impact. Output is the rule, and the program set by the organizing members to operate the provisions of the regime so that things that previously only in the form of agreement

natural existing with a change in the human action. It also relates to the level of success in overcoming therational establishment of the regime.

In the output stage, a regime can be measured in the basic criteria such as stringency of rules and regulations and the level of collaboration that are produced (Underdal, 2002: 7). There is a relation between the level of collaboration and effectiveness in regard to changes in behavior. There are five levels of measurement associated with ordinal scale collaboration (see Table 1).

Table 1.
Collaboration Level of Regime Measurement
(Miles et.al., 2002)

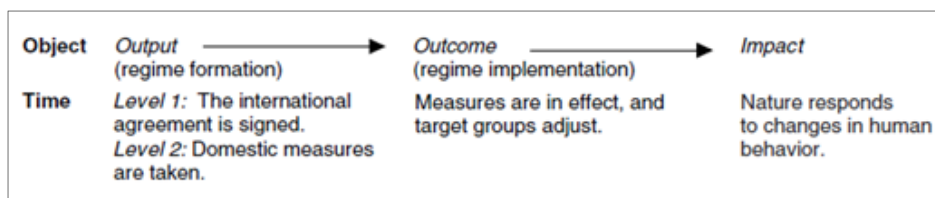
Ordinal Scale	Indicator
0	Joint deliberation but no joint action
1	Coordination of action on a basis of tacit understanding
2	Coordination of action on the basis of explicitly formulated rules or standards but with implementation fully in the hands of national governments. No centralized appraisal of effectiveness of measures is undertaken. Same as level 2 but including centralized appraisal.
3	Coordinated planning combined with national implementation only. Includes centralized appraisal of effectiveness.
4	Coordination through fully integrated planning and implementation, with centralized appraisal of effectiveness.

Based on an ordinal scale that indicates the level of collaboration in the regime and the facts that have been described previously, the Pacific Islands Forum are on a scale of 0 which shows already the tacit understanding regarding regional security which was demonstrated by agreeing on transnational crime declarations, but still the lack of action and framework for regional action. Based on that scale, changes in behavior (outcomes) did not happen, therefore resulted in the low level of effectiveness of the regime. In

the case of the Pacific Islands Forum, the output indicator has not been fully carried out because of the fact that after the transnational crime declarations were agreed, there have been no domestic acts committed by member countries of the Pacific Islands Forum to adopt such declarations in the national sphere.

Implementation of the Honiara Declaration is very dependent on the adherence of member countries of the Pacific Islands Forum to an agreement and legislative modernization. The treaty compliance level of PIF member states has been proved bad as can be seen from the adherence to the Convention on Drug Trafficking 1988 (Booster, 2005). Since 1988, only the Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, New Zealand and Tonga in the South Pacific re-

Fig 1 (a) Formation and Implementation Stages of Regime



can be realized (Underdal, 2002: 5). This output can be in awritten or unwritten form, for example conventions, rules of law, treaties, declarations, norms, principles and others. In this stage, the signing of the regime would ideally be followed by domestic measures countries. Outcome is the behavioral changes. At this stage, domestic steps and actions undertaken by the state has revealed a marked effect in the adjustment process. Impact shows the impact of

gion are parties to ratify. Poor adherence can also be seen from the actions taken by the United States Department of State and the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), which incorporate several South Pacific nations as countries of concern for money laundering activities (Booster, 2005). Poor compliance level is explained as a result of disinterest in these countries because of the lack of perceived local impacts and consequences of weak political and legal infrastructure. In fact, South Pacific countries mostly did not attend the negotiation process of the agreements. The aim of the Honiara Declaration is legislative reform. In such cases, aspects of mutual assistance, extradition, and confiscation of assets have been running better than the aspect of money laundering, financial regulation, drug trafficking, environmental offenses, terrorism, trafficking, and proliferation of weapons. Implementation of the Declaration of Honiara is still a major concern in the Pacific Islands Forum. It is as mentioned in the communiqué Forum 2001 in Nauru that progress in implementing the legislative priorities of the Honiara Declaration has been disappointingly slow. Technical assistance has been given in terms of adaptation model of regional legislation to local conditions. However, the countries of the South Pacific still face common problems in law reform. The common problems in regard to implementation include a combination of coordination and poor communication among officials, high implementation costs and low capacity of law enforcement (Booster, 2005). In the end, even if the model legislation is enacted and implemented, there is still no provision which is made to actually monitor the effectiveness of this legislation in suppressing the activity of transnational crime.

4. WEAK CAPACITY OF PACIFIC ISLANDS COUNTRIES AND INCENTIVES PROVIDED BY TRANSNATIONAL CRIME ACTIVITIES

The capacity of the state is defined as the degree of control exercised by the state agencies on people, activities, and resources within the territorial jurisdiction of their governments (McAdamet.al., 2001). Based on the Index of State Weakness in the Developing World, a weak country is a country that has a shortage in capacity. This country is essential to meet the four types of the primary responsibility of government: (1) the economic aspect: foster a conducive environment for economic growth and fairness; (2) political aspects: build and maintain political institutions legitimate, transparent and accountable; (3) the security aspect: secure their populations from violent conflict and control their territories (4) social welfare aspects: meet the basic needs of their populations.

Since the end of the 1980s, the South Pacific region experienced a significant decline in economic growth, although there were signs that there would be changes in Papua New Guinea as the largest economy in the region (Brown, 2006: 13). Since the period of independence in the 1970s, the growth rate of the formal economy in the South Pacific region faced the peak period and decline period (Brown, 2006: 14). These fluctuations reflect internal factors and regional economic vulnerability on international commodity prices. However, GDP per capita in

the South Pacific had increased by 0.5 percent per annum since 1975 compared to the decline experienced by the region of sub-Saharan Africa amounted to 0.9 percent (Firth, 2005: 2). Formal economic circumstances in the countries of the South Pacific are small, open, and highly dependent on exports of primary commodities such as minerals, lead, copra, palm oil, coffee and sugar (Brown, 2006: 15). Their limited export base thus is susceptible to international price fluctuations that they cannot control.

From the political aspect, the indicators that can be used are the rule of law and corruption. The concept of the rule of law includes two sub-concepts namely public order (control of criminality and violence) and law equality (Foa, t.t: 9). The rule of law is also demonstrated through law enforcement, good political governance, and effective legal system (Henshaw, 2007: 110). Government Accountability is one indicator of good political governance. Accountability becomes the main thing related to government actions that can be answered by public officials and also the criteria for measuring achievement or acts of public officials as well as a monitoring mechanism to ensure compliance with the standards that have been made (Asian Development Bank, 1995: 8). Corruption is defined as the use of public office for personal gain include acts of embezzlement (theft outright on public resources), nepotism (the use of power to secure positions and contracts to friends or relatives), bribery (offering or asking for payment in exchange for services public provision), and acquisition (the use of the legal right to acquire the property of others) (Foa, t.t: 8). Corruption and patrimonialism has a close relationship because the autonomy offered to officials who are not accountable is what allows them to ask for bribes, embezzling resources, and engaged in nepotism. Transparency International in 2012 released the corruption index where Papua New Guinea ranks 150 out of 176 countries with a value of 25. Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Fiji are not included in the list issued by TI in the absence of reliable data sources (Fernando, 2013).

Social welfare is directly related to the security aspect. Indicators of population growth and quality of life are closely related to security indicators such as unemployment and crime rates. High population growth rates in the South Pacific region increasingly intensify the need of formal economic growth. High birth rates show population growth. Population growth which is at an average of more than three per cent per annum (Hughes, 2004) significantly outpaced the growth of the formal economy. Based on data from UNDP in 1999, approximately 40 percent of the population of Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, and the Solomon Islands are in the range of age 15 years and below. The population growth rate surpassed the capacity of traditional family-based support network, like the one in the South Pacific. This will have implications for the increasing pressure on the formal economy to absorb a large amount of labor in addition to fund education and health.

Weak economic growth along with high population growth rates has a direct effect to the social and security aspects. Rapid population growth will increase the movement of young people to urban areas. The movement is characterized also by the weakening of traditional ties with

the region of origin. Traditional ties so far acted as a tool of social control. Therefore, when the bond is weakened then there are the ever-rising crime rates in urban areas, as seen in Port Moresby as the capital of Papua New Guinea. In addition, the security aspects can also be seen from the intensity of civil conflict, crime and political instability. Civil conflict is apparent in regard to the instability in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands and Fiji that experienced several coups. Riots that led to instability affecting South Pacific countries also occurred in Tonga in late 2006. Vanuatu also experienced internal instability in their police forces while the government of Nauru faced significant instability due to their dissatisfaction with poor financial management.

The weak capacities of the South Pacific countries then were compounded by an incentive of transnational criminal activities. Gains from transnational criminal activities are often not used to improve the economics of official or state capacity. The criminals who benefited from the drug trade generally used their gains for at least one of two things. First, the profit will be distributed to the unofficial shadow economy. The illegal shadow economy funds other criminal enterprises such as human trafficking, prostitution, illegal arms trade and others (Fabre and Schiray 2002 in Haken, 2011: 6). Second, the benefits of transnational crime, especially drugs, are frequently used to criminalize the country itself. This statement relates to the criminal attempts to stimulate the state government officials to ignore their commitment to uphold the laws and regulations, for example in the form of corruption. Corruption is done through a promise of material things and at the same time a threat to officials of the state government. In addition, criminals who also use the profits to fund the election campaign in these countries thus indirectly try to preserve its interests in the period of the funded and chosen leader. Those facts are consistent with the statement of UNESCO that "criminals become, both personally and officially, The Servants of the very State Whose laws they violate, as some sectors of the State administration are placed under Reviews their legal responsibility" (UNESCO in Fabre and Schiray, 2002). Based on these things, transnational criminals take advantage of poor and weak conditions in developing countries and simultaneously use these advantages to further erode the already weakened state capacity initially. In the extreme, the criminals criminalizing the country turn the country into a safe haven for criminal enterprises.

Criminal activity 'cottage industry', in fact, is more often seen than other organized criminal activity in the South

Pacific region (Marshall, 2001). Small-scale operators working on isolation and contributing directly to the small aspects of the operation of a greater evil centered outside the South Pacific region. Cottage industry organizing crime raises a challenge in terms of detection and prosecution because of the increasing number of actors involved, not only locally but also the operator of international facilitators (Lindley and Beacroft, 2011: 3). Difficult challenges like these can be seen in the case of Niue in 2006 where prosecution was not initiated (Blakemore in Lindsay and Davis, 2009). The incentives provided by transnational crime activity was also seen in cases of drug trafficking. Ease of production and distribution of ATS, magnitude of the gains from this activity and the ever increasing demand on synthetic drugs led to significant changes in the form of criminality involved (Wesley, n.d: 9). A huge profit for a criminal group dramatically increases the potential for corruption of such operations. Money laundering and forgery of documents are two of many types of transnational crime which underpins other types of crime and generate significant profits (Wesley, n.d: 11). Although not directly target economic development and stability of society, money laundering and forgery of documents try to destabilize the country's ability to monitor and regulate commercial activity and the movement of people within its territory. However, these activities in fact demonstrated the ability to operate it in most countries within a certain regional and form the greatest threat both to economic development and stability of society through their efforts to facilitate criminal activity or other security problems (Wesley, n.d : 15).

5. CONCLUSION

Collective action related to transnational crimes that have been carried out through declarations by Pacific Islands Forum in fact is not enough to tackle transnational crime activities in the South Pacific region. Pacific Islands Forum must overcome their coordination problem and optimally become a facilitator for Pacific Island countries in implementing the priorities contained in the declarations. Weak capacity of the Pacific Island countries indeed has implications on the lack of impetus to implement legislative reform and other priorities as outlined in these declarations. It proved to be exacerbated by the presence of incentive provided by transnational criminals through corruption that further erode the country's ability to monitor the rule of law which is essential to fight against transnational crime.

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The Implementation Of Public Diplomacy Through Paradiplomatic Activities For An Effective Place Branding

Penyusun :

- **June Cahyaningtyas**
- **Sri Issundari**
- **Asep Saepudin**

Keywords :

*public diplomacy,
place branding,
paradiplomacy.*

Abstract

In the literature of International Relations, concepts of public diplomacy and place branding are deemed to be corresponding to each other. The notion of public diplomacy, which evolves from state-led policy intervention in legalizing state's action abroad to the involvement of private initiatives in promoting resources of a nation's soft power, depicts the enlarging concept of power and role of actors in International Relations. The notion of place branding, on the other hand, is rather alien for the study of International Relations. Both, however, asserts the importance of building positive and favorable image in order to achieve particular objectives. In spite of this, lack of empirical research on how they mutually reinforce between one another results in the void of reference in its possible implementation. Stemming from a qualitative, case-based research on place branding in Yogyakarta, the paper proposes the importance of inserting public diplomacy agenda in the implementation of place branding through the activity of paradiplomacy.

A. INTRODUCTION

Public diplomacy is a concept in International Relations discipline that explains the state's communication strategy to win public's opinion by promoting the image of the state. Public diplomacy is perceived as the government communication toward foreign public that is aimed at building ground of understanding on the nation, the attitude, the institution, the culture, and the interests of the state or the regions and the policies taken by the states (Wang, 2006: 52). Similarly, in municipal context, public diplomacy can be perceived as a strategy to win the public's attention through the formation of the local image to promote the local's interest.

In terms of implementing public diplomacy at the level of municipalities, there are three basic issues faced by the government when they develop international cooperation.

First, there is lack of understanding amongst the policy makers at the local level of what constitutes international relations and how to initiate this relation. Second, there are very few human resources available at the local government, who has certain knowledge, skill, and experience related to international relations. This can be seen from a number of staffs graduated from International Relations department, International Business Administration, International Cooperation, or those who have adequate English speaking and negotiating skills. Third, there is lack of infrastructure that supports international relations activities. Although nowadays there are divisions of international cooperation in every local government, their orientations remain in the frame of building relationship between localities within the country, instead of foreign countries. This paper is intended to reveal the opportunity and challenge in implementing public diplomacy at the municipal level,

especially in support of the implementation of place branding.

B. DISCUSSION

There are many ways in implementing public diplomacy especially in municipalities. Referring to Mark Leonard, there are three dimensions in executing public diplomacy, namely (1) daily communication, (2) communication strategy, and (3) relationship building. The first dimension refers to news management, which supports the government's traditional diplomacy and interests. This dimension moves in short period with a preventive nature by giving explanation about domestic situations to the non state audience. The second dimension is related to image construction with the main objective to promote the cities in international arena hinged on its economic, social, and cultural values. The third dimension is attempted to construct a long term relationship through personal bond through the activities of trainings, seminars, conferences, educational exchanges, and cultural exchanges (Leonard, Stead & Sweming, 2002).

The second dimension highlights image as the important point that needs to be developed by the region. Improving the image through place branding is believed to be able to draw investment, trades, and tourism visit. Therefore the region must be smart in finding the niches of international cooperation. The regional autonomy which was enforced through law (Undang-Undang) number 22/1999 has opened the opportunity for the local government to conduct international cooperation. The share of power and the allocation of authority between the central government and the local government were then stipulated in law number 32/2004. The latter law also describes the arrangement of diplomacy between local government with foreign actors, either government or non-government. As a result, the prospect to widen the area of cooperation in international context becomes inevitable, given that the central government has provide the legal base for the local government conducting international relations through this regional autonomy. However, the local government must obey the rules of the game imposed by the central government in terms of administering international cooperation, such as the law 33/2004 on financial parity between the central and the local government; the Indonesia's Foreign Minister's Regulation number 09/A/KP/XII/2006/01 about the General Guidance of the Protocol of International Relations by Local Government (Panduan Umum Tata Cara Hubungan dan Kerjasama Luar Negeri oleh Pemerintah Daerah), the Home Minister's Regulation number 3/2008 about the Implementation of Cooperation between the Local Government and Foreign Countries (Pedoman Pelaksanaan Kerjasama Pemerintah Daerah dengan Pihak Luar Negeri), and the Home Minister's Regulation number 15/2009 about the Cooperation between the Home Department and the International Non-Government Institutions (Pedoman Kerjasama Depdagri dengan Lembaga Asing Non Pemerintah). These regulations are necessary for the local government so as to not diverging itself from the provision set out by the central government of the Republic of

Indonesia in which the respected foreign partner must have diplomatic relations with the government of Indonesia and must not intervene to the domestic affairs of each country (Kerjasama Pemerintah Daerah dengan Pihak Luar Negeri, no date).

The type of public diplomacy which is practiced by the local government is usually termed as parallel diplomacy or paradiplomacy. The phenomena of the increasing numbers of cooperation by local governments in the international context have been observed by Ivo Duchacek in *Perforated Sovereignties: Towards a Typology of New Actors in International Relations* (1990). Paradiplomacy refers to activities administered by the local government to build relationship and cooperation with their foreign associates, either the government or the private (Lecours, 2008). As a global trend, paradiplomacy manifests in a varying degrees as it occasionally adjusts itself with the regional context. Therefore, the trend which was initially found in western countries alone has nowadays become imperative for the entire places. Some places may host or send missions abroad, others manage a representative office or widen bilateral and multilateral relations with foreign counterparts (Duchacek, 1990: 14-15), promote tourism or execute agreements (Cornago, 2013: 111), build up paradiplomacy network (Keating, 2001) or even oppose or devolve from the central government (Kuznetsov, 2015). Similar to the term paradiplomacy is constituent diplomacy (Kincaid, 2003), or city diplomacy (Van Der Pluijm and Mellisen, 2007). The emerging participation of sub-national actors in diplomatic arena is also part of multi-track diplomacy (Notter and Diamond, 1996).

For developing countries, paradiplomacy activities create some advantages. First, the activities give alternatives for local economic development, including the possibility of technology transfer and technical cooperation between cities. Local governments from two or more countries tend to cooperate on the basis of their similarity or their interdependencies so as to create mutual benefits. Second, paradiplomacy activities widen the opportunity to cooperate at the deeper, technical level, such as cooperation between universities, between business supply chains, and so on. Third, paradiplomacy activities give chances to develop democracy through transparent, accountable, and participative interactions.

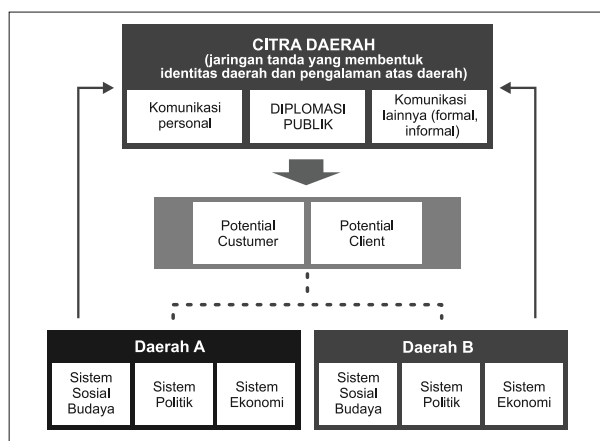
In practice, there are large varieties of paradiplomacy by different designation. Some local governments in Indonesia have already set up trans-border diplomacy with sub-national government of bordering countries, such as North Sumatera and Penang (Malaysia), Riau and Johor (Malaysia), West Kalimantan and Sarawak (Malaysia), East Kalimantan and Sabah (Malaysia), NTT and Northern Territory (Australia). Another type of paradiplomacy focuses on cooperation between two or more sub-national governments of non-bordering countries yet geographically adjacent, such as West Kalimantan and Sabah (Malaysia), West Sumatra and Johor (Malaysia), Central Java and Queensland (Australia), West Java and Southern Australia. The other is global diplomacy or cooperation between sub-national governments of non-bordering countries and of distant geography, such as Banda Aceh and Samarkand

(Uzbekistan), Padang and Rhudeshine (Germany), DKI Jakarta and Cassablanca (Marocco), Surabaya and Seattle (the United States), West Java and Kiyongi (Jepang), Ambon and Velisinger (Netherland), Yogyakarta and Kyoto (Japan).

In principle, paradiplomatic cooperation executed by sub-national governments is in line with the idea of participative and inclusive public diplomacy.

Illustration 1.

The Insertion of Public Diplomacy in Place Branding Activity



As seen in the above illustration, public diplomacy filters personal communications which are massive, sporadic, and asymmetric, thus it need to be reinforced to deliver a preferable message or image. The nature of public diplomacy is transparent, it encompasses a wider scope as it deals with global audience, performs in and outside its administrative territory. Public diplomacy is also inclusive and flexible. Instead of being the key actor, the government merely takes the role of facilitator and the citizens are acting as active diplomatic actors. In a whole, Ross (2003) describes the pillars that construct the concept of public diplomacy as follows:

1. developed through a coordinated policy, led by the government
2. all policies are made on rational based interest.
3. all policies and practices must be coherent, thus able to create a preferred message of high credibility.
4. utilizes all modes of communication.
5. extends cooperation with private sectors and other stakeholders.
6. attempted to construct trust and understanding through commitment and dialogues.
7. enforces people's perception toward a place, in a positive way
8. improves people's appreciation toward a place in a way that they willingly view the world from this place's perspective.
9. builds the bond between the place and the audience so that they want to be part of it, by visiting the place, by buying its local products, or by accepting its cultural values.
10. persuades public by attracting more investment

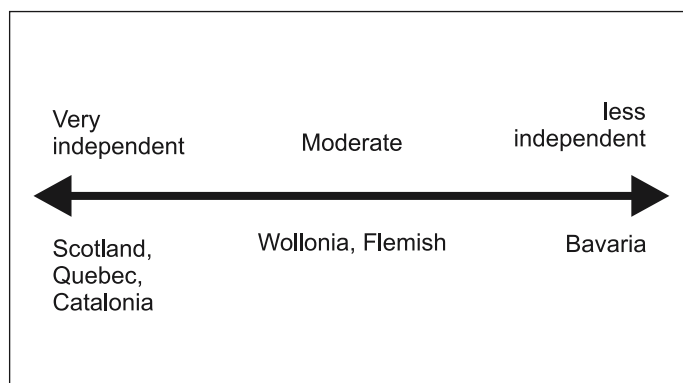
(Ross, 2003: 23-26)

Even though Ross developed those pillars for the state level, they also apply at the regional level. Linking to the idea of paradiplomacy, there are three stage areas of implementation, namely economic, culture (including education and technology), and politics. In the economic field, paradiplomacy are used to draw more investment and invite larger cooperation to improve export abroad. Second, in the cultural field, paradiplomacy are optimized through utilizing cultural aspects to bridge cooperation so much so that it increases human capital competence. In the political field, paradiplomacy is led by the government to formalize the relations, hence bring it to higher level and wider scope of cooperation. The implementation of the three stage areas is fitted with any governing type (unity, federation, or confederation) and flexible to the shifting challenges and opportunities that any place might encounter.

Some districts in the world implementing the concept of public diplomacy are Flemish (Belgium), Quebec (Canada), and Catalonia (Spain) (Huijgh, 2005). Besides the three districts, some other areas such as Scotland, Wollonia, and Bavaria have also adopted the concept of public diplomacy to be implemented in their regions. There is no common platform though that can be found in the implementation of public diplomacy in the six districts. In fact, the different style applied in each region is in line with the working political system and the relationship between the central and the regional government. Districts like Scotland, Quebec, and Catalonia, for examples, are very independent in managing autonomous authority in relation to the administration of public diplomacy, whereas Wollonia and Flemish have higher degree of independence, and Bavaria has higher flexibility in the authority of exercising public diplomacy. This difference is bound to the historical relationship between each region with its central government. The difference in the implementation of public diplomacy can be illustrated as follows:

Illustration 2.

Degree of implementation of public diplomacy



The advantage and the disadvantage exist in every policy alternative in implementing public diplomacy model. Scotland, Quebec and Catalonia are relatively independent in foreign policy making with minimum, if any, consultation to the central government. Hence, the local government is equipped with high capacity to develop policies of

its regional development. On the other hand, the relationship between regional and central government is very distant, latent with conflict, and very easily infected by anti-integration political interests. In Wollonia and Flemish, the local government has the chance to build up cooperation and to make foreign policy directly in some working areas which are considered to be outside the national security issue, such as social, culture, education, and human resource development in general. Elsewhere, Bavarian government technically has an office that especially handles the coordination with the central government and cooperation with their trans-government working partners and trans-sectoral interest holders. Therefore, Bavarian government develops public diplomacy through the coordination with the central government. Bavarian government has limited capacity to implement public diplomacy independently and this diplomacy is coordinated by its local government's bureau. Recently, however, Bavarian government broaden its capacity in public diplomacy for optimizing the advantage of tourism development by modifying Flemish's model.

By considering the various advantages and disadvantages in the implementation of public diplomacy in municipalities as described above, this paper observes that the possible implementation of public diplomacy at the regional level in Indonesia with some degree of political autonomy on the one hand while keeping policy coordination to the central government on the other hand is important. In this light, public diplomacy becomes both an inward and outward, which, confirms the vision of a well planned and integrated development as well as constructs collaboration with various stakeholders in a broad way. Furthermore, by reflecting on the case of Bavaria case, there might be modification in implementing a model of public diplomacy based on the context and the needs of particular period.

In Indonesia, the implementation of paradiplomacy seems ineffective. According to Max Pohan, the ineffectiveness of international cooperation in Indonesia is caused by the unreadiness of the local government in implementing the cooperation. The unreadiness is stemmed from the undeveloped technical matters such as the unclear objectives of the cooperation so it cannot maximize the region's potentials, between local secretariats with the associated bureaus, the working program dissemination, and the problems of communication. The factor of bureaucracy maturity and the 'contact person', or a group of people or even institutions that have a function to facilitate various activities in terms of cooperation relation and funding matters is at the end implicates on the communication obstructions to follow up the consented MoU or other technical problems (Pohan, 2002). This results to the temporary and ceremonial character of international cooperation in Indonesia, limiting it to merely MoU without effective implementation and outputs. To give an example is cooperation between Yogyakarta province and Ismailia Province in Egypt in 1990 in the field of trade, education and culture, tourism industry and technology, in which the MoU was not able to be followed up by policy implementation (Setda Prov DIY, 2008: 11). Another example is the sister city between Semarang and Queensland (2000 – 2007) in the areas of agriculture, tourism village and city develop-

ment that had no follow up (Windiani, 2011). Similar to the case of Semarang is sister city between Solo and Montana (2007 – 2012) in the areas of economy, environment management, infrastructure and transportation, culture and tourism, and human resource development which was stagnant (Solopos, 2013). The large numbers of failures that occur in international cooperation at regional level is very apprehensive given that the regions have great potential to support gross economic power, hence support national development. Unfortunately, there is no real impact visible.

Using the experience of countries that are successful in developing paradiplomacy; it seems that Indonesia needs to construct a consortium, which coordinates paradiplomatic activities among regional governments in Indonesia. Such consortium has been developed by Japan, which is known as Council of Local Administration for International Relations (CLAIR). This consortium serves not only as a coordinative institution but also the center of developing foreign affairs' cooperation for Japanese prefectures, including cooperation in human resource development. As the backbone for regional development, paradiplomatic activities in Japan was conducted at first stage area (economy) and second stage area (culture, technology, and education), leaving the political issue behind.

Even though constructing a division that especially handles public diplomacy in a region is important, the paradigmatic change which should be emphasized here is not at the change in government structure, but more importantly in bureaucratic culture and governance at all level of governments. Therefore, instead of giving priority to structural changes, change of culture and working mentality in serving society and developing cooperation for the interests of the people become much more essential than providing new division which might be far from the problem solving orientation.

The change of paradigm means shifting bureaucratic-monopolistic government into collaborative-competitive government through two layers. First, related to the actor involved in policy making, which includes not only the leaders or not only by considering the needs of [potential] investors, but also by inserting the importance of public opinion. Second, related to the inclination toward collaboration, in which multi stakeholders' engagement is made to enforce accountable governance and trust-based competitiveness. While multi stakeholders' engagement considers the importance of future investors, tourists, local people, and new inhabitants, it requires the local government to put society first upon all the other stakeholders' needs. Giving priority to society's needs is the basis for consensus, trust-based competitiveness. While open to access of global resources to build network for collaboration in development, the regional government must keep in mind that the real beneficiaries of the development is the society, hence development is understood not merely to increase cash revenues but more profoundly is to improve the quality of life of the people. In this light, provision of public services, improvement of infrastructures, all are meant to promote the wellbeing of the society, not only to attract future investors and tourists. In fact, all public service must be accessible for local inhabitants and new

residents at the same instance.

Places with public service access, such as safe and comfortable transportation, sufficient electricity and telecommunication network, clean water, as well as responsive and accountable public administration services will certainly attract businessmen, tourists, and investors (TTI/ tourist, trade, investor), besides the creative people, to escalate regional competitiveness on the hand hand and to amplify human resource development on the other hand. Since region is able to draw the best resources from both inside and outside to enhance its productivity, developing local competitive advantages will eventually improve the quality of life and living standard.

CONCLUSION

Although regions have developed their place branding as a marketing strategy to spur regional development, there are many things to be done by the government in making its place branding effective. This paper has elaborated how diplomacy is applicable at the regional level by implementing paradiplomacy ideas. Paradiplomacy places

the regions as the active actor of diplomacy activities that are usually interpreted as centered in national level. The combination of public diplomacy ideas and paradiplomacy give chances for various actors at regional level to participate in promoting and improving its regional comparative advantages.

There are two challenges that need more attention in implementing public diplomacy through paradiplomatic activities. The first challenge is related to question whether or not it is necessary to form a specific division that coordinates public diplomacy activities. A number of cases show how concession of unlimited authority has positive and negative impact to the political relations between the central and the local government. The second challenge comes from the capability of human resources who are assigned to manage the potentials of public diplomacy in their own region. Reflecting from Japan's experience, the formation of a paradiplomacy consortium can be adopted as an option to resolve the two challenges. The success of this consortium, nevertheless, must be supported by the paradigmatic change of bureaucracy from centralistic orientation to collaboration for competitiveness.

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Unilever Strategy Becoming Global Black Tea Main Player

Penyusun :

- **Karlina Wahyu Kristiani**
- **Citra Hennida**

Universitas Airlangga
Airlangga 4-6, Surabaya
Indonesia

Keywords :

Unilever, global black tea industry, acquisition, supply chain, company's bargaining power.

Abstract

In 1960, Unilever decided to diversify its products by expanding into black tea business. In 1971, Unilever acquired Lipton and in 1984 also Brooke Bond, both were the competitive players in the black tea industry. Since then, Unilever's market-share in black tea industry significantly increased. This research is going to explain about how Unilever as a newcomer in the black tea industry can possibly be the main player within a very short time. There will be three concepts to explain here, acquisition, supply chain, and company's bargaining power. At the end of this research, there found three factors of how it was possible for Unilever at that time. First, the way Unilever executing the acquisition strategy itself which was then by acquiring its competitors; second, how Unilever choosing the right targets which were Lipton and Brooke Bond to own control over supply chain; third, the bargaining power of Unilever over home and the host country

INTRODUCTION

Entering 1970, tea started to be a famous drink as people's consumption on drinking one increased globally. Originally, it happened only in a country with a tradition of drinking tea like British, but then the lifestyle spread to other European countries such as Russia, Turkey, and also to the North America. Some British tea companies that control the market, such as James Finlay, Williamson, and Brooke Bond, generally are companies that have been established long before 1900. But entering 1971, Unilever began to emerge as a player in the tea industry, after acquiring Lipton tea. In 1984, Unilever acquired Brooke Bond, and just right after that, Unilever became a major player in the market for the tea industry. Ridwan Ali (1997) states that until 1990, all activities of global tea production and distribution is dominated by four British multinationals: Unilever, Cadbury Schweppes, Allied-Lyons, and Associ-

ated British Foods. These four multinationals if combined, reaching 4/5 of the overall global market share. But among the four, Unilever is the strongest, with an average supply of 30 million bags of tea per day to 120 countries (Ali, 1997).

Unilever was established in 1930 after Lever Brothers Company of British and Margarine Unie Company of Netherlands decided to merge. The original production of Lever Brothers was detergent, and that Margarine Unie was a margarine producer. Over time, the development of Unilever itself is accompanied by an awareness that they need to invest in developing another kind of industry such as in food and beverages. As the first trial to expand its industry, Unilever bought some shares of Lipton Tea who was on the edge of bankruptcy at that time. In 1931, Unilever position was as one of the main parts of the UK retail group called Allied Suppliers. In 1936, Unilever together with Allied Suppliers invest by acquiring a majority stake

in the US Lipton (Jones and Miskell, 2007). Seven years later, Unilever control over the shares of US Lipton was getting bigger, and it was used by Unilever as a strategy slowly entering the food market in the United States.

During the World War, Unilever's products other than detergents and margarine were not very developed. Its margarine product to be exact was almost the only player in the industry. Margarine also had no competitor since it competes with butter, where butter itself was too expensive at that time. Thus, margarine became Unilever's main product until the end of the war era. In 1969, Unilever was at the top position among other margarine manufacturers in Europe (Slicer, 1977). For this position, Unilever classified as a fairly large company at that time, and its contribution to Europe, especially Britain and the Netherlands, is quite significant. Recorded until 1970, Unilever is a regular donor to the development of education in the Netherlands, with a donation of 900,000 Dutch guilders (Jones, 2005).

Specifically in the development of tea industry, in 1960, Unilever acquired Ceytea, a German tea company focusing on the research and development of instant tea (Jones and Miskell, 2007). In 1971, Unilever officially acquired Lipton after Allied Suppliers Cavenham bought by retail chains. In 1984, Unilever acquired Brooke Bond, including the entire tea plant in Brooke Bond Kenya and Brooke Bond's control over tea production by independent small farmers in Kenya (www.ide.go.jp, accessed 19 September 2015). At the same time, the tea industry in Kenya was highly developed, due to a shift of the previous global tea supply from Sri Lanka and India. There were several companies both state and foreign private sector engaged in Kenya tea. Kenya itself was a former British colony, therefore foreign private industry which dominating Kenyan industry were also British companies. Some British tea companies that invest in Kenya were such as Finlay, Twinings and the largest Brooke Bond (www.fao.org, accessed 18 September 2015).

Starting one year after the acquisition of Brooke Bond, Unilever's global market share on black tea business instantly increased to 35 percent. This was the turning point, which then makes Unilever as a major player black tea, both for the year, until many years later (Tanner, 1987). For the Indian market itself as the country with the largest consumption of black tea in the range of the same year, Unilever controls 95 percent market share. Furthermore, until 1989, there was a significant increase in the production and sales of tea by Unilever globally (Jones, 2005).

Therefore, this study then focused on how Unilever can be a major player in a very short time. This study is important because black tea itself was a kind of new industry developed by Unilever at that time. The time period of Unilever's decision to develop an industry of black tea to the time when Unilever came out as a major player of global black tea for the first time, was quite short compared to competitors who have been established for tens or even hundreds of years. Specifically, this study will focus on three things: (1) implementation of the expansion strategy, which in this case is the acquisition, (2) Unilever in mastering the supply chain, and (3) Unilever by using the bargaining power in the countries of origin and des-

tinuation. Thus, the ultimate goal of this research is to see how Unilever utilize these three things to become a major player in the global black tea industry.

UNILEVER EXPANSION THROUGH COMPETITORS ACQUISITION

In 1950, Unilever embarked on a strategy of diversification, starting with the production of frozen foods in Europe. Entering the end of 1960, Unilever saw positive trends of the global tea industry. In particular, in the United States, Lipton became the preferred brand for the products of cold tea and instant tea (Walcott, 2012). Lipton also considered as a potential product and brand that can be marketed globally. Unilever that already owned some shares of Lipton¹ made a bid for the full acquisition on Lipton in 1965. But the Allied Suppliers rejected the offer, which is the company that owns the largest shareholder of Lipton. In 1972, a group of another UK retail called Cavenham asked for Unilever support to acquire Allied Suppliers. Allied Suppliers itself was in their worst condition at that time because of such a very tight competition with nationwide and bigger supermarkets. For one reason and another, mostly because they're in crisis financially, Allied Suppliers' holders then agree to approve the bid. The acquisition processes of Cavenham over Allied Suppliers thus succeed. As the reward of Unilever support to Cavenham acquiring Allied Suppliers, the full ownership of Lipton Ltd. was given to Unilever. By the time Lipton was officially under the name of Unilever, the report said that Unilever instantly controls 50 percent market share of tea in the United States, and 5 percent of global tea market share (Jones, 2005).

Up to this point, it can be seen that first what Unilever did was a conglomerate acquisition. This is because the aim is to diversify and simultaneously mastering new markets. It is in line with the grouping period of an acquisition that argued by Muninarayanappa and Amaladas (2013). It explains that the mid-1960s became the starting point of commencement of the acquisition trends and that most of them are conglomerate acquisitions. However, entering the 1980s, the trend of diversification began to be abandoned by the MNC for being inefficient and expensive. Muninarayanappa and Amaladas (2013) describe this period by writing that the economic recession in 1973-1975 became a major factor why MNCs seek solutions to be more efficient in business development. Unilever's business strategy shifts to focusing on specific industries that are considered prospective. Tea, in this case, became one of the mainstays of Unilever because at that time the tea became one of the biggest-selling products among all kinds of Unilever products. Lipton continued to provide a paradox. It remained

¹ Lipton trademark originally owned by two companies, T.J. Lipton and Lipton Ltd. Sir Thomas Lipton as the primary owner of the business conglomerate decided to divide trademark rights Lipton to two. In 1929, Unilever acquired the company T.J. Lipton, while Lipton Ltd controlled by Allied Suppliers. Unilever itself has a shareholding by a third in Allied Suppliers. In 1940, Unilever intend to expand its control of the rights of Lipton, by submitting a purchase offer of shares, but Allied Suppliers declined it.

profitable. Tea continued to deliver high yields (Jones, 2005). Unilever's performance in the industry through the Lipton tea was then a motivation to the company to focus on the tea business. Thus, the implementation of business strategy next is how Unilever can compete to be a major player in the tea industry.

To be a major player in the industry, a company must dominate market share with a higher percentage of company manufacturers of similar goods. The early stage of dominating market share is to make the product to be competitive enough to compete with similar goods or products of other firms (Ogutu and Samuel, 2012). Unilever saw a probability become a major player in the black tea industry, after finding that its whole acquisition over Lipton provides a significant output even during recessions. At the same time, referring to the research of Amaladas and Muninarayanappa (2013), the recession was a new period for the wave of acquisitions and the emergence of a trend hostile acquisition. These waves were described by mentioning that the economic crisis derived from high oil price made so many companies fail to survive. Hostile methods later emerged as a bargaining strategy between the target company and the acquirer, so that the target company got the highest price in the sale of his company.

Changes in the business trend of diversification into focusing on the main product strategy happened along with annual reports that tea was one industry that still generates profits for Unilever Group even in times of recession. So when Unilever decided to develop the tea business during the recession, it was no longer with the motive to diversify but to strengthen its position in the market. In addition, the ownership over Lipton was also considered not enough, because Lipton does not provide sufficient access for the domination of the tea market in the UK. Unilever had long wanted to enter the competition in the UK tea market, because of its great potential as one of the world's largest tea consumption at that time. However, until the 1980s the desire of Unilever still has not been achieved, because Lipton's branding in the UK was still far behind compare to UK famous tea brands such as Twinings and PG Tips (Jones, 2005).the

In 1973, the Food and Beverage Division of Unilever, which also oversees Lipton, conducted a review of the Brooke Bond. Brooke Bond was a tea manufacturer with the brand PG Tips that at the time was a major player in the UK market, with the market share reaching 30 percent (Anders, 1984). The purpose was to consider whether Brooke Bond is worth at the price and whether Unilever wants to acquire. Unilever then made a bid and offered the purchase of shares and acquisition over Brooke Bond. However, the offer was later canceled because Unilever considered that to propose acquisition was too risky at the time. The first factor was that Unilever was under the supervision of anti-trust law USA², so that the activity of a

² Anti-trust law is one of the policies issued by the US government which aim is to keep a healthy market competition. This policy facilitates the government to intervene and act when find a tendency of monopoly by a company. Unilever was watched as the United States saw its high intensity of acquisition. Also, that Brooke Bond has branches in the United States, making the government tried to prevent Unilever from

merger or acquisition cannot be done easily. Second, that the Indian domestic conditions where one of the largest branches of Brooke Bond was taken place, was not conducive for the policy of nationalization of foreign companies by the government.

But then Unilever was facing a situation where the growth of consumers against black tea production stagnated. Although the full acquisition on Lipton affects Unilever size market in the United States, but still there was no significant progress for Europe and UK markets. Unilever tried to make a bid for an acquisition of Tetley and Twinings, but both declined. In 1983, Lazard Freres who acted as the business consultant for Unilever at that time initiated an idea to re-consider an acquisition over Brooke Bond. Unilever then conducts a review (Jones and Miskell, 2007), and in September 1984, offer a hostile takeover worth \$ 464.3 million, but rejected by Brooke Bond Group (www.nytimes.com, accessed December 1, 2015). A month later, in October 1984, Unilever made a bid of hostile acquisition valued \$ 478.5 million and succeed. The acquisition includes 150 million shares, equivalent to 48 percent of total ownership of Brooke Bond Group. Combined with Unilever's shares before bidding on Brooke Bond, then after the acquisition, Unilever controlled 57 percent of the shares of Brooke Bond Group, create ownership Brooke Bond then turned to Unilever.

To be a market leader in the black tea industry in the UK as the country with the highest black tea consumption in the world at that time was significant, especially for a company which goal is to become a major player in the global black tea industry. The percentage of tea consumption of British society at that time was as much as 60 percent of global tea consumption (Thomson, n.d). While prior to the acquisition of Unilever's Brooke Bond, the British market is an area of competition among Brooke Bond, Lyons Tetley, and Premier Brands. When Unilever successfully acquired Brooke Bond, Unilever mastery over English tea business was in the accumulation of the ownership over the Lipton. So although there were some products with different brand and name, Unilever still emerge as a major player in the UK market due to the accumulation of its ownership over Brooke Bond and Lipton.

The acquisition of Unilever's Brooke Bond in 1984 was intended to strengthen Unilever's position on the global tea market domination. There were five market sectors in the tea industry in the UK, namely the special tea, premium tea, popular tea, tea blends, and economic tea (Strange and Burns, n.d). At the top of those five sectors that exist, Brooke Bond was in the first rank, followed by Tetley, Premier Brands-Typhoo, and the Co-operative Wholesale Society. It is then explained that Brooke Bond was a dominant brand in the UK market at that time and that the purpose of this acquisition is to acquire competitors and to control production and market. At the stage when Unilever acquired Brooke Bond, Brooke Bond can already be categorized as a competitor, because at that time Unilever had developed the Lipton tea industry. Thus, the acquisition made by Unilever also classified into horizontal acquisi-

monopoly tea industry by acquiring Brooke Bond.

tions, because of the capacity of Brooke Bond at the time of acquisition was quite large and with the aim to strengthen Unilever's position in the global black tea market.

UNILEVER CONTROL OVER GLOBAL BLACK TEA SUPPLY CHAIN

In 1970, there were three countries with the biggest production of black tea, Sri Lanka, India, and Kenya. Up to 1968, Kenya was ranked fourth after Indonesia, but in 1969, Kenya's tea production generates more than Indonesia, making it the third country with the largest tea production in the world (Etherington, 1971). It continues, even entering in 1983 there was an increase of tea production in Kenya nearly doubled from 1970.

Kenya became an important actor in the production of black tea due to a few factors. First, British tea companies developed the tea plantations in Kenya. Development of production by the UK itself was important because, during those years, UK was the country with the largest tea consumption, which amounted to 40 percent of total global consumption (Etherington, 1971). Second, over time and particularly in the late 1940s, the internal economic and political condition of India and Sri Lanka that initially were the major producer of black tea, tend to be vulnerable. George Tharian (in Joseph, 2002) explained that after India became independent in 1947 and Sri Lanka in 1948, British business and imports activities move to Kenya. This was more because Kenya was still under the authority of British as a colony. It then continues that the independence of Sri Lanka accompanied by a tension of civil war between the Tamils and the Sinhalese. This kind of domestic situation had made Sri Lanka not conducive and made the investors considering for alternative supplies. While in India itself as the largest manufacturer of world black tea, black tea consumption was also high. A Very high demand from its own country made it hard for India to be maximized as black tea supplier (Joseph, 2002). In addition, after the independence of India, the government issued a policy to nationalize foreign companies, making investment interest from foreign companies significantly decreased.

Those things mentioned above were why there was a changing trend in tea exports that the country suppliers moved from South Asia to East Africa, especially Kenya. Besides, after its independence in 1963, Kenya made an open policy towards foreign investment. Entering 1970, Kenya was a country in Africa with the first rank of the most favored by foreign investors (Abala, 2014). After that, black tea production in Kenya continues to grow. Entering the late 1900s, Kenya came as the world's number one exporter of black tea (Kimenyi and Kibe, n.d).

To be specific, the tea production in Kenya was divided into two. One was controlled directly by the corporation, while the other was handled by KTDA (Kenya Tea Development Agency), an independent farmer's union. KTDA itself is an agent that was formed by the British colonial government with the aim to facilitate and to control tea sales under the ministry of agriculture. KTDA specifically provides services such as agricultural extension, pro-

cessing, marketing, transportation, and financial access. KTDA also provide subsidy on five main areas namely: (1) logistics from farm to factory; (2) processing, packaging and distribution; (3) sales; (4) insurance; and (5) a financial system that reaches all areas (www.ifc.org, accessed 16 September 2015). KTDA tea production chain is starting from the real farmers at the gardens that have a shareholder in KTDA. Furthermore, yields of tea will be brought to 3200 purchasing centers belonging to KTDA, to be weighed, qualified, and rewarded according to its kind. Furthermore, from the purchasing centers, the tea will be brought to the tea processing factories belong to KTDA. KTDA has a system such that the farmer who has a shareholder in KTDA gets 75-80 percent of all proceeds from the sale of tea (www.ifc.org, accessed 16 September 2015). KTDA farmers also have an electronic device that can be used to track the distribution until the auction process in Mombasa.

As for the corporations, there were 39 private companies that have factories to produce tea. Some major companies were Brooke Bond, James Finlay, George Williamson, Eastern Produce Kenya Limited Sotik Tea Co., and Sand Sasini Limited (www.fao.org, accessed 18 September 2015). Brooke Bond was the first to expand its company and production activities in Kenya. This becomes a major factor considered by the government of Kenya in giving privileges to the Brooke Bond, which then makes Brooke Bond becoming very competitive in Kenya tea industry (Dinham and Hines, 1984).

According to Obanda research (2002), Brooke Bond dominated Kenyan market since 1938, i.e when Brooke Bond was appointed by the Kenya Tea Growers' Association (KTGA) as the sole agent to sell local tea. Also, a legal right for Brooke Bond to set and control the tea sales policy added the privilege. One of the main privileges for Brooke Bond at that time was that as a distributor, Brooke Bond is a single destination for the tea supply from the farmers. Furthermore, Brooke Bond has the right to manage, regulate the sales price, and establishes the top brand tea patents received from Kenyan farmers at that time. Overall, by this, we can conclude and see that from the very beginning Brooke Bond have already been privileged by the government, and this is significant to dominate the market.

The next stage of processing was also divided into two as the same as production, performed by the private sector and KTDA. Private parties such as Brooke Bond tea and some other British MNC had their own tea cultivation land (www.fao.org, accessed 18 September 2015). Private companies hired special workers to pluck tealeaves in the garden, and other laborers to work on the process of drying and sorting the tealeaves in the plant. Tea that has been picked then was sent to the factory to be crushed, fermented, and dried (www.ketepa.com, accessed June 14, 2016). And the last step was the tea leaves were then separated according to their quality. Most processes that were carried by MNC in the host country stop at the drying process and separation. Because after that, tea leaves were delivered to the mill in the home country to be mixed and packaged.

Stage processing by KTDA is generally the same, namely picking, crushing, fermentation, and drying. The difference lay on the player of the process flow. After tea picking and weighing, the leaves were sent to the factories of KTDA to be processed and packed. The agreement between KTDA and the farmers was that after tea submitting, farmers received an advance payment from KTDA factory. After that, if the tea has been sold, the farmers will receive the remaining payments (www.fao.org, accessed 18 September 2015). Brooke Bond in the production chain of KTDA also serves as the largest leaves buyer from KTDA. The small holder factories, along with the other commercial tea plants in Kenya, sold 10 percent of Reviews their monthly production to the Brooke Bond packers at Kericho (Swainson, n.d). While half tea production was sold to the MNC, the other half will be sold and traded through auctions in Mombasa Port of Kenya.

Until the late 1970s, Brooke Bond Kenya was taking over 23 in a total of 6104 hectares and eight factories (Obanda, 2002). Brooke Bond also dominates the UK market with PG Tips brand and plays a major role as the tea supplier from India and Sri Lanka. The Unilever acquisition over Brooke Bond had significantly impacted the international tea business, particularly in the major producing countries such as Kenya. Right after the acquisition, Unilever recorded as the largest buyer from individual farmers through KTDA, 30 per cent of total production each year (www.ifc.org, accessed 16 September 2015). Also, Unilever played in the auction in Mombasa Port and it owns transactions as much as 15-20 percent of all products in the auction. This was not including some brokers and agents are present as a buyer for Unilever (Dutoi, n.d). Automatically, the ownership of Brooke Bond by Unilever has made Unilever instantly a major player in Kenya, with total production up to a fifth of the total tea production in Kenya.

Furthermore, in the 1970s there was a significant growth of black tea consumption in the United States. Tea was at the fourth rank of the most favorite drink after milk, coffee, and soda (and Allshouse Putnam, 1999). This situation was also quite stable until 1997, making United States quite attractive for black tea business. Long before acquired by Unilever, Lipton was already a pretty big player in the US tea industry for its distinct ideas such as to be the first company to initiate beverage sponsorship in sports competitions in the United States. And to reach its peak on sales after they invent cold and instant Lipton tea in 1964.

The strategy to develop beverage industry by acquiring Lipton in the United States was succeeded. This was proven by the increase of market share of Unilever on tea industry, and that tea consumption trends in the United States also continue to increase (Jones, 2005). The success of Lipton iced tea and tea bag in the marketing of packaging came also as the evidence of the success in the process of blending and packing (Jones and Miskell, 2007).

With the successful acquisition upon Lipton, we can see how Unilever's first move was to control the packing and blending process. At the same time, the acquisition also facilitates Unilever to take over United States' market share that has been built by Lipton. After that, by acquir-

ing Brooke Bond, Unilever took over the process of production, processing, and trading, as well as strengthening its position among its competitors in the global black tea market. The decision to acquire Brooke Bond and Lipton has made Unilever then become a major player in the industry. Starting one year after the acquisition of Brooke Bond, Unilever's market share on the global black tea is equal to 35 percent (Tanner, 1987). In the same year, Tata Tea, the tea company of India with the largest plantation in India, occupies the second position under Unilever (www.nytimes.com, accessed July 27, 2016). This is significant to compare with Unilever's global market share before Brooke Bond acquisition, which was just 17 percent in 1982 (Jones and Miskell, 2007).

UNILEVER BARGAINING POWER AGAINST EUROPE AND KENYA

One of the first major steps undertaken by Unilever at the regional level was to support the integration of Europe through the European Economic Community (EEC) (Jones and Miskell, 2007). Unilever was one of the pioneer members of the Bilderberg meetings, the group of government and corporate elites of Western Europe and the United States who held a special meeting to discuss important issues such as the economy and security. This group is considered important because of the existence and capacity of its members, and that this group plays a role in the formation of EEC. Unilever's role as a pioneer was possible because of Unilever's position as one of the biggest corporation in Europe at that time. Unilever position at the level of regional government and even Western Europe thus was strengthened by its involvement in the Bilderberg group.

After the formation of the EEC, Unilever did a regular visit to meet European Commissioners in Brussels, Belgium (Jones, 2005). The purpose of this visit was first to show support for European integration, and the second to make approaches to EEC policy so that it went along with Unilever's interest. One example of Unilever's policy approach to the EEC was related to agricultural policy. Unilever was a company with the largest use of vegetable oil feedstock, while the production of vegetable oil by European countries themselves was minimal. To meet its needs, Unilever had to import raw materials. In practice, this vegetable oil imports was in favor to Unilever for EEC set low taxes for the import of vegetable oil.

Additional support that was given by Unilever to the EEC is that Unilever was the only company involved in EEC plans to tackle hunger (Jones, 2005). At that time, EEC got almost no support to do food donor to other countries, because until 1960, Europe itself was the recipient of donor food from several countries (Clapp, 2012). However, entering the end of 1960, the food production in Europe increased; making the EEC Agricultural Commission initiated the European food aid in 1968. Multinationals support was very important at that time but most of the big companies rejected to involve. Also, that most multinationals' trust to EEC capability was still low. At the beginning of implementation, Unilever was the only company that show support to EEC's programs. By this Unilever can be re-

garded as one of the pioneer's multinationals that provide support in the early days of EEC. Unilever has also been involved as a member of the European Roundtable of Industrialists (ERT). ERT consists of 45 giant companies from Europe, and their contribution is as ECC supervisory function, especially in the implementation of economic and trade policies.

In particular, in the UK, Unilever significant contribution was in reducing the number of unemployed. Unilever built a village, later renamed by Port Sunlight and made the entire population of Unilever workers. Until the late 1930s, there were more than 250,000 people in Port Sunlight, which was entirely worked on Unilever (www.history.co.uk, accessed July 27, 2016). Unilever was also a regular donor, in particular for the development of education and social sectors in the UK and the Netherlands.

While in Kenya, Unilever relations with the government of Kenya have started since Unilever first entered Kenya to develop margarine industrial in 1953. The presence of Unilever was expected from the Colonial Development Corporation³ (CDC) (Swainson, 1980). Unilever's involvement begins with a formal agreement between CDC and Unilever for their cooperation and the establishment of the company and plantation in Kenya in 1953. Unilever making CDC earn profit after several years of suffering losses. In 1950, before the arrival of Unilever, CDC bear the loss after tax of £1100, but the first year since its presence, Unilever contributes to helping the company achieve a profit after tax of £35000. This makes Unilever get attention and privileges from the government of Kenya, although CDC then handed the full rights of ownership to the government of Kenya. The other privilege from the government of Kenya can be indicated by government provision of guarantees to Unilever that its oil demand as the raw material of margarine and butter will be bought from the government at the lowest price (Swainson, 1980).

Following the acquisition of Brooke Bond, Unilever continues to maintain its good relations with the government of Kenya, and one of them was to develop tea as the special commodity in Kenya. For instance, Unilever gave itself to be the private company to buy tea from KTDA to support the independence of small farmers. Unilever also provides a solution to the problem of farmers' welfare. A study shows that Brooke Bond has not been good enough

³ Colonial Development Corporation is an artificial institution established by the British colonial government, which was formed with the aim to develop colonial business especially in agriculture, industry, and trade. CDC mostly placed in developing countries, but the controls and mandates remain concentrated in the UK (in <http://www.economist.com/node/656299#> accessed December 6, 2015).

in addressing the welfare of farmers (Adagala, 1991). This was evidenced by the percentage that as much as 36 percent of farmers didn't finish their formal education. The low educational level was the main cause of poverty, and although Brooke Bond was committed to employing the local people, the amount of revenue generated by uneducated workers was still not enough to improve welfare. To overcome this, Unilever initiated a school for tea farmers (Farmer Field School) in Kenya. The purpose was to make the farmers better, which was expected to decrease the risk of crop failure, to increase the quality tea leaves, and to prosper the farmers. In addition, Unilever also manages to make a clear scheme of the pension system, better than the one owned by Brooke Bond Group (Jones and Miskell, 2007).

They show that Unilever managed to overcome the employment barriers on the acquisition of Brooke Bond Kenya. Moreover, Unilever provides a better system that addresses the needs of farmers and workers in Kenya. By this, we can see how Unilever manages to reduce the risk of resistance by the employee that theoretically happened (Szczepaniak, n.d). Farmers and workers factors became one of the most important issue, because basically the quality of the tea is greatly influenced by the process of production which in most aspects can only be done by a human, such as the process of picking (Obanda, in 2002). This makes Unilever's dependence on workers fairly high. However, with such a given social security, better pension schemes, coupled with the good history that has been built by Brooke Bond to the Government of Kenya, making this labor issue was no longer a serious problem for Unilever.

Conclusion

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that the success of Unilever to be a major player in the black tea industry was due to the implementation of the expansion strategy that focuses on: (1) the acquisition as the most appropriate strategy to develop new industries, (2) the decision to choose hostile method of acquisition to take over Brooke Bond with the purpose of acquiring competitors and strengthening its position in global market, (3) the selection of Lipton as the target for its initial steps to get into the industry, utilizing market domination that has been initiated by Lipton, (4) the selection of Brooke Bond as the target for its dominance over supply chain by controlling the production, processing, and trading, (5) the good relationship that exists between Unilever and the EEC, which then used to support the activities of expansion, and (6) the good relationship that exists between Unilever and Kenya's government, which facilitates Unilever to strengthen its tea business in Kenya.

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A Leadership Factor in Russia's and Indonesia's Resurgence: Comparing the Leadership of President Putin and Yudhoyono

Penyusun :

(a) • **Kholifatus Saadah**

(b)(1) • **Vinsensio Dugis**

(a) Master Program Dept. of
International Relations

(b) Lecturer Dept. of
International Relations

Universitas Airlangga
Dharwamangsa Dalam Selatan
4-6 Surabaya 60286

(1) Corresponding author.
Tel: (031) 5034015
Fax: (031) 5012442

E-mail address :
kholifatus.saadah-2016@
fisip.unair.ac.id
vinsensio.dugis@fisip.unair.ac.id

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Abstract

In several ways, Russia and Indonesia had similarities. Both used to be influential international and regional actors. While in the Cold War era the-then Soviet Union was the only main competitor of the United States for being a super power, Indonesia was a major regional actor in Southeast Asia in the years of Sukarno and Soeharto. The collapse of Soviet Union has led to the birth of current Russia which though inherits the past days of Soviet Union, but lost many former states which have separated and become independent states since 1990. On the other hand, the downfall of President Soeharto followed by economic crisis in the end of 1990s has led to a slight decrease in Indonesia's influence in Southeast Asia. The decreasing international influence of Russia and regional influence of Indonesia reversed during the leadership years of President Putin and President Yudhoyono. Many believe a leadership factor contributed for this. This paper investigates the extent to which the leadership of President Putin and President Yudhoyono has contributed to the resurgence of Russia and Indonesia.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Both Russia and Indonesia are influential regional power in their own regions, Russia in Eastern Europe and Indonesia in Southeast Asia. Indeed, there is one similarity between the two in their respected effort to raise as global

economic power-house; their past status being a global and regional power respectively. McFarlane (2006) notes that seen from the angle of foreign relations and its relations with other big powers such as the United States, Britain and Germany, Russia is not a new economic power. Historically, Russia is politically strong compared to its econom-

ic strength. Indonesia, similarly was once an influential regional power especially in the years when ASEAN was established. However, with time passing-by, Indonesia's position was slowly rivaled by Singapore and Malaysia, both of which have successfully emerged being economically developed.

This paper is focusing on the economic resurgence of Russia and Indonesia and the extent to which a leadership factor has indeed played an important role. The Putin's administration in Russia is examined comparatively with Yudhoyono's administration in Indonesia. This approach is taken based on one realist premise that a leadership factor is instrumental in determining states policy including economic policy, and all state leaders would decide and conduct policies consistently in order to meet national interests (Neack, 2008: 32). In other words, leaders are instrumental in achieving states national interests, including the ones that are in economic areas. Many examples have illustrated how states have heavily depended on their leaders.

2. RUSSIA'S RESURGENCE: PUTIN FACTOR

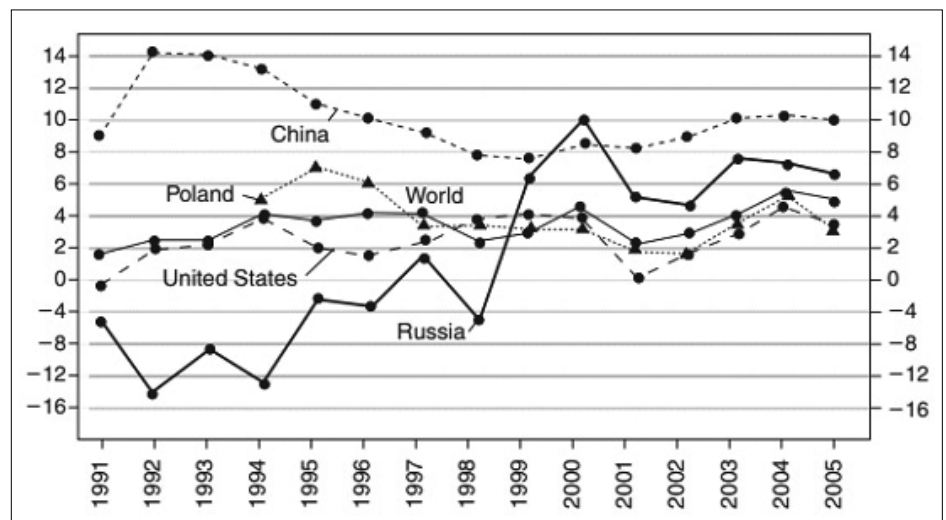
When Russia emerged following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, a big question equally emerged; would Russia maintain the Soviet model on all its policies domestically and externally? Kerr (1995) noted that Russia would look for a new identity and this is normal for any nation which had gone through a dramatic change. However, this would implicate Russia's geopolitical in the future, where economic growth and integration have been the priorities. However, one thing remains and this is about Russia's perception of Eurasian being an important region as for Moscow the region is particularly 'in control and defense of territory' (Kerr, 1995: 987).

With a weak economic foundation, Russia started to design foreign policy under the leadership of Boris Yeltsin, the first Russian president after the collapse of Soviet Union. The policy focus of Yeltsin was to support its former enemy during the Cold War, the United States. Andrei Kozyrec, Russia's foreign minister at the time stated that Russia wanted to have a close relation with the United States and did not see it as a threat for Russia (Hancock, 2007: 73). Furthermore, this was also seen as representing Russia's intention to be part of international community. During those years, Russia was of a view that being closer to the United States would be a right path to becoming part of international community. As a matter of fact, the West welcomed Russia's intention, transforming from enemy to alliance (Hancock, 2007).

However, Russia's steps under Yeltsin failed to save its economy. In the first year, GDP fell by 14.5% followed by 8.7% the year after that and resulted in high inflation of up

to 879% (Hancock, 2007: 74). Rutland (2010: 160) noted that Yeltsin's administration was full of crucial problems in the area of economy namely privatization scandal, crisis on national bank, and on top of that all was economic crisis in August 1998. One cause for massive economic losses in Russia was a tough sanction from the UN Security Council on Serbia over the Serbia-Yugoslavia war, where 90% of weaponry for that war came from Russia (Hancock, 2007: 76). As Russia approved the UN Security Council resolution, the consequence was economically detrimental to Moscow. Thus, Yeltsin failed to lift-up Russia's economy.

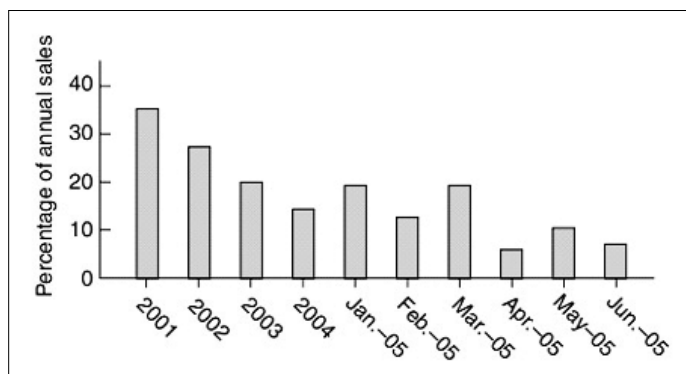
Figure 1.
Real GDP growth rate: World, United States, China,
Poland and Russia, 1991–2005



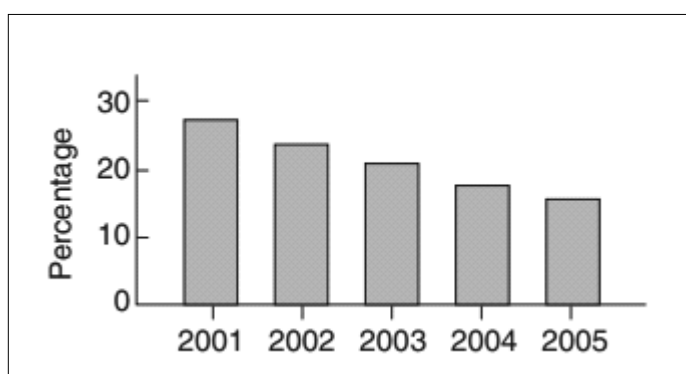
Vladimir Putin came to office replacing Yeltsin and he was trying to lift-up Russia's good image to the West. Putin opened up closer cooperation with themes on democracy, modernization, and energy cooperation (Lukyanov, 2009: 123). Furthermore, domestic political stability was pursued by policies of balancing economy, upholding rule of law, limiting the role of oligarchy, and preventing further separatism movement such as in Chechnya and North Caucasian (MacFarlane, 2006: 46-7).

There were at least two positive trends of Russia under Putin's administration. First, the inclusion into the European Union market in 2002. Second, Russia has been more integrated with the global economy compared to the Soviet Union era (Rutland, 2010: 160). With these two trends, however, Russia has kept maintaining its pragmatic character, and continued to catch up with global economic trend (Light, 2004: 44). Putin's foreign policy came up with success. As shown in figure 1, a turning point for Russia's GDP growth was between 1999 and 2000; this was the year when Putin started to lead Russia. This condition resurrected Russia's economy after it was in a low point in previous years. Putin's efforts to resurrect Russia's economy began with the cut on the federal discretionary expenditure and the imposing of regulations regarding tax compliance (Letiche, 2007: 8). It gave effect on other sectors such as level of unemployment, decreasing level of debt, and share of people living below subsistent income as indicated in the figures below.

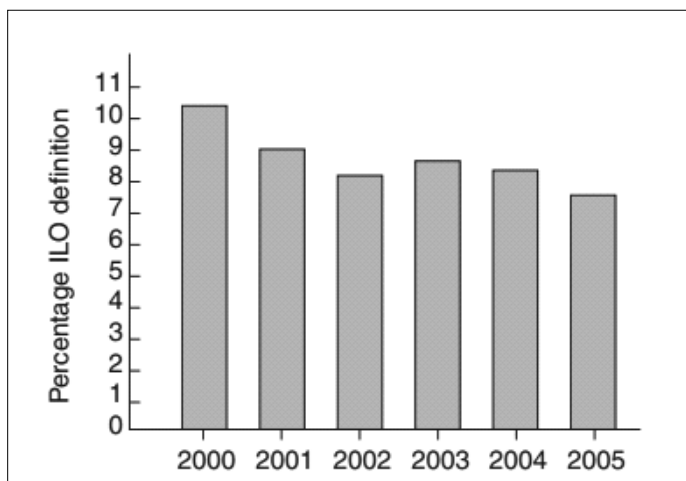
Figur 2.
Stock of overdue payables



Figur 3.
Share of people living below subsistent income



Figur 4.
Level of Unemployment



The figure shows that the value of payable debt steadily decreased (figure 2), which meant that Russia's income increased. Figure 3 shows the number of population living under subsistent income where in 2001, 30% Russians lived under poverty line, but by 2005 the number fell to 20%. This indicated that in five years, Putin administration was able to significantly reduce the number of Russian living under poverty line. Figure 4 also indicates the trend of decreasing unemployment between 2001 and 2005, and once again this indicated the success of Putin's administration in reforming Russia's economy.

3. INDONESIA'S RESURGENCE: SBY STYLE

Indonesia is one of the major countries in Southeast Asia, especially when considered in terms of territory, population and overall influence in the region. This is evident with a population of more than 244 million in 2014 and its role in the establishment of ASEAN Community by 2015. Since the beginning of the establishment of ASEAN, Indonesia has had a strong role. The construction of the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta in 1976 has been often seen as a symbol of Indonesian influence as well as a form of trust given by other ASEAN members toward Jakarta. With that major regional position, Indonesia used to play an instrumental role; Jakarta sponsored discussion around the Spratly Islands disputes involving China with conflicting parties in 1990 and became a mediator in the conflict between the separatist groups of MNLF and the Government of the Philippines.

Indonesia's political influence in the region, however, has not been accompanied by a strong economic base. As in the case of Russia, Indonesia was hugely impacted when economic crisis occurred in 1998, The economic crisis triggered the massive chaos that eventually led to the downfall of President Soeharto (Hill et al., 2008). The political chaos brought a huge economic impact for Indonesia, especially on the value of Rupiah. Seaside (1998) noted that in a period of eight months, it slumped sharply from 4,850 per US Dollar to 17,000 per US Dollar. The depreciation was almost 80% and this clearly pictured the fall of the Indonesian economy, which in the two previous decades looked promising and was well prepared to welcome the third millennium era.

When B. J Habibie rose and replaced Soeharto, no significant changes happened. Domestic political transition toward democracy prevented him from taking many major policies (Prihatyono, 2009: 92). Coupled with the problems that occurred in East Timor in 1999, Indonesia's international image was tarnished. However, the situation did not go even worst. PERC (2011) revealed that Indonesia's economic growth stabilized in the range of 4 to 6%. This was possible as with around 220 million people, Indonesia was still the largest market in Southeast Asia. Additionally, PERC (2011) stated about Indonesia's political conditions

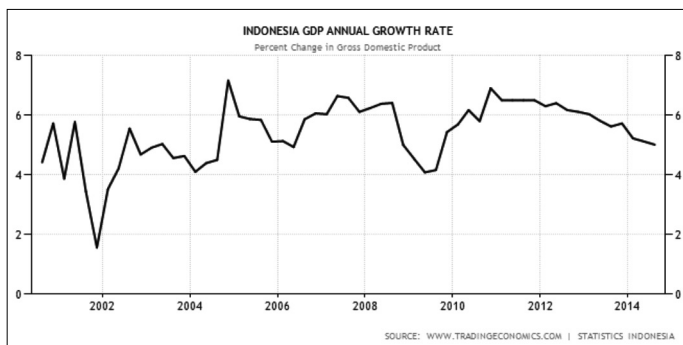
"Indonesia's democratic system is still young, with weak institutions, but it has survived its start-up years and has resulted in better overall political stability, including better checks and balances, a process that enhances the likelihood of smooth political transitions, and better, more active support from the general population"

These quotes clearly indicated that although the 1998 economic crisis negatively affected Indonesia's economic and political conditions, it also proved that Indonesia survived; it began to rebuilt to a new economic power house in the region. The SBY administration came to office in 2004 and lasted the first term in 2009. Internationally, the new administration came up with a principle of 'zero enemy - thousand friends', which in many ways had given pragmatism image for Indonesia.

One indicator of the country with good economic

strength is a high value of foreign investment. After the 1998 crisis, investment in Indonesia decreased by 11% (Elias & Noone, 2011: 40). However, the recovery began in 2001. The investment grew around 7%, followed by the return of the nominal value of the share of GDP in the range of 32% (Figure 6). While this was still not as big as Malaysia, this investment number should be appreciated given the fact that after the 1998 crisis, inflation was still, to a certain extent, very high. Indonesia's ability to reattract foreign investment was particularly due to the figure of the president. President Yudhoyono was able to restore Indonesia's positive image internationally. The first step was by restoring ASEAN as Indonesia first concentric circles that had shifted during the reign of President Abdurrahman Wahid. The return of "Indonesia's power" during the SBY administration could also be seen from Indonesia's membership in the G-20. In tandem with this trend was Indonesia's steady economic growth. The stability of the Indonesian economy under the SBY administration was due to two factors namely, political stability and security as well as economic policies of pro-growth (CNN Indonesia, 2014). In addition, Chan (2011: 22) states that Indonesia is the largest economic power in Southeast Asia, supported by abundant natural resources such as oil, natural gas, steel, and gold. Indonesia, furthermore, is one among those severely affected by economic crisis but able to survive and grow into a better direction after experiencing a huge economic crisis.

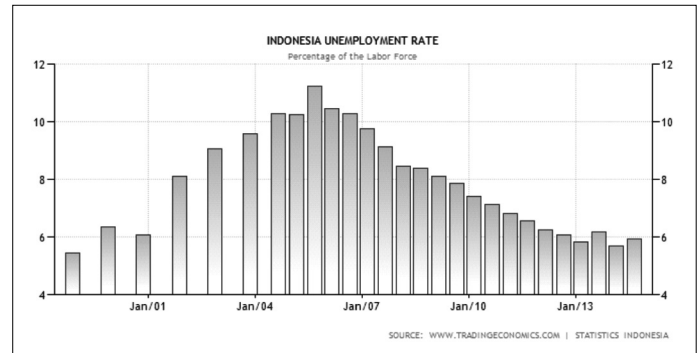
Figur 5.
Indonesian GDP 1998-2014



Figur 6.
Investment in Indonesia 1960-2010



Figur 7.
Indonesia's unemployment rate



Overall, Indonesia was able to resurrect its economy during the first term of President Yudhoyono's administration, and there have been at least six economic indicators considerably supporting the trend (Metrotvnews.com, 2014). The first was the range of economic growth rate between 5 to 6 per cent. The second was the role of investment which increased from 23 percent to 31 percent. The third, the banking performance continued to improve, the development of average assets grew 16.44 percent, third-party funds (DPK) 15.88 percent and 21.62 percent. The fourth was the percentage of poverty that decreased from 16.66 percent to 11.25 per cent in 2014. This reduction was significant considering that Indonesia's condition at the time was in a poor situation. The fifth was the unemployment rate that fell, while formal employment rose from 29.38 percent to 39.90 percent in 2013. The last was human development index (HDI) increasing by 7.45 percent from 68.7 percent in 2013 to 73.45 per cent. Furthermore, SBY is deemed capable of maintaining Indonesia's economy when the crisis was forged in 2008 so as not to be dragged into the circle of the crisis (CNN Indonesia, 2014). Latif Adam, an economist from LIPI (the Indonesian CNN, 2014) revealed that the success of SBY administration of preventing Indonesia from severely affected by 2008 crisis was due to President Yudhoyono's ability to communicate and synergize Indonesia's fiscal and monetary policies.

4. CONCLUSION

The cases of Russia's and Indonesia's resurgence under the leadership of President Putin and President Yudhoyono lead to the following conclusions. First, there has been a strong link between growth factor and the role and style of leadership. As in the case of President Putin in Russia and President Yudhoyono in Indonesia, both were successful in resurrecting both countries economy from the crisis situation. The economic policies adopted were in line with the market and the global economy, and these all were helpful in achieving their desired economic growth. Second, both countries past history of being an influential international and regional actors respectively seemed to be an added element that drove both President Putin and President Yudhoyono to come with their own 'fresh air' style to regain past position with economic resurgence. President Putin

managed to lift-up the Russian energy policy that drew the attention of the United States and its allies, while President Yudhoyono's pro-growth policies bringing Indonesia into

the G-20, have been able to regain Indonesia's 'primus-inter-pares' position in ASEAN.

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Chinese Foreign Policy on North Korea's Nuclear Issue: Reflecting National Self-Image for Being Responsible Major Power

Penyusun :

- Mahrita
- Citra Hennida

Universitas Airlangga
Airlangga 4-6, Surabaya
Indonesia

Keywords :

foreign policy, identity analysis, self-image, responsible major power, strategic culture.

Abstract

The research examines the foreign policy of China regarding North Korea's nuclear issue. The author questions why China approved the UNSC Resolution 2094 and agreed to impose the sanctions on North Korea. By focusing on the identity level of analysis, the author emphasizes the national identity factors particularly self – image and strategic culture. These two variables influence China's decision to change its foreign policy towards North Korea. The author hypothesized that the decision to support the Resolution and to implement sanctions against North Korea cannot be separated from the aspiration of the political elites to actualize the national self – image as a Responsible Major Power and the influence of strategic culture that makes China impose the sanctions through UN Security Council framework. The bilateral approach through economic cooperation and political support in fact has been proven failed to stop the development of North Korea's nuclear programme. At the same time, China experienced a trust deficit from other states because its cooperation approach to North Korea is considered as a major obstacle of the implementation of sanctions against North Korea. Therefore, the decision to support the implementation of Resolution 2094 and the sanctions is closely related to the motivation of enhancing the credibility as responsible major power. Furthermore, Chinese strategic cultures, which are defensive, non-interventionist, and the preference for multilateralism, also become strong determinants that influence China's decision. Through the examination of strategic culture and its influence on China's behaviour in the multilateral forum such as UN Security Council, the author concludes that the decision to endorse harsher sanction is done through the forum of UN Security Council.

INTRODUCTION

The urgency to discuss the changing response of China toward North Korea's nuclear test is constituted by two arguments. First, China has a close partnership with North

Korea, through this logic, China is considered to have a greater influence compared to other countries to put pressure on North Korea to cut down its nuclear programme. Second, China's main foreign policy strategic is to enhance its political influence on a global level, so it is essential

for China to actively participate in maintaining the world peace (Term, 2012).

However, in terms of North Korea nuclear issue, China reflects a contrary attitude by protecting North Korea from criticism and severe sanctions. For example, when North Korea conducted its first nuclear test in 2006, through the spokesman of its Foreign Ministry, China insisted that North Korea has the right to develop nuclear and missile technology for the peaceful purposes. The same attitude is also shown in the process of UNSC Resolution 1874 legalization, China seeks to weaken the content of the sanction by proposing a non-binding inspection mechanism of suspicious vessels and cargo. This proposal is in contrast with the US proposal that offers a binding inspection mechanism. Eventually the agreed resolution is non-binding to the state members by using "calls on state" to inspect the suspicious vessels and cargos (Security Council, 2009).

Other contrary attitude shown by China is its rejection to embargo North Korea. The US government has sought to push China to use its economic influence by limiting the economic partnership with North Korea, but once again China rejected the US proposal by saying that such a move could hamper the legal trade activity and humanitarian channels. Consequently, in the process of negotiating Resolution 1874, the Security Council did not include the trade embargo of small arms in the mechanism of weapons export and import by North Korea. Hence, China can freely export the weapons to North Korea (MacFarquhar, 2009).

In contrast with its stance before, in 2013 China showed a different attitude in responding North Korea nuclear test. The author identifies three indicators that prove China's changing response towards this problem. First, there is a clear articulation delivered by China's officials to criticize the third nuclear test. Xi Jinping addressed the nuclear test as the source of threat for Northeast Asia regional stability (Li, 2014). Similar with China's President, Li Baodong is also against the nuclear test by saying that "a strong signal must be sent out, that a nuclear test is against the will of the international community. Therefore We (China) support the action taken by the council, which required binding mechanism." (Charbonneau & Nichols, 2013).

Second, China showed an active role in arranging the UNSC Resolution 2094. For the first time, China synchronizes its view and cooperates with the US to design the UNSC Resolution 2094 (Duchâtel & Schell, 2013). The US itself introduces the draft resolution as an agreement of the US and China. The next indicator is by adopting the sanction mechanisms that binds all of the state members, including China itself. The binding mechanisms are: (1) blocking financial transaction, which supports the development of nuclear and missile technology programme in Pyongyang; (2) inspecting all cargos within or transiting through the member states' territory that has originated in the North Korea; (3) The Security Council expands the sanction target by including North Korean diplomats in the list of suspected individuals who get involved in illegal activities; and (4) imposing a travel ban and asset freeze on the mining trading company as well as officials of a company, which deemed as the primary dealer and main exporter of goods and equipment related to ballistic mis-

siles and conventional weapons (UN, 2013).

Referring to the above problems, this article tries to grasp the foreign policy dynamics of China regarding North Korea's nuclear issue and focuses on question "why China accepted UNSC Resolution 2094 and implemented policies to adopt harder sanction toward North Korea?" To answer the research question above, The author offers two hypotheses, first, because China internalizes the task to reflect its self-image as responsible major power through its positive contribution in implementing strict sanctions toward North Korea, and second, because China considered North Korea's third nuclear test as a threat, hence following China's strategic culture, China seeks to impose sanctions through multilateral institution.

The article is divided into four parts. First, it provides the theoretical foundation for both hypotheses. In section two, China's foreign policy to actualize the self-image as a responsible major power is discussed. Third, it describes the strategic culture as a basic guide for China to shape its perceptions and response to threat, at the end it will analyze China's perception to the North Korea's third nuclear test. The last part describes the conclusion of the correlation between the two variables discussed in the second and third parts.

SELF IMAGE AND STRATEGIC CULTURE AS DRIVING FORCES TO CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY CHANGED

In terms of foreign policy change, Hermann (1990) explained that there are four level topology changes, one of them is a programme change that aimed to achieve the foreign policy objectives¹, while the goals and objectives of the policy remained unchanged. In this case, China's changing foreign policy is in the level of programme changes. It is reflected by its attitude adopting UNSC Resolution 2094.

This research uses the level of analysis of national identity. It is based on the proposition that foreign policy is a reflection of cultural and national identity of a state (Hudson, 2014). Other scholars such as Wendt, Snyder, and Bruck argue that the idea of national interest constitute foreign policy, while national interest reflects the national identity of a state (Wicaksana, 2009). National self-image is a set of ideas about the correct international status and political purposes of their state. Central foundation of self-image is the collective self-esteem that derives from intersubjective memories of the past national self and the aspirations they generate for the future (Clunan, 2009). Creating the national self image in international scale is an aspiration of the political elites to actualize their national interests as well as foreign policy strategies. The political elites calculate their participations in various international organizations and adopt certain policy that support and certify the credibility of their projected national self-image (Wang, 2003).

¹ The other three level of foreign policy changes are (1) adjustment changes; (2) problem or goal changes; and (3) international orientation changes.

Furthermore, the author utilizes the theory of social influence to support my hypotheses about maintaining positive self – image in the international level as the driving force of state’s foreign policy action. Social influence explains that the level of state’s compliance towards the code of conduct in a multilateral forum is influenced by a desire to maintain the credibility of national self-image and to obtain the social acceptance from other member states. Multilateral forum performs crucial role as it makes state’s behaviour become observable, hence it can generate the social pressure that makes the member states enhance their compliance to the agreed code of conduct (Johnston, 2001).

The author also uses the concept of strategic culture to strengthen the theoretical foundation. Strategic culture explains why China chose defensive action by adopting harsher sanction through resolution of the Security Council. Strategic culture explains that threat perception and policy measures taken to address the threat derive from the combination of past history and well-rooted narratives (both oral and written), which shaped a collective identity and relations with other groups in national scale, and established a know-how to achieve security purposes (Johnson, 2009). In short, strategic culture influences the attitude of state’s foreign policy by providing preferences, values, and preconception, which shape the views of political elites when taking a foreign policy action (Grady, 1998).

NATIONAL SELF IMAGE PROJECTION AS RESPONSIBLE MAJOR POWER BY SUPPORTING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSC RESOLUTION 2094

Chinese analysts argue that the projected image as a responsible major power is an essential priority in China’s foreign policy behavior. This projecting image is intended to minimize other states’ concern towards China’s increasing capacity and influence in the global politics (Deng, 2008; Feng, 2015). The influence of projecting image as responsible major power in China’s foreign policy action is reflected in the dominance of “responsibility” elements in its foreign policy strategy. The author highlights the official statements and speech delivered by China’s senior officials in various international forums as shown in the table below to represent China’s foreign policy strategy:

Table 1.
Official Statements and Speech of
China’s Senior Officials

Projecting Self - image	Indicator
China as peaceful major power	China would never seek hegemony in the world. The core elements of this model are no conflict or no confrontation, which value mutual respect and win-win cooperation (Wang, 2013a) China will continue to develop itself by securing a peaceful international environment and, at the same time, uphold and promote world peace through its own development (Xing, 2013)

China plays proactive and constructive roles in international organizations	We should be committed to multilateralism and reject unilateralism. We should give full play to the central role of the United Nations and its Security Council in ending conflict and keeping peace (Xi, 2015).
China committed to play an active role in maintaining crucial issues in regional and global scale	China will continue to play a constructive role in addressing regional and global hotspot issues, encouraging dialogue and talks for peace, and working tirelessly to solve the relevant issues properly through dialogue and negotiations (Wang, 2014).
China committed to create a good relations to other major powers	President Xi Hopes that China and the United States will work together and act as the anchor of stability and propeller of peace in the world (Wang, 2013b)

Source: acquired from various sources of China’s official statements

The above table shows the dominance of responsibility elements in China’s foreign policy. Referring to the concept of responsible major power by Xia Liping, the dominance image as responsible major power proved by its commitment to actively involve in multilateral organization, and to create a good relations with other major power as well as neighbouring states. Chinese officials also highlight their commitment to uphold the international law and to provide the public goods such as security and win-win cooperations to other states. Lastly, China also promotes its compliance as a permanent member state of the Security Council through its positive contribution in solving the international disputes through the peaceful manners.

Wang Yi, the Foreign Minister of China explicitly affirms China’s projecting self-image as the responsible major power in various international occasions. Wang Yi urging China’s active roles as mentioned above is meant to enhance China’s international status as well as stepping stone to join in the first-class power (Wang, 2014). Therefore, we can conclude that projecting self-image shaped by China’s official is China as the responsible major power.

This self-image projection portrays the aspirations of China’s political elites to alleviate China’s trust deficit, particularly the US and South Korea who doubt China’s credibility as a responsible major power (The Asan Institute, 2011).² China’s policy move to use the cooperation approach and to protect North Korea from sanctions as the consequence of its military provocations against South Korea in 2010 is the main driving force of the US and South Korea skepticism towards China’s commitment to denuclearize North Korea (Hao, 2013). Based on this circumstances, China tries to consolidate policies, which aimed to develop cooperation and partnership as well as mutual trust of the US and South Korea. Xi Jinping affirms this statement by arguing that China is willing to build intensive coordination and cooperation to push North Korea

² Asan Institute annual survey shows in 2011, there are 45,0% South Koreans consider China as the main cause of the two Koreas dispute, this percentage is increased from 2010 which only 36,6% South Koreans think so.

to cut down its nuclear programme and reopen peaceful negotiation through Six Party Talks framework (Wall Street Journal, 2015).

Furthermore to verify the correlation between China's foreign policy move and the actualization of self image, the author tries to identify the identity management strategies chosen by China and to make an interpretation towards rhetorics articulated by China's political elites regarding North Korea's nuclear issue. First, regarding the identity management strategies applied by China. China gives an active contribution in drafting the UNSC Resolution 2094 together with the US (Schell, 2013). Moreover, China also implements a series of policies in line with the UNSC Resolution 2094 (see table II). This contribution can justify how far China's consistency is towards its projected national self-image.

Table 2.

Realization of Sanction Implementation towards North Korea

Trade control in the border of China – North Korea	Chinese Banks freeze North Korean accounts and suspended all money transfers to North Korea at the instruction of Chinese financial authorities.
	Implementing the mechanism of cargo inspections from and to North Korea
	In September 2013, China issued 236 pages list of banned 'dual-used' exports to North Korea
People exchange flows control	Chinese government regulates restriction on granting work visa since February 2014. This restriction directly hits 12.17 million labors from North Korea who work in China.
Oil export control	China cut down crude oil supply to North Korea for six months in 2014.

Source: *Strait Times*,2013; *New York Times*,2013; *Liou*,2014; *The Hankyoreh*,2014

According to the UN Charter, a state's active participation in supporting the world peace and promoting the peaceful manners to solve the conflicts is a standard attitude that is implicitly expected by other member states to China (UN, 2013). The UN member-states also expect China to give affirmative contribution because as one of UNSC permanent members, China has a status of major power in the international hierarchy (Spain, 2013).

High expectation of constructive role from China towards denuclearization of North Korea comes from South Korea. President Park Geun-hye explicitly expresses her expectation to China's contribution, "... I trust China, as a permanent member of the Security Council, will play a necessary role in the North Korean nuclear issue" (Kim, 2015). Responding this situation, China raises an affirmative commitment by providing a greater contribution in the UN Security Council in order to protect the stability and security of the world.

To actualize its commitment, China shows its willingness to collaborate with other states, in this context the

author discussed China's collaboration with Japan, South Korea, and the US. Their collaboration focuses on political and security matters related to the North Korean nuclear issue. The author collected various online publications related to official meeting between the four states that address the North Korean nuclear issues from 2013 to 2015. It can be observed in Table III below:

Table 2.

Realization of Sanction Implementation towards North Korea

No	Agenda	Date	Summit Results
1.	Presidential level summit of China and South Korea	Beijing, 27 June 2013	President Park and the Chinese leader adopted the joint communiqué for Korea-China future vision that contains both countries' will to make a concerted effort to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue and boost the bilateral relationship that marks its 21st anniversary
		Seoul 3 – 4 July 2013	The two sides reached consensus on realizing denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula through Six Party Talks and to maintain peace and stability on the Peninsula accord with the common interests of the member states of the Six-Party Talks.
		Bali, 7 October 2013	Official request from South Korea to China to give a constructive roles to denuclearize North Korea Stating China's firm position to adopt the UNSC Resolution 2094
		Hague, 23 March 2014	Reaffirming each stance to against the development of North Korean nuclear program Reaching consensus to increase bilateral partnership to maintain peace in Korean Peninsula
		Seoul, 3 July 2014	Adopting joint statement that discuss the agreement of both parties to build a mutual partnership to develop peace in Northeast Asia, particularly by against the North Korean nuclear threat.
2.	The Presidential level summit of the US and China	California, 7 – 8 June 2013	Consensus view towards North Korean nuclear issue, and agreement that states both parties to continue their cooperation to objectify concrete moves to reach common goals.
		Beijing, 12 November 2014	Reaffirming China's stance to support denuclearization with peaceful manners
		USA, 25 September 2015	Coordinating stance related to hotspot issues which involving both China and The US
3.	Trilateral Summit of China-South Korea-Japan	Seoul, 1 November 2015	Agreement to against North Korean nuclear programme, coinciding to reopen the Six Party Talks and strengthening cooperation among involving states.

Source : (*fmprc*,2013); (*the WhiteHouse*,2013); (*Korea.net*,2013)

Through an intense cooperation with other states, particularly South Korea, The US, and Japan, China can build legitimacy and trust from other states to its self-image as a responsible major power. China's commitment to cooperate with the three major players in Northeast Asia was inaugurated in *the Joint Communiqué* and the Joint Statement, which generally embraces the following ideas: (1) a common stance that North Korean nuclear issue is a threat to the regional and global stability and security; (2) a common view that denuclearization is the only way to achieve the stability in the Korean Peninsula; and (3) the denuclearization shall be done through the peaceful manners (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2015). These strategies eventually yielded a positive appreciation from other states, for example President of South Korea, Park Geun-hye expresses her gratitude to China's bold moves by saying "I appreciate China's playing a responsible role as a permanent member of the UN Security Council." (Korean Joong Ang Daily, 2015).

An intention to actualize the national self-image as a responsible major power also can be identified through the language expression used by China's officials. For example, during the trilateral summit in Seoul, Wang Yi said "*as responsible permanent member of Security Council*, China will not sit by and see a fundamental disruption to stability on the Peninsula (Wang, 2013). Similar expression was also delivered by Hu Chunying, "Being recognized its responsibility to address North Korea's nuclear programme and is playing its part in trying to find a settlement through various channels and to restore international talks" (Entous, 2014).

Referring to the analysis above, the author proves that the decision to support the UNSC Resolution 2094 and to implement the comprehensive sanctions against North Korea is driven by the motivation to actualize the national self-image as a responsible major power. A synthesis between the aspirational constructivism and the social influence theory can help the author to prove the author's hypotheses by providing the related theoretical framework about the influence of national self-image in the state's foreign policy action. The motivation to actualize the national self-image was also supported by Bonnie S. Glaser, an analyst of China's foreign policies related issues in CSIS. Glaser said, "China uses this opportunity to bolster its image as a responsible international stakeholder. By supporting U.N. sanctions, China will showcase its willingness to uphold international law" (Glaser, 2016).

STRATEGIC CULTURE INFLUENCE IN RESPONSE TO NORTH KOREA NUCLEAR TESTS

In this section, the research delves into the influence of strategic culture on China's behaviour and perception in response to North Korea's third nuclear test. This analysis was built on three explanations, (1) the formation of China's policy behavioural pattern through the strategic culture sources, (2) the strategic culture influence in the UNSC regarding sanctions on North Korea, (3) and the strategic culture influence on security challenges from the North Korea nuclear programme.

Within the context of behavioural pattern formation, a series of historical events and a combination of Chinese traditional and Western modern values and principles created much of the stance that promotes the defensive, non-interventionist, and pragmatic measures, while at the same time being defensive-active when facing a dangerous threat on its vital interests (Johnson, 2009). China also doubts the foreign powers because of its conflicting history. The common conflicting histories also created a defensive and non-interventionist reaction pattern when trying to solve a problem (Tang, 1999).

Defensive mentality does not make China a conflict-avoiding country. In certain cases, China can react aggressively by showing resistance using the military instruments, as explained in the People's Liberation Army (PLA) military guide (Scobell, 2002). However, the use of military instrument is interpreted as a defensive stance by the political elites. They believe that the war and the use of military can be justified when there is a dangerous threat upon the national vital interests (Liu, 2014).

While it is different from the real politic character explained above, China's strategic culture is also influenced by Confucian values, which promote peaceful ways when solving a problem. The "peace is precious" principle encourages China to solve things defensively, such as consultation and negotiation. China believes that its strategic culture stems from Confucian philosophical tradition, which introduces peaceful solution in solving domestic problem and international disputes (Liu, 2014). China's Defence White Paper, published in 2006, includes a preference to solve conflicts through dialogue and consultation (State Council Information Office of People's Republic of China, 2006).

Contradiction between strategic culture characteristics makes China's behavioural pattern seem dynamic and flexible. The dynamics of strategic culture implementation is apparent when China tries to join the international system that is dominated by Western values, such as economic openness and global governance. On one side, mistrusts on foreign power can be found on Chinese security characters. This can be seen on the red line in China's foreign policy, which clearly draws a border on other countries opinion regarding its vital interests: sovereignty integrity, mainland unification, and the continuity of CCP's one-party system (Bork, 2015).

On the other side, China also faces the strategic purpose to make sure the steady flow of national development. This purpose affects its decision to implement the pragmatic policy by including a commitment to actively participate in the international system into its strategic policy. The inclusion is done in order to support the national economic development. The decision also allows China to maintain its image as a responsible and peaceful country; it is important in order to strengthen its character as a benevolent country and to support Chinese government efforts to increase its economic development. Through this campaign, China also shapes its self-image as a responsible major power, i.e. China's commitment to help solving issues that threaten the global security and the world peace.

The combination of strategic culture therefore can be

used to explain China's behavioural pattern in responding to North Korea nuclear tests. Regarding the strategic culture influence on China's behaviour, the researcher correlates that with China's stance in the UNSC forum. Non-interventionism within the Chinese culture influences its decision-making preference. China supports the sanctions on North Korea only if it is agreed upon unanimously and authorized by the UNSC. In the case of North Korea nuclear, the international community agreed to condemn North Korea nuclear tests. Not only there was a pressure from the international community, the domestic citizens also voice their opposition towards North Korea nuclear tests. The consensus to give harsher sanctions on North Korea pushes China to make an affirmative support on that decision. For China, the principles and values in its strategic culture depend on the security threat at that time.

When showed with security threat by the pariah states that refuse to respect international law, sovereignty is off the table. On an interview with Joel Wuthnow, a Chinese diplomat for the United Nations said, "in this context (pariah states), sovereignty cannot be respected" (Wuthnow,2011). China also tries to maintain its integrity to adhere to non-proliferation treaty, which strengthens China's power and pride by helping to sanction the countries that are able to develop nuclear weapons for non-peaceful purposes (Wuthnow,2011).

A similar step was taken by China when dealing with Iranian nuclear programme. China supported sanction on Iran because Iran refused to reduce its uranium stockpile and nuclear enrichment capacity (Shichor,2006). China also criticized Iran by saying, "China adamantly opposes Iran developing and possessing nuclear weapons" and warned Iran to not take any measures with a possibility of increasing tensions (Wines,2012).

United Nations Security Council Resolution 2094 became a prospect to take North Korea back into the negotiating table called Six Party Talks. The UNSC Resolution "reaffirms its support to the Six-Party Talks, calls for their resumption, urges all the participants to intensify their efforts on the full and expeditious implementation of the 19 September 2005 Joint Statement" (UN,2013). Giving an assurance to solve problem through dialogue and consultation is already a basic principle for China when giving a choice to support sanction. Chinese political elites support dialogue measures, just as shown by Wang Yi, "sanctions are not the end. Our purpose should be to make sure that the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula should be brought back to the channel of a negotiation-based resolution. It's the only correct approach" (Foreign Ministry of Republic of China, 2013).

China's commitment consistencies can be found in its contribution to solve Iran nuclear programme through dialogue and consultation. China took a mediating role between conflicting sides, the United States and Iran. China also consistently voices the need of UNSC to use diplomatic solution in the Iran nuclear case and protect non-proliferation regimes, while it also considers Iran's right to develop peaceful nuclear programme (Foreign Ministry of Republic of China, 2014). The purpose of that mediating role for China is to ensure peaceful resolution and affirm

its position as a responsible major power. As an example, China played a role in the working group held on mid-September 2015 between the United States, China, and Iran, which discussed Arak reactor design and capabilities (US Department of State,2015).

Not only that, the sanctions on North Korea targeted the cease of its nuclear programme without disturbing the regime's stability and the safety of North Korean civilians. Just as explained by Wang Yi, "The UN Security Council's sanction resolution has a definite direction, that is, to curb the DPRK's effort to advance its nuclear missile programme (Foreign Ministry of People's Republic of China, 2015). China's commitment to not support sanctions that were intended to overthrow the established government was shown in China's stance in the case of Libya (Azra, 2011). China abstained on UNSC Resolution 1973, which includes no-fly zone and the implementation of "all necessary measures" to protect civilians from military attacks spearheaded by Gaddafi.

On Resolution 1973, China chose to abstain (UN,2011). China did not support the proposal because supporting sanctions which involve military force contradicts its own principles. According to its strategic culture, China has to avoid military measures. Therefore, China abstained on Resolution 1973. This decision was explained further by Li Baodong, The state sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Libya should be respected and the peaceful means should be used as the priority option to resolve the Libyan issue. In handling international relations, China has remained opposed to the use of military force. Many problems remain un-clarified and un-answered. Thus, China found serious difficulties with some parts of the resolution (UN,2011).

Its consideration to support harsher punishment on North Korea is related to the failure of China's cooperative steps towards North Korea, which created a perceived threat on North Korea nuclear programme. The failure was hinted by the breakdown of economic cooperation framework that forced North Korea to stop its nuclear development programme. China actively promotes Chinese economic reform model so that North Korea can focus on developing its national economy rather than continuing its nuclear programme. Nevertheless, North Korea under Kim Jong-un disappoints China by becoming increasingly aggressive through the continuation of its nuclear and ballistic missiles development. This aggressive behaviour can be seen from the policies taken regarding the nuclear weapons. First, under Kim Jong-un, North Korea adopted Byungjin Line policy, which referred to his ambition to revive its nuclear programme and national economy simultaneously (Freeman,2015). Second, North Korea consolidated policies to develop nuclear weapons by declaring itself as a nuclear power on April 2012 (Korea JoongAng Daily,2012).

Another event that explains the blurring influence of China towards North Korea is when North Korea shrugged off China's warning to stop its nuclear development. In response to that show of indifference, the Chinese government summoned the Ambassador of North Korea to emphasize its opposition towards North Korea nuclear tests.

Foreign Minister Yang Jiechyi said that North Korea nuclear tests has violated the international law and triggered the oppositions from the international community (South China Morning Post, 2013). China, therefore, chose to support the harsher sanctions that forced North Korea to stop making provocations nuclear-wise. This argument is supported by a statement from Foreign Minister Wang Yi, "If the country seeks development and security, we are prepared to help and provide support. But at the same time, we have an unwavering commitment to the denuclearization of the Peninsula and we will not accommodate the DPRK's pursuit of nuclear and missile programmes" (Wang, 2013).

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research is to explain the reasons that forced China to support UNSC Resolution 2094 and the sanctions on North Korea. Their decision is interesting to be studied because during previous periods, China was reluctant to support the harsher sanctions and even use its right as a permanent UNSC member to weaken the sanctions on North Korea. On the background, the researcher comprehensively explains the facts that indicate North Korea's policy change. Generally, there are three facts that show the need of this research, (1) the criticisms from China to North Korea are louder; (2) the bilateral relation between both countries is strained; and (3) China's decision in the UNSC forum to cooperate with the United States to formulate the proper sanctions on North Korea.

Based on the explanations above, the researcher comes into three conclusions. First, the mission to project positive image became an integral part of foreign policy behaviour of the countries that influence the decisions taken on certain issues. This research proved that China's image as a responsible major power shows its motivation to realize that image within the international system. This is also proven by three interrelated indicators: (1) the political elite aspirations to build trust and legitimacy from other countries as a responsible major power. Positive image became such an important thing for China because many countries are worried that its economic revival and influence on global politics can bring instability and conflict between the major powers; (2) the identity management strategy implementation in the UNSC forum, a forum deemed important by the countries that are classified as major powers.

China chose to actively participate in this forum because the UNSC is recognized universally as a forum responsible for upholding world peace and stability. By following the rules of the forum, China can prove its image consistencies by showing its behaviour; (3) China's decision behaviour is oriented to its image as a responsible major power.

Second, the strategic culture that is inherent to a nation guided its response to other countries' threatening behaviour. This research proved that when dealing with North Korea nuclear programme, China's behaviour is influenced by its strategic culture based on its past, values, norms, and perspectives, which are used by the political elites to play a bigger role in the global politics and to face a challenge. When facing North Korea nuclear programme, China showed a distinct view and behaviour. There are three characteristics that confirm the pattern of China's support of sanctions. First, China agreed to adopt the harsher sanctions on North Korea. This measure was taken when the cooperative approach cannot prevent North Korea from continuing its nuclear provocation. This research already explained the failure of economic approach and stern warning to halt North Korean nuclear aggressiveness.

Although China supports more sanctions on North Korea, the principle of non-intervention and peaceful conflict resolution still influence China's behaviour. China emphatically supports the sanctions that ensure the incentives for future negotiations and dialogues on denuclearisation. For China, the sanctions are not the only instruments that can be used to force North Korean denuclearisation. That process can only be achieved through negotiation and consultation. China also asserts that the sanctions must target the nuclear programme and ensure that the Pyongyang regime does not become unstable because of those and also the safety of its civilians. Therefore, the character of those sanctions is a reflection of China's strategic culture.

Lastly, both image and strategic culture are two national identity attributes that support its own reaction (self) towards other countries' behaviour (other). Through interaction with foreign lands, a country tends to reflect other countries' behaviours using its own identity attributes. In other words, image and strategic culture are two things that can explain how countries behave within the international system.

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Indonesia's Cooperation In Developing Green Economy With The Pacific Islands

Penyusun :

*• **Moch. Arief
Setiawan**

• **Baiq Wardhani

*Undergraduate Program
Department of International
Relations

**Lecturer of International
Relations

Faculty of Social and Political
Science - Universitas Airlangga

Jl. Dharmawangsa Dalam
Surabaya

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Abstract

Although Indonesia receives international foreign aid, Indonesia also actively promotes horizontal cooperation among developing countries. Indonesia wants to play a role as a Non-DAC (Development Assistance Committee) Provider Country in order to balance the domination of developed countries within the DAC Provider Countries. In this paper, it examines Indonesia's donor recipients in the Pacific region, especially the Pacific Island Development Forum (PIDF) members. Historically, Indonesia has a special relation with Pacific countries. This relation is built under three main reasons. First, Indonesia and the Pacific countries are classified as archipelagic countries and need to support each other to enforce UNCLOS of 1982. Second, Indonesia and the Pacific countries face the same problem that is the global warming. Third, some countries in the Pacific support West Papua rebels in Indonesia. In line with Indonesian position as new Non-DAC Provider Countries, Indonesia took advantages by giving aid to Pacific countries so that they reduce their support towards West Papua rebellion groups. Climate change is an entry for Indonesia to get sympathies from Pacific countries. This is a strategic step from Indonesia because the main threat to the Pacific is not military threat, but environmental threat like climate change. PIDF members are also united to push the developed nations to take responsibility because their actions worsen the process of climate change.

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has had a long partnership with fellow developing countries through South-South Cooperation

(SSC). One is through the promotion of Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries since 1981. This joint program, involving many ministries, is focused on other areas of cooperation between Family Planning and

Management of Urban Planning. At present, Indonesia is a member of G-20 and holds Low Middle Income Countries (LMIC) status. Indonesia boosts development cooperation with a focus on South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC). Nevertheless, Indonesia still receives foreign aid. Indonesia is one of numerous countries that are active in the development cooperation and SSTC-SSC and are listed as Non-DAC Provider Country (The Asia Foundation 2014). In its contribution as a Non-DAC Provider Country, Indonesia has disbursed US\$49.8 million from the year 2000 to 2013. The fund will be allocated to the cooperations in agriculture, scholarship through Partnership Developing Countries or “Kemitraan Negara Berkembang” (KNB), infrastructure, empowerment of women, and so forth. Countries in Southwest Pacific are one of the Indonesia's partner countries in terms of development cooperation (Mauludiyah 2015). Indonesia's foreign aid to the Pacific through the SCC includes the provision of KNB scholarships since 2007. Assistance to Southwest Pacific countries was later expanded during the second period of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's presidency through the Pacific Island Development Forum (PIDF). One serious step was taken through the presence of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in the 2nd Summit of the Pacific Islands Development Forum (PIDF), which was held on June 19, 2014 (Yudhoyono 2014).

PIDF is a regional forum consisting of American Samoa, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, French Polynesia, Guam, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Caledonia, Niue, Republic of Palau, Papua New Guinea, Pitcairn Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Tokelau, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Wallis and Futuna. President Yudhoyono is the first president of Indonesia who visited Southwest Pacific region, particularly Fiji. This was stated in a speech on the opening of the summit, “It is a great honor and privilege for me to join you all in beautiful Nadi today. I am honored to be the first Indonesian president to visit Fiji and the South Pacific region. This is indeed very much in line with my commitment for the past decade to deepen and strengthen relations with this important region” (Yudhoyono 2014). On the same occasion, the President demonstrated a commitment to help the development and green economic development. Green economic development is of particular concern to Indonesia, “It becomes a new economic paradigm which promotes economic progress without harming our natural riches and resources. We need a green economy because our world today is facing a great challenge from the impact of climate change” (Yudhoyono 2014).

2. GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AND INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Environmental issues in Indonesia are not only essential to improving the quality of life for the people of Indonesia, but also of its neighbours and the world. Indeed the development to be achieved at this time is the environmentally-friendly development, but there is a fundamental difference between the environment and development

in Indonesia. On the one hand, Indonesia is rich in natural resources. The opening of the rain forest for palm oil plantations is a positive impact on regional development that initially was left behind in Indonesia. It created jobs and opened up employment opportunities for local people. Similar thing happened to the oil and coal extraction industry. Extraction industries had a significant impact on economic growth, especially helping the development of manufacturing industry and raising the incomes of the population and the demand for energy supply (Jotzo 2012). If Indonesia were to change radically and suddenly, it will disrupt the economy and lead to political instability. But then it is possible to not be able to turn Indonesia into a country that is environmentally-friendly. Indonesia also has a great potential to become a leader in the developing countries and build a more development-oriented environment. Some important things that are possessed by Indonesia is Indonesia's stable economic growth, Indonesia's place among the Low Middle Income Countries and Territories (LMICs), and Indonesia's status as the third largest democratic country in the world. These important points give Indonesia a bargaining power to become a leader of sustainable development among developing countries (Jotzo 2012).

Indonesia was deemed to have serious environmental problems during Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's presidency that forced Indonesia to ratify the Kyoto Protocol in 2004. Indonesia is the first OPEC member country to ratify the Kyoto Protocol. SBY also announced a real effort to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the G-20 forum. Nevertheless, as a country that adheres to the democratic system, the plan was met with resistance from many resource owners. The group is reluctant to change the old anthropocentric paradigm to a sustainable development model that is more environmentally-friendly. The traditional reason that triggered their rejection is their loss when companies implement reforms that are more environmentally-friendly (Jotzo 2012).

Indonesia is an actor known to have a progressive approach in negotiations related to international climate policy making. Indonesia is known to bridge the differences that exist among the developing countries, to contribute actively and constructively to the provision of a wide range of technical assistances to other developing countries on the prevention and mitigation of the impact of climate change. Indonesian partner countries in the provision of foreign aid are Southwest Pacific countries. As we know, the climate change is a threat, the most important threat for countries in Southwest Pacific that are impacted by the rising sea levels which threatened to drown these countries. Indonesia is active in providing technical assistance well as financial assistance (Jotzo 2012).

One of the major steps taken by Indonesia was when Indonesia became the host of UN Climate Conference in 2007. As the host of the meeting Indonesia took strategic actions to pave the way for a new international negotiation to save the environment. It is expressed in the form of the Bali Roadmap which contains a sketch of the agenda in preparation for the Copenhagen Conference in Denmark in 2009. Many world leaders met there, but there were dif-

ferences, rather than similarities, that halt negotiation process. In Indonesia, Bali Roadmap emphasizes the principle of voluntarism for each state in policy making, but it does not then make Indonesia become the center of developing countries and a protagonist actor.

Indonesia has a competitor on the block with other developing countries, namely BASIC. BASIC consists of Brazil, South Africa, India and China. The group is united and tried to influence the agenda-settings related to climate change. BASIC continues to be active in influencing international agenda-setting in 2012, when the role of Indonesia began to fade. In 2010, it was reported that Indonesia began to receive invitations to join BASIC. This will greatly impact Indonesia if the country decided to join. This was due to the magnitude of the risk borne by Indonesia. So far, Indonesia is known as a country that is capable of bridging groups of countries which hold radical views and free-minded in terms of environmental. Indonesia is always the arbiter between them. BASIC is a group of countries known to be radical in terms of environmental issues (Jotzo 2012).

In addition to moving into the realm of multilateralism, the struggle of Indonesia in terms of the environment is also done independently. One is by way of the environment-based partnership with countries in the Pacific region utilizing local forums. Indonesia is able to take a role as state sponsor and portray itself as a country with a positive impact in the effort to support countries in Southwest Pacific related to its position in the international world. In fact, the purpose of a visit by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2014 to Nadi, Fiji, is to attend the 2nd PIDF Summit. After Yudhoyono's term ended and replaced by Joko Widodo, Indonesia did not change foreign aid priorities based on the environment within the framework of green economy. Indonesia even sent a team of scoping mission. The task of this team is to listen to the opinion of the recipient country associated with any of their needs. This is done so that the assistance provided is more appropriate. Indonesian environmental diplomacy did not stop to the time of President Yudhoyono.

3. CLIMATE CHANGE AS INDONESIAN ENTRY POINT TO MORE INTENSIVE ROLE IN PACIFIC COUNTRIES

Global warming is the reason for Indonesia to enter the Southwest Pacific. The move is a strategic step taken by Indonesia. This is because the major threats faced by the Pacific countries are not military threats, as what traditional security dictated over the years, but rather low politics such as global warming. Southwest Pacific countries build a coalition with one another in order to get support and urge the international community to be more concerned about the environment. One of the efforts is focusing on the development of economy, science and technology that is more environmentally-friendly (Shibuya 2003, 137-138). One of which is the development of wind power in Mangaia, Cook Islands. Assistance provided by Indonesia was also accepted by the Republic of Palau. In the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Repub-

lic of Indonesia, Indonesia has always emphasized that the assistance provided is a form of the Indonesian government's commitment to strengthen cooperation with Southwest Pacific countries and to help tackle the problem of climate change through capacity building assistance. This assertion was delivered by the Advisor to the Foreign Minister for Political, Law and Security at the 26th Meeting of the Pacific Island Forum Post Forum Dialogue (PIF-PFD) with based Palau Declaration with Indonesia as the State Maritime characters. Palau Declaration emphasizes the importance of addressing global warming and rising sea levels. Indonesia also helped raise US\$1 million for Palau to hold a meeting of Pacific Island Forum (PIF) (Kementerian Luar Negeri 2014). 45th PIF-PFD is a series of 45 meetings that were held on 29 July-1 August 2014.

Thus, Indonesia's steps to promote the idea of 'green economy' can be accepted by the Southwest Pacific countries. This policy is continued by President Joko Widodo continuously without any reduction of priorities. The Indonesian government shows its commitment after the 2nd PIDF summit by sending a scoping mission team to Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands on 8 to 17 June 2015. The team was sent following the President's visit in 2014 and the meeting of Foreign Ministers of Indonesia-PNG on 27 February 2015 in Port Moresby (KBRI Port Moreby 2015). The coping mission team was led by Ambassador Andreas Sitepu (former Indonesian Ambassador to Papua New Guinea 2010-2014). The main agenda discussed was related to capacity building assistance in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands in order to ensure the needs of the recipient countries. The scoping mission team also carries supplies engine craft equipment fruit shells to complement the aid of machines that have been submitted by the Foreign Minister. This is a form of assistance in form of economic empowerment of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) based on the use of the environment. Aid is not only given in the form of machinery alone, but also the experts from Indonesia. Foreign aid granted by Indonesia has an important meaning in Indonesia relationship with Southwest Pacific Region. Southwest Pacific previously was only the backyard of Indonesia and did not become the main focus of the implementation of the Indonesia's instruments of diplomacy.

Southwest Pacific was finally taken into account by Indonesia. One of them is the number of potentials regarding development cooperation. This is an opportunity for Indonesia to strengthen cooperation through technical assistance cooperation with Southwest Pacific countries. Indonesia's role was to be taken into account. Indonesia has more capability than Southwest Pacific in managing the same potentials. Potentials that exist among them are in agriculture, fisheries, and the management of natural resources to promote local economy through Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs). Indonesia has enough capacity to manage these areas so that its assistance and cooperation will yield benefits for both parties. Two forms of cooperation are the assistance of experts and waste management which turns seashells waste into high-quality handicrafts. It turns out that Fijians did not know that the shell waste can be processed into a variety of beautiful

souvenirs. Besides, the good diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Southwest Pacific are able to be maintained and remain in a good and conducive way (Pande 2014).

4. INDONESIA'S PROBLEM WITH "SMALL STATES SYNDROME" AMONG SOUTHWEST PACIFIC COUNTRIES

Indonesia's active role and aid to Southwest Pacific were not without reason. Southwest Pacific is the source of Indonesia's "Pebble on the Shoe". Southwest Pacific disturbs Indonesia's national interest, especially on ethno-nationalist and separatist issues. Indonesia tries to reduce the noise from Southwest Pacific by giving aid through technical and financial assistance. In this case, Indonesia has an interest to control Southwest Pacific so that the foreign policy of countries in Southwest Pacific does not go out of control and endangers the national interest of Indonesia in the future. During this time, Southwest Pacific was only a part of the backyard of Indonesia. Indonesia emphasized its role in ASEAN and did not consider the potential threat arising from Southwest Pacific that is also close geographically to Indonesia. Indonesia began to fixate its attention towards Southwest Pacific around 1970. At that time, Indonesia garnered support for stabilization measures in East Timor that was left by the Portuguese and it turned into a part of Indonesia. But then, oppositions came from countries that were not unexpected. Countries in Southwest Pacific rejected Indonesia steps and abstained. The action is called "small states syndrome" (Wardhani 2016, 176). Problems and turmoil between Indonesia and countries in Southwest Pacific is not only related to the issue of East Timor, but also continues on the support of several countries in Southwest Pacific to the Free Papua Movement (OPM). Based on Boer Mauna research, countries in Southwest Pacific are newly independent countries which are vulnerable and undergoing a process of identity searching. New nations that flourished in Southwest Pacific built solidarity based on race and ethnicity, particularly Melanesia and Polynesia. Tribalism and ethnicity solidarities have emerged since 1925 as the Melanesian Brotherhood (Wardhani 2016, 178-179).

Melanesian Brotherhood is in fact a movement made up of Anglican religious community that was developed in Melanesia. But then the movement is experiencing politicization and deflection from the original purpose. It supported secessionists in Indonesia. A narrow view based on race and ethnicity is what makes Southwest Pacific countries difficult to accept a diverse country composed of many tribes such as Indonesia (Wardhani 2016, 178). The strengthening of support for the separatists in West Papua is increasingly visible after the reform process in Indonesia. The reform process resulted in political instability in Indonesia and coupled with the independence of East Timor from Indonesia. That kind of situation gave separatist movements a larger space to intensify support for West Papuan independence. Moral support was given by Vanuatu, Nauru, and Cook Islands, while Papua New Guinea officially refused to provide support to OPM because it has its own separatist problems in Bougainville. Boer Mauna

explains one way that can be done by Indonesia to maintain stable diplomatic relations. Psychological approach suits the cultural and community aspects of Southwest Pacific countries.

5. FOREIGN AID IN THE FRAMEWORK OF GREEN ECONOMY AS AN INDONESIAN INSTRUMENT OF POLITICAL CONTROL OF SOUTHWEST PACIFIC COUNTRIES

According to the realist approach, the foreign aid was originally developed during the Cold War and is a form of political instruments as a justification for political positions of donor countries to recipient countries. Foreign aid has the same status as instruments of hard power like military and propaganda. Foreign aid is governed by "the structural pattern of power in the global system". This is based on an explanation by Rugumanu (1997) and Weissman (1975) that "aid has been governed by" the structural power patterns in the global system, Aid, like diplomacy, propaganda, or military action, is an instrument of statecraft" (Picard et al 2008, 67). The policy of giving foreign aid is a component of diplomacy that becomes "a sophisticated instrument of control". This view is also in line with the views of Pierre Bourdieu which states that foreign aid is a form of symbolic domination (Hattori 2010, 638).

Giving through foreign aid is an effective practice in applying symbolic domination. This is because the provision included in the allocation in many cases is required or requested by the recipient country. Through the provision of donor, countries are able to transform its status and its relationship with the recipient countries. Leaders of the receiving countries have the intention and tendency to preserve self-interest. There is a mutual beneficial relationship but still asymmetrical and dependence on the recipient country. Foreign aid and technical cooperation is basically a tool for a country's foreign policy. Foreign aid includes political motives that are more dominant and crucial among donor countries and recipient countries, not only in governmental level, but also all levels of society (Hattori 2010, 639).

Thus, Indonesia tries to control the countries in Southwest Pacific so they do not go out of line and disrupt diplomatic channels of Indonesia. That disruption is the support and protection of various existing separatist movements. Assistance given by Indonesia has a purpose to develop green economy. The concept of a green economy is an international concern towards global environmental conditions which are increasingly alarming. Issues regarding sustainable development of the developing world were raised in the 1970s. Previously, anthropocentric doctrine was used in development. The doctrine states that the universe is entirely destined to be exploited by man and nature will not provide reciprocity to humans. But things start to change as climate change worsens and the number of natural disaster increases. This is where the importance of building a sustainable world begins to be enforced, one of which is through green economy model.

The notion of green economy emerged in 2008 that was initiated by the United Nations Environment Programme

(UNEP) to support the efforts to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions. At least, based on an official statement by the Ministry of National Development Planning, National Development Planning Agency in 2012, there are at least two main things to be achieved through the development of green economy concept. Currently, many countries around the world are moving towards an environmentally-friendly economic model. One of which is how to generate economic activity by preserving and improving the quality of the environment by using resources efficiently. Fundamentally, green economy is an economy based on environmentally-friendly energy which includes four sectors; (1) renewable energy such as geothermal, wind, solar, and so forth; (2) environmentally-friendly and energy-efficient building; (3) energy efficiency in infrastructure and transport construction; (4) waste recycling for renewable energy generation. Green economy is not just a matter of how to produce renewable energy through economic activity but also how to advance technologies which support the production of renewable energy. One of the things that need to be achieved is by expanding market through products which consume less energy (Bappenas, 2012).

6. INDONESIA'S TRANSITION FROM RECIPIENT TO NON-DAC DONOR COUNTRY THROUGH AID TO SOUTHWEST PACIFIC

Indonesia's aid to the Pacific is one of transition process from recipient to donor countries. This can be explained by Proposed Theory: Four Stages of Recipient-to-Donor Transformation (Trinidad 2014, 76-77). This theory explains the emerging donor transformation from their previous status as recipient countries. This theory appears as a form of analysis about the transformation of three Southeast Asian countries which became donor countries, namely Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines. The first stage is the incubation period; this stage begins when the 'candidate country' starts to implement technical cooperation/assistance while still being a recipient of foreign aid. In this stage, the recipient country begins to establish an institutional framework that addresses the implementation of technical cooperation. In this process, incentives are important components that make up the pattern of implementation. Three Southeast Asian countries have their own differences of incentive. The proper example of this would be geographical character differences between Thailand, a mainland country, and Indonesia and the Philippines, two archipelagic (maritime) countries.

Incentives given by Thailand are closely related to the threats emerging from CLMV countries (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam). The incentives are aimed at creating the grand design of Thailand's national development strategy, including keeping the CLMV region from turning into unstable region which might disturb Thailand. In the Philippines, which has the character of an archipelagic nation, incentives are put into the exchange of Philippine unique experience documents which then are distributed to other developing countries. Indonesia, with a large population and size, becomes a major player in ASEAN in order to build confidence as a leading actor. This inherent iden-

tity expanded Indonesia's incentives coverage into large organizations that are able to build a positive image of Indonesia. One of which is done through the provision of incentives in the South-South Cooperation. The researcher uses this provision of incentives on the case of Indonesia's assistance to the Southwest Pacific countries.

The second stage is the transitional stage. Transitional phase is a phase where the governments of 'candidate countries' bring the implementation of technical cooperation activities to a higher level, i.e. into the SSC. In the forum, the 'candidate countries' meet together to discuss to cooperate and expand the cooperation network. One of the targets is partners who come from the developed countries to jointly run the delivery of foreign aid to the developing countries when the status of 'candidate country' is already higher than the receiving country. It has a higher position and bargaining power to get to the third stage.

The third stage is the emerging status stage. In this stage, 'candidate country' receives an award for various cooperation and assistance given to other countries. This gives 'candidate country' the right to oppose the standards of foreign aid created by other developed countries, particularly those related to the effectiveness of the assistance provided. 'Candidate country' that has reached the emerging status stage has the right to implement assistance given according to its own desired standards. The final stage is the major donor stage. At this stage, 'candidate country' is officially accepted as a donor country in the same level as the members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) and other international communities.

Emerging status is at the same level as the status of emerging economies. Indonesia is included as one of the emerging economies. Indonesia is currently considered equal as BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). Indonesia later joined MINT (Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Turki). To analyze an emerging country, there are several indicators, namely military (size, technology, and bases), economy (GDP, state budget, and income), politics (international community and foreign assistance), and culture (entertainment, food, and traditions). The other character is population and the amount of natural resources. The improving performance of Indonesian economy makes it seen to be a strong candidate among top ten global economies. In this case, the improving performance of Indonesian economy will also have an impact on emerging donors and Indonesian efforts to become a country with influence on two regions, Southeast Asia and Southwest Pacific (Martinez 2016).

7. CONCLUSION

Indonesia is one of donor recipient countries, especially after the crisis and turmoil in 1998. The crisis brought too much problem for Indonesia such as separatism and secessionism that are more stronger and the independence of Timor Leste. Southwest Pacific countries shocked Indonesia by their support for Timor Leste cause and also for West Papua Liberation Movement or OPM. They protected the group and disrupted Indonesia in every international forum by raising human rights abuses in Papua. They also invited

separatist groups to their own countries. Eventhough Indonesia and Southwest Pacific countries have a lot of diplomatic problem, they also have similar problem, climate change. Southwest Pacific is the most affected region by climate change. This is their main threat that is equal to traditional threat. This is Indonesia's chance to take intensive roles in Southwest Pacific through technical and development cooperation in green economy framework. Indonesia is doing what is called "giving while receiving".

Although Indonesia is still a recipient country, Indonesian plays an active role in horizontal cooperation such as South-South Cooperation (SSC). Indonesia tries to become a Non-DAC donor and promotes equal cooperation without interfering policy. Indonesia is now classified as an emerging country like Brazil and India. Indonesia wants to take more active role in international stage. Indonesia is in transformation process from recipient country into donor country with three stages of transition. The main instruments are multilateral diplomacy in South-South Cooperation and aid for PIDF member countries. Indonesia's aid to Southwest Pacific is not only a tranformation proc-

cess, but also a political instrument of control. Indonesia had many problems with Southwest Pacific countries. The main issue is their support to a separatist movement in West Papua. They accused Indonesia of human rights abuses in Papua. They support West Papua Liberation Movement to get their independence from Indonesia. Southwest Pacific is the arc of instability and lacks political understanding (Dibb et. al 1998). They cannot see the diversity in one country and they believe that one country can only be built on one ethnicity. They cannot accept Indonesia's succesful unity in diversity. They routinely attacked Indonesia in front of United Nations General Assembly. To reduce harrasments from Southwest Pacific countries, Indonesia opens the way of cooperation and try to understand Southwest Pacific countries by giving aid. Indonesia sees similarities with countries in Southwest Pacific such as global warming and sustainable development through green economy framework. This approach is in line with Boer Mauna's research about cultural and psychological approaches that are need to be done in order to understand Southwest Pacific countries.

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Global Governance and Sport Sovereignty: Analyzing the Triangular Relationship among the FIFA, Kemenpora RI, and the PSSI

Penyusun :

• Indra
Kusumawardhana

• Muhammad
Badaruddin

Keywords :

*Global Governance,
Nation-State, Football,
Kemenpora, PSSI, FIFA.*

Abstract

Discussion on the power interplay between the global sport governance and the state-level sport management in Indonesia enrichesa discourse on the relation between the globalization and the nation-state's sovereignty. This Indonesia's case is an exceptional, since it is representing a triangular relationship among Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), the Indonesian Ministry of Youth and Sport (Kemenpora RI), and the Football Association of Indonesia (PSSI), which creates unsettled dispute among football stake holders in Indonesia. This paper focuses on the case of the Indonesian Menpora's decision to suspend the PSSI activities, which raised a reaction of the FIFA by banning the Indonesia's participation in the global football agenda managed by FIFA. Departing from the abovementioned context and perspectives, the purpose of this essay is to answer the questions about the significance of a nation-state's sovereignty to govern its domestic football issues, as well as answering the question of the global football governance's power over the national football association. In answering these questions, this paper will draw a dynamic relation among the domestic political powers that contribute to the internal dispute inside the PSSI in the first part. This paper will also portray the global context by describing on how the FIFA exercises its 'global authority' by imposing sanctions to the member that is 'coopted' by the domestic political power for the second part. Finally, in the third part, this paper will discover the power interplay among these three actors until the recent progress of this case, which seems to prove the effective power exercised by the FIFA as a global football governor.

INTRODUCTION

30 Mei 2015, Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) officially imposed sanctions to Indonesia. The punishment restricted Indonesia's national football

team to contribute in the international events. Moreover, the sanctions also take away the right of Football Association of Indonesia (PSSI) as the national football governance body of Indonesia to accept generosity from FIFA and Asian Football Confederation (AFC) in a term of de-

velopment and course fund.¹ This is a culmination from the unrelenting dissension of Football Association of Indonesia (PSSI) and Ministry of Youth and Sports of the Republic of Indonesia (KEMENPORA) about the legitimacy to decide the future of Football in Indonesia. The dispute became publicly out after the appearance of KEMENPORA decree No 0137/2015 to freeze PSSI because of disobedience and indifference of action towards government.²

Ipsa Facto, people of Indonesia is despitiful with the bitter sanction of FIFA to Indonesia because Football is a fiesta for the civil society at Indonesia. It has been years that the Indonesian Football is lack of achievement in the international events. The Indonesian people have not seen the Indonesian national football team to be successful in the international event for a long time. Moreover, the dream of the people to see their national football team to become a champion in the international events is stranded by the fact that Indonesia's football organization that is PSSI has ignored with the problem inside its body of organization and the condition of Indonesia's football league. At this moment as a consequences of the sanction from FIFA, the Indonesian people have to accept the reality that their national football team does not have right to compete in the international events because the organization that has the authority to govern football events globally is dropping a sanction to Indonesia and freezes all the component of Indonesian League to run the game everywhere on earth until erratic time.

The bitter reality evokes an uproar from the public. They accuse that KEMENPORA as a representation of Indonesian government was intervening the authority of PSSI as the liaison unit of FIFA in Indonesia to manage the football agenda in the national scale. The uproar based on the legal standing of FIFA's Statutes that every football organization in national level as a member of FIFA organization is independence from any intervention from third party including the national-government body. "To manage their affairs independently and to ensure that their own affairs are not influenced by any third parties" (FIFA Statutes, 2011: 13(g)). Furthermore, people of Indonesia justify the dispute between KEMENPORA and FIFA as a political drama in the context of struggle of power among the elites to secure their interest as a regime. The whole uproar from the public towards KEMENPORA strengthen the position of PSSI as an organization in the Indonesian's national jurisdiction to hide behind the impence of FIFA to drop sanction and cast away the Indonesian football from FIFA membership.

The whole process of the dispute was dramatized by the

¹ This issue became an uproar for all Indonesian people, especially for those who labeled themselves as a mass that has a high concern for the fate of the Indonesian football today and in the future. Various media cover and proclaim from various viewpoints as well as presenting a wide range of experts to give a critical opinion about this issue. Even the author himself is involved in the hard debate in social media with some people who feel aggrieved by the Indonesian government's decision to freeze PSSI.

² <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/sepakbola/liga-indonesia/15/06/29/nqpo76k-kemenpora-pssi-dibekukan-karena-tak-patuh>, Access 20 December 2015 WIB 22.00

media; unfortunately, the public accept this with the limitation to digest in a clear understanding about the causality of the issue. At this point, there are two understanding that can be draw from the dispute between KEMENPORA versus PSSI that leads into FIFA's sanction to Indonesia. The initial understanding of the issue can be treat as a modality to develop this issue as an academic paper: (1) Indonesia as a nation-state with its sovereignty to control the institution beneath its jurisdiction is trying to impose an act to tackle the problem of its national football condition that has been motionless in under-accomplishment for along time. (2) The nature of this issue exposes a character of global governance behavior to the nation state because the case of Indonesia's castigation by FIFA implicates the role of supra-national organization with a special authority to compel a policy towards the nation-state. Based on this observation, this paper found an interesting entry point to investigate this issue from International Relation point of view.

WHO RULES THE PEOPLE'S GAME?

Football has been the world's most popular sport, Richard Giulianiotti (2004) convey this notion in his Journal "The globalization of football: a study in the globalization of the serious life" that at least since the late nineteenth century and its international diffusion by the British. The 'global game' spans culturally diverse societies in all continents; an estimated 250 million people are direct participants, around 1.4 billion have an interest, 1 and football's flagship tournament, the World Cup finals, attracts a cumulative global television audience of 33.4 billion (Giulianiotti, Richard. 2004:1). For the sake of this notion, a solid empirical data is available by Walvin (2001):

an estimated 250 million people are direct participants, around 1.4 billion have an interest, 1 and football's flagship tournament, the World Cup finals, attracts a cumulative global television audience of 33.4 billion. 2 Only relatively recently has the game's unparalleled cross-cultural appeal been realized financially. In 1998, football's world governing body, FIFA, 3 controlled contracts worth some £4 billion; by 2001, world football's turnover was estimated at around £250 billion, equivalent to the Netherlands' GDP (Walvin 2001).

The illustration above shows how extensive the capital flow through this global sport is; it is like flowing inside the vortex vein of human civilization to accumulate the capital through the global sport events. If it is allowed to draw conclusions about the figure of football in the world using Emile Durkheim typology about a form of contemporary culture, it can be said that Football is a serious life.

As far as this paper can understand; Reality speaks that in the world of football there is only one international organization that has the authority to regulate everything remotely to football agenda; FIFA is the sole authority body in the world with this special power to govern at the stage of global, regional and even national, this reality can be regarded as the representation of Global Governance in football. The utmost important substance to capture the

implication of this obviousness is an impression that was built by FIFA as an international organization with the authority for governing the sport, which is making all forms of intervention against this organization is considered as an attempt to tarnish the sanctity of football as a sport that proclaimed to be the sport of the people who can unite the world and promote peace among the nations and people. Consequently, it is understandable that the problems arising in the context of KEMENPORA versus PSSI issue has become a problem that is very internalized personally to the public in Indonesia. In this context we have to agree with the proposition of those who believe that Nation-State is weakened in the age of globalization; the fact that Indonesia is losing the control to regulate the actor inside the border of its sovereignty strengthens the reality that globalization (in this case Globalization of Sport) becomes a grinding juggernaut for the state sovereignty and diminishes the capacity of the state in regulating the institutions inside the country.

This view is consistent with what was said by Chaudhary (2005) on the definition of globalization "The processes through which sovereign Nation-States crisis are crossed under mind by transnational actors with varying prospects of power, orientations, identities, networks" (Chaudhary 2005, 147). If it is allowed to state a joke, it is a trap for the nation-state that already transpires for a long time. Even worse state – every Nation that is the member of FIFA perhaps is not aware of this reality because once again it is a matter of Football! The investigation presented in this paper will provide evidence that even the private governance with a specific capacity only focuses on providing the social entertainment symbols in the context of this paper, in which football can dwarf the concept of nation – state and its sovereignty.

Departing from this point, we need to sit back for a moment that there is a substantial understanding in the discord of KEMENPORA versus PSSI and FIFA predicament. Apparently it is only a simple problem of football in the eyes of the public, it is perceptible far away from the affairs of a power struggle in the tradition of realism or the market driving forces in order to pursue the individual freedom in the context of liberal capitalism. Moreover, it is also too presumptuous if it is associated with the marxian-structuralism approach standpoint to capture the structure of it. However, we cannot turn away from the reality that the international system has led to various challenges that have weakened the legitimacy of the state. Although the robustness of the concept of the state and its sovereignty are still under debate, but the practice of modern statehood is still a practice that bases itself on a central idea of sovereignty. Under the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, there are at least three indicators that indicate a state has "Sovereignty": First, having a clear boundary or territory; Second, Domestic Sovereignty, which has a government and various institutions that is responsible for the management of domestic life; Third, External Sovereignty, where there is no other force that is higher than the state.³ Nevertheless,

³ Stephen D. Krasner (1999) in the chapter of his book "Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy" elaborate the term of sovereignty in four different

some students of international politics take sovereignty as an analytic assumption, others a description of the practice of actor, and others as a generative grammar. This muddle part in fact still proves that sovereignty as an attribute of modern state still becomes a solid concept in the international system. To capture the challenge that an international actor posed toward its concept is an interesting effort for the international relation studies.

Many agree that the process of globalization creates an urge to form an international organization as the representation of Global Governance framework (For Instance, Ruggie, John Gerrard. 1986; 1992; 1998; Finnemore, Martha. 1996; 2004; 2010; Held and McGrew, 2002; Henderson et al., 2002; Dicken, 2003; Gereffi, 2005; Gereffi et al., 2005; Coe et al., 2008). But some scholars argue that the consequences of global governance in some extent has limited the state to exercise their authority because of the shared norms, shared expectation and mutual recognition generated by the international society in such mechanism. Yet until now, the argument is debatable because of the fact that the power of International Organization to regulate and even to force a country to be subjugated toward an agreement or law is still questionable today.⁴ Ironically proposition like this does not apply to FIFA, what happened to Indonesia is a solid prove for the sturdy authority of FIFA to organize football. Furthermore, unconsciously football had been kidnapped from Nation – State domestic sovereignty. Is it fair for a country in the context of struggle to improve one of its institution qualities? Where is the global democracy value in this unilateral decision?

Started from an initial allegation based on a critical awareness, FIFA as a global organization with a specific authority to take care football has the capacity to impose the sturdy law to Nation-State and has already become a hefty international organization. The argument of this paper will attempt to prove that the sanction for Indonesia from FIFA is the representation of injustice decision and ignorance behavior by the international organization. More than just the act of arrogance but it is the notion of hegemony of FIFA as global governance towards Nation-State in the context of football. Why is it important to say this out loud? Because as a part of nation we have to stand very clearly where our hope for reformation should be placed, hoping without clear and rigorous understanding about the constellation in a predicament posed a serious threat for logical fallacy. In this sense, this paper is built upon hope that it gives an alternative understanding for seeing the problem wisely.

The investigation of this paper will begin with an overarching view of the debate related to the global dynamics of private governance in the international system that became a cornerstone in strengthening preposition built through a

ways - ways—international legal sovereignty, Westphalian sovereignty, domestic sovereignty, and interdependence sovereignty. See Krasner (1999) page.3.

⁴ Contrast Cerny 1990, 86–87, with Rosenau 1990, 13. For typical statements about the erosion of sovereignty see Group of Lisbon 1995, 9; Fowler and Bunck 1995, 137–38, Gottlieb 1993. For the importance of international society, see Bull 1977; Jackson 1990.

claim to be stated in the hypothesis of this study. Then, an attempt to understand how FIFA plugs its unique position within the international system will be elaborated through the development of FIFA as an autonomous organization body in the world of international football and constructed its sport sovereignty in the Global scale. After knitting the whole knowledge by thorough literature review, the theoretical framework will be operationalized to do an empirical analysis that focuses on a case of KEMENPORA versus PSSI and the role of FIFA in this problem.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

According to all the narratives that have been discussed previously, this study was conducted to satisfy a curiosity of the authors who actually departed from a simple question 'what is FIFA?'. How this organization could have a vigorous influence on the domestic institutions of a state, furthermore to play the back mind of the people of a nation to condemn its government because of fear for sanctions provided by FIFA. Prosecuting a specific term and even forcing the state to follow the Code of Conduct (COC) and the regulations from an organization, if we see it from International Relations taxonomy, are classified as the international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), which even have been transformed into a Private Governance. Based on a simple but very fundamental question; this study developed its curiosity to become the central question to be answered in this paper, as the following: (1) How does FIFA weaken the sovereignty of a Nation – State and legitimate its "sport sovereignty" that is autonomous in the international system? (2) What are the implications for the Nation-State which sovereignty is underplayed by FIFA?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As has been previously disclosed; this paper will examine a variant of International Organizations that have not received much attention, which is FIFA as representation of Global Private Governance in Football. Global Private Governance is generally regarded as a new phenomenon that is laden with nuances of neo-liberal globalization. (Dingwerth, 2008) Although both the international Olympic Committee (IOC), which was established in 1894, and the *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA), which was established in 1904, are much older than all the intergovernmental institutions much studied in the international relations discourse after World War II and contemporary globalization, in fact, the reality reveals that the international sport has a sophisticated governance to maintain the absolute claims regarding its autonomous nature from the national government and the public authorities (Chappellet, 2010). Furthermore, the character of global sport law as the transnational autonomous order created by the private global institutions has inspired legal scholars to compare the *lex sportiva* to the *lex mercatoria* (Foster 2003, 2).

The dimensions of contemporary International Relations debates on governance have been at the heart of much of the literature on globalization and GVCs (For Instance,

Held and McGrew, 2002; Henderson et al., 2002; Dicken, 2003; Gereffi, 2005; Gereffi et al., 2005; Coe et al., 2008). This paper is based on unrelenting literature debate about the implications of global governance as a concept to the concept of Nation – State as the core unit in international system, also as the main concept in the international relations discourse. The long debate about this two concepts produce an extensive paradigm; through the state-centric (by realism) and romantic accounts (by critical theory) to the present day "Enlightened Romantic" approach of social constructivism. Too bad, most of the discourses still focus on state as the sole actor to facilitate the dynamics of world affairs; global private governance in a specific field of authority like FIFA is not getting much attention from academic milieu. This is the reason why finding a theoretical foundation for the study of FIFA initially offered a challenge in the process to indite this paper.

Nonetheless, in order to dismantle the FIFA posture as Organization / Regime / International Institution in the field of football that showed a domination of the International Organization over countries that have a football organization in the national level should be based on the definition as an initial starting point. For the sake of this paper to gain a comprehensive understanding of FIFA as a special body organization; this study choose the definition of Keohane in the 1980s that has given the effort to elaborate a comprehensive concept in understanding the form Organization / Regime / International Institution. Keohane's description about this is as follow "*persistent and connected sets of rules (formal and informal) that prescribe behavioral roles, constrain activity, and shape expectations.* (Keohane, 1989)". Based on this definition International Organization can manifest in these three categories⁵ :

1. *Formal Intergovernmental or Cross-national, Non-governmental Organizations*: These are purposive entities, bureaucratic organizations with explicit rules and missions. The United Nations is a prime example of the former, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) of the latter.
2. *International Regimes*: Institutionalized rules are explicitly agreed upon by governments that deal with a particular set of issues. Examples would include the international monetary regime established in 1944 but adapted to changing circumstances since then, the Law of the Sea regime developed in the 1970s, and the various arms control agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War.
3. *Conventions*: These are informal institutions (or customary norms and practices) with implicit rules and understandings. These implicit understandings allow the actors to understand one another and coordinate their behavior. Not only do they facilitate coordination, but they also affect actors' incentives not to defect in those situations where at least in the

⁵ Taken from "Viotti, Paul R., and Mark V. Kauppi. International relations theory. Pearson Higher Ed, 2012." Page: 147

short term it might be in their interest to do so. “Reciprocity” is an example of a convention—political leaders expect reciprocal treatment in international dealings, both positive and negative, and anticipate costs of one kind or another if they violate the convention. Diplomatic immunity is an example of a convention that existed for centuries before it was codified in formal agreements in the 1960s.

Based on the definition and categories were elaborated by Keohane, this paper propose an understanding that the fundamental of FIFA included in category one (1) the non-governmental organization. However, as a neoliberal institution FIFA has the power to regulate members even provide real sanctions as experienced by the PSSI and Indonesia as the Nation - State. It is a remarkable force from FIFA to force submission from members to follow the prescribed rules. It is like a government with sovereignty. From this point, this article will discuss the private global governance that can indirectly be associated with a sophisticated International Organization like FIFA. Since James Rosenau and Ernst - Otto Czempiel (1992) arouse the concept of governance by non-state actors, a discussion about this concept has gained the attention of many scholars who interested in the study offered. According to Rosenau (2002: 72), the concept of global governance refers to ‘*social functions or processes that can be performed or implemented in a variety of ways at different times and places*’. Furthermore, Doris Fuchs (2002:11) took a bold specific definition by claiming that “*the core of the global governance argument concerns the acquisition of authoritative decision-making capacity by non-state and supra-state actors*”. Researchers have investigated more varied forms of private coordination and argued that problem solving in economic and political life can be provided through a plethora of governance arrangements (Ronit 2001, 573). Examples of such new non-state authority include private interfirm regimes regulating entire markets, private standard-setting cooperation, transnational advocacy networks and illicit authorities (Dingwerth and Pattberg 2008, 193).

According to Claire Cutler, Virginia Haufler, and Tony Porter (1999), several factors account for the alleged rise of private authority or of non-state governance. First, private authority may be seen as an agent of public authority due to the explicit delegation of certain functions by the state. Implicit delegation in the form of state failures to provide the public goods may similarly legitimate the private authority, as recognized by the special expertise, the impartial provision of demanded authority or tradition. Finally, neoliberal ideology might explain both the demand for private authority and compliance based on the perception that it is legitimate. Empirical case and the most obvious example in Indonesia is about AQUA as a company specialized in providing mineral water that if based on Indonesian constitution the water is supplied by the state as an essential public good or the phenomenon of 'polisi cepek' who takes the role of police domain as an authority that should regulate traffic; it means that commodification of the public sector is no longer a strange phenomenon in our daily lives.

Notwithstanding the multitude of non-state governance regimes is often considered as such modes that are embedded in hierarchical structures, Renate Mayntz and Fritz Scharpf (1995) have coined the term ‘shadow of hierarchy’. According to Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse (2010, 116), the shadow of hierarchy ‘means that the state threatens [...] to impose binding rules or laws on private actors in order to change their cost-benefit calculations in favor of a voluntary agreement closer to the common good rather than to particularistic self-interests’. However, this idea is at odds with the claim that the rise of powerful non-state actors in the world politics might be challenging the authority of sovereign states (TNCs to impose their own rules on state governments (Biersteker 1980, Koenig-Archbugi Sneding and Neumeier 2008, 654). Moreover, the scholars have long argued that increasing opportunities for ‘regime shopping’ have enabled (2004). Thus, it is far from clear to what extent governmental authorities can still exert some forms of hierarchy over non-state actors. The case of football as a sector of major cultural and economic importance casts further doubts on the ‘shadow of hierarchy’.

HYPOTHESIS

After determining both questions and the theoretical framework of this study; it helps this paper to propose two hypotheses that will be proved through the investigation; (1) *the case occurred in Indonesia shows that FIFA has a veiled domination as an International Organization that has sport sovereignty over Nation-State. The power to force Nation-State to obey in FIFA’s code of conduct is the consequences of its function as the only global organization that regulates and facilitates a specific sport that is “football” (it is not politics between nations such as the United Nations or the regime of trade as WTO), it brings impression that FIFA is simply an organization that is far away from the political element and economic agenda.* (2) *The power of FIFA by using the popularity of football becomes a real challenge to the post-Westphalia models by cut in a line the state’s sovereignty – in this context infiltrates the hierarchy of governments and kidnaping football from its domestic sovereignty. Even more FIFA has created a concept of “Sport Sovereignty” in the international system.*

FIFA AS INTERNATIONAL FOOTBALL GOVERNANCE

Assumed that persistent international private governance regimes represent an institutional equilibrium whose stability results from the absence of pareto-improving alternatives (Calvert 1995a, b) in the case of FIFA the efficacy of the Westphalian doctrine of sovereignty can be reduced when the government by non - state actors can provide for the needs demanded by the public that the state itself does not have the capacity to provide a similar kindness. Moreover, in any moderately complex social context, institutional change requires considerable efforts (Dixit 2009, 19). FIFA as the only global organization with a privileged to manage football agenda even provides solution

to increase the quality of football in each country members attribute with exceptional autonomy from any third party. Consequently, FIFA can impose a unilateral recognition to any national football team in this world that is legit in the international stage only if the national government with the national football organization beneath it is already submissive to FIFA's law. What if the submission is out of the table because of political intervention by the national government? The national government will meet face to face with the will of its people to see football as a fiesta. What happened to Indonesia is an empirical case of this theory; because Sport is prone to politicization because it can serve as symbol of cohesion and exclusion due to its dramatic and antagonist qualities (Giulianotti, 1999).

FIFA's unique governance position results partially from the desirability of monopoly structures in sports. Most stakeholders of international sport, those are, athletes, sport federations, consumers, public authorities and commercial interests, gain the highest utility from 'meaningful' competitions (Neale 1964). Meaningful competitions require clear and consistent rules and regulations (Scully 1995), which are best provided by a regulatory monopoly. Moreover, due to stakeholders' interest in uncontested winners, there is also a need for monopoly structures in competitions. Thus, the unique contribution of international private governance regimes in sport consists of providing a 'definitional monopoly' for meaningful competitions. While the tasks of regulating and organizing competitions do not have to be bundled, FIFA acts as both global sport regulator and competition organizer that gives FIFA a total control over the access to the international football. This is the nature of FIFA; it is the real domination of an international organization with a unique position in the international system. The irreplaceable contribution of FIFA already functions for a long time, moreover the vehemence of FIFA authority is wider after under the Joao Havelange leadership (1974s). FIFA spread its wings to the new emerging nation – states after the second world war. Bill Crane supports this statement in his article "How FIFA ruined soccer"

FIFA as it exists today is the creation of its last president, João Havelange, who unseated Stanley Rous, long known for supporting apartheid soccer teams. After coming to power in 1974, Havelange presided over FIFA's transformation into a fully corporate structure, financed by sponsorship deals rather than contributions from national and regional federations. Under Havelange FIFA executed an unprecedented turn toward the nations of the Global South, which it had previously ignored but who were now international soccer's fan base. But the turn wasn't an inclusive gesture. It was designed to capitalize on business opportunities in rapidly growing countries like Mexico — where Havelange's associates were accused of bribery in connection with the 1992 World Cup and future Olympic games — and Brazil, where Swiss authorities estimated Havelange himself took over \$50 million in bribes during the 1990s.⁶

FIFA organization that previously could be said to be

a symbol of the power of the colonial empire and the axis of economic power of Europe finally rides the opportunities offered by globalization in accumulating capital through the market expansion towards the whole world. These changes are accommodated by the momentum of decolonization after World War II that led to the emerging of a new state as the consequences of nationalism to fight against the colonial system. Although many who criticize capitalist interests are taken by FIFA, but the beauty of football is still a difficult offer to refuse by the people in any national government that has a national football passion. In this transformation Havelange's campaign was heavily supported by TNCs because his agenda implied a commercialization of international football (Sugden and Tomlinson 1998b).

From this point; we can capture that the foundation of FIFA's governance as a non-state actor with the ability to underplay territorial boundaries has two modalities those are; first, the power of football as a global sport also as the symbol of cohesion among people in the world, then second the capital power from FIFA that is supported by many parties with an interest to gain profit from the football competition all over the world. These two modes of power enforce FIFA's uniqueness and manifest the capacity of FIFA to impose any law to any national government in this world. The irony of this fact is the nature of FIFA's governance as sophisticated as it is almost detached from critical spectacles of civil society in any nations. Only few are already aware about this fact and stand against it.

The power of capital that is supported by the mammoth sponsorship of large multi-national corporations all over the world perpetuates the effectiveness of FIFA's power. It is also the backbone of FIFA's political legitimation to be the autonomous global private governance in this world – because commercialization has further increased FIFA's importance as an arena of identity politics. Not only has FIFA's membership experienced a massive growth but improved revenues have also enabled FIFA to grant substantial development aid (Eisenberg 2006a, 2006b).

Referring to the above picture that reveals the extraordinary of capital accumulation obtained by FIFA, in ten years the capital turnover from football all over the world brings revenue for FIFA 300% accumulation from USD.500,000,000 to 2,096 million USD. From here we can see that the accumulation of capital through the globalization of football makes FIFA an independent and autonomous organization. In this condition FIFA officials freely distribute appropriate policies with the interests of FIFA against the national government that has football organizations as a member of FIFA. FIFA's executive is now capable of organizing majorities among the FAs by employing distributional policies (Eisenberg 2006a; Giulianotti and Robertson 2012) or even by resorting to 'vote buying' (Tomlinson 2007).

On the other side, the international system that we live in today is still grounded to Nation – State with its sovereignty system that if we choose to believe Hinsley's argument (1966) that began to grow in the 16th century and the 17th in two different meanings in niches of thoughts as the ruler to understand. On the one hand, the authorities considered

⁶ Cite from an online media <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/06/sepp-blatter-world-cup-qatar-charges/>. Access 05 Januari 2016 pukul 11.00

to be sovereign if there are no entities above or equal to nation-state as the legitimate body to govern based on territory. While on the other hand, the authorities can enjoy a sovereign state if there is no external challenge in the form of an international entity superiority over the territory that became the realm of sovereignty itself play. Until now, the question whether globalization has penetrated all aspects of contemporary human life or has weakened or strengthened the state's existence today is still becoming a mainstream debate in the International Relations discourse. The existence of FIFA gives us an insight if FIFA indirectly has abducted football from domestic sovereignty of a national government without reducing international support for its existence in arranging football, it can be said that FIFA with the ability of governance claimed by the statutes of FIFA as a posture of governance, which is autonomous from the authorities of any country, has successfully established an imaginary sovereignty in the world of football that can be regarded as a sport sovereignty.

Using the framework of governance of cross - border disseminated within the framework of continental authority as shown in the picture above, FIFA manifests its sovereignty from any outside third parties in this world. Nation-State is out of jurisdiction to intervene in the imaginary sovereignty built by FIFA within the framework of the Global Governance football built by FIFA itself. FIFA Statutes are the rules that strengthen the legitimacy of FIFA in regulating the nation-state in terms of football.

Organizational hierarchy drawn above shows the sophisticated mechanism of FIFA with trans-national governance cleavage in the level of continental, regional and national levels to make FIFA have the power to attract all the state-actors, who want to fulfill the needs of its people to enjoy the beautiful game of football that are manifested in a dynamic national league or an opportunity to participate in international events. At this point we can see the process of how the power of FIFA has become a very sturdy framework for any country in this world. Some countries that do not comply with FIFA regulations must be prepared to get tough sanctions and dealing directly with public uproar over the lack compliance toward FIFA regulations. Indonesia is an example that proves empirically FIFA's iron regulation over a nation-state. Given this reality, the question that arises is whether all the nation-states in this world have the same conditions and problems. When the condition was not in accordance with the expectations of the national government as a sovereign entity, what kind of mechanisms to choose to fix the condition if the maneuver to make a change have to deal with undemocratic regulation that seemed indifferent to domestic problems of a country like Indonesia?

THE PRECIPITIOUS ROAD OF INDONESIA TO REFORM ITS NATIONAL FOOTBALL GOVERNANCE

Indonesian football is struggling to repair itself from the bars of decaying system that underlies this sport. This expression is not excessive. If we look for news depravity of football Indonesia through " google ", so many good

cases of mafia of score fixing, athletes and coaches are not paid and etc. Poor achievement of the Indonesian football international arena is a reflection of the systemic problems that plagued the Indonesian football governance. Just like we can see in the article below:

1. *Mafia had already controlled the world of football in Indonesia. This practice was dismantled by the activists by reporting scandals that defeat the national team for several matches. Head of Case Handling Jakarta Legal Aid Institute, M. Isnur brought a record between bookie and score fixing actor that was already systematically executed. He claimed that this practice occurred since the last 15 years. " We go to footage between bookies with regulators scoring in the match , " said M. Isnur Tempo , Tuesday, June 16 , 2015. The report also brought Isnur to Police Headquarters.*⁷
2. *Indra Sjafrî's voice was suddenly caught in his throat. He poured mineral water from a plastic bottle into a glass, then taking his time slowly. His eyes were filled with tears. "please tissue," said Indonesia's national football coach U-19 to the class of Tjokroaminoto's committee for Nationality and Democracy at the room of Adi Sukadana Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Airlangga, Saturday afternoon, November 30, 2013. After receiving a tissue, he wiped his eyes. The atmosphere of the room was instantly silent. About 200 students and faculties that attend the college nationality were silent. Having managed to control her feelings, Indra continued exposure. "Finally we were able to get through a difficult period," he said.*

*About the dramatic feeling; Indra began when he got a question from a participant. The subject is: what did his wife think when she knew that Indra was not paid by the PSSI for 20 months? At the beginning of his presentation, Indra explained that since given the task of handling the U-19 national team in September 2011, he received a salary 20 months later. Whereas since he decided to accept the offer to become coach, Indra left his job as the head office of a company's State-Owned Enterprises in Padang. "Not being paid, I was helped by some friends. Some borrow some money, some give aid, "said Indra before the public lecture entitled nationalities together with the mental coach U-19, Guntur Cahyo Utomo.*⁸

The injustice displayed in the public media in Indonesia is already common in the world of football in Indonesia. Ironically, the Indonesian government has always been deadlocked in order to interfere with the affairs of football unilaterally claimed by PSSI as the affairs of the hierarchy are directly below FIFA as the international organization in football. But we can see in FIFA's statutes article 2 subsection e, which already stated the objective of FIFA

⁷ Source online media <http://bola.tempo.co/read/news/2015/06/17/099675823/sepak-bola-indonesia-diatur-mafia-seperti-apa-praktek-15-tahun-ini>,

⁸ Source online media: <http://bola.tempo.co/read/news/2015/06/17/099675823/sepak-bola-indonesia-diatur-mafia-seperti-apa-praktek-15-tahun-ini>

“to promote integrity, ethics and fair play with a view to preventing all methods or practices, such as corruption, doping or match manipulation, which might jeopardize the integrity of matches, competitions, Players, Officials and Members or give rise to abuse of Association Football.” It is too bad that the reality is contrasted with FIFA’s objective. There are so many problems in this country relating to football, but FIFA itself seems to ignore all of the problems that have lasted so long in Indonesia. For example, the condition of Indonesian football has been as severe as has been stated above. This does not make FIFA act a concrete step in improving the quality of Indonesia’s football governance. At this fact, this paper found disability from FIFA organization that is failed to facilitate the interest of its members; moreover, the behavior of feudalistic hierarchy also appears in this case.

Under Imam Nahrowi; KEMENPORA decision to conduct an action to response the condition of Indonesian football governance is beyond expectations of the Indonesian public. All this time the people of Indonesia are always worried about the FIFA’s sanction referring to the FIFA’s statutes article 13 subsection 1 “to comply fully with all other duties arising from these statutes and other regulations.” This article is a tough weapon to push back the national government intervention towards football agenda. The article automatically poses a threat that any abrupt action will become unpopular policy by government. Indonesia is not alone in this problem; Greece, Spain and Poland have already faced the sturdy regulation of FIFA earlier.⁹ The Indonesia’s attempt to make a bold move to freeze PSSI as a valid organization is recognized by FIFA, which is to organize football in Indonesia suffer a similar fate with the three countries stated previously. Imam Nahrowi as Minister of Youth and Sports (Affairs) obtains the public blasphemy that incriminate the policy based on the lack of competence in understanding the mechanism of football holistically. But if we look at the severity of the problems, it occurs in the field of football in Indonesia in the long period because of lack of achievement. This policy can be said to be a step that must be appreciated by the Indonesian public as a symbol of the presence of the State in domestic agenda. Unfortunately, the public has a difficulty in understanding the policy because of the threat of FIFA as an authority on international football to impose sanctions on Indonesia and the suspicion that this issue is a contestation between the elite to preserve its power that does not even care about football. The personal opinion of the author is as follows: it was like the nationalism of Indonesian people disappears because they are fear of the threat of international football authorities and require the State to comply with the rules stipulated by FIFA. The public fear finally happened and FIFA sanctions are very hard to freeze all activities of the Indonesian football team and Indonesia was even banned from playing throughout the event under FIFA as an international organization of football.

The development of this issue became more interest-

⁹ Borja Garcia discuss these 3 cases comprehensively in his journal “keeping private governance private: Is FIFA blackmailing national governments?”

ing when the national government’s policy to control the domestic affairs undertaken by KEMENPORA suddenly became a foreign policy when FIFA stepped up and made a unilateral decision to drop a sanction towards Indonesia. Finally, to response the urge to deploy a diplomacy towards FIFA, KEMENPORA formed a small team to accomplish the diplomatic mission. It consists of Indonesian expert on diplomacy such as the former ambassador of Indonesia for Swiss, Mr. Djoko Susilo, the former ambassador of Indonesia for the United Nations, Mr. Makarim Wibisono, etc. Evidently, in the age of globalization we used the assumption by Giddens that the shrinking of the planet is a celebrated feature of contemporary globalization. (e.g. Giddens, 1985; Held et al., 1999), even farther using his definition “Globalization can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations that link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.” It brings out a phenomena that a national policy of a national government could be intervened by a non-state organization, moreover it could pose a threat to the national government and force to be subject to a specific regulation. FIFA’s decision to impose sanctions over Indonesian football is an empirical proof for the position of skeptics towards Nation – State existence in the age of Globalization. FIFA domination over the nation-state in terms of football can be seen from a unilateral decision with no opportunity for KEMENPORA to sit in the same table with FIFA and to negotiate the issue. FIFA diplomatic mission was carried out after taking a policy of sanctions that is very unfair to Indonesia, which has a national interest in improving the organization of Football under its authority. But until this article was written this problem has not got a proper settlement to revive the Indonesian football that is loved by the majority of the Indonesian people.

CONCLUSION

Based on what has been narrated in this paper, it can be concluded that FIFA has been unequivocal to preserve the autonomy of its authority in terms of football. More than just maintaining its legitimacy as a non-state actor who has imaginary government, but it also can force a sovereign government to bow down the path of national change for the better governance just like what happened in KEMENPORA versus PSSI and FIFA. Borja’s (2012) arguments reinforced the thesis of this paper that FIFA’s domination is real towards the national government:

Football makes evident that international multilevel private governance can develop efficient escalation mechanism allowing to ‘move-up’ local conflicts so that national governments face the whole power of a global monopoly regulator. National FAs chose to escalate conflicts by calling on FIFA to suspend them. Given the fact that a suspension would first harm the national FAs, their willingness to escalate indicates their confidence in FIFA’s assertiveness. The cases proved this calculus valid.

This paper also stated that the source of strength in the

FIFA to impose rules in the world of football is a monopoly for access to the international football competition run by FIFA and its sub-institutions that manifest in the continental, regional and national representation. Through this mechanism FIFA spread its sport sovereignty in the international system. In this case the non-compliance will result in reaction to the social and cultural of the people of

a country. This reality makes no politician wants to be stigmatized by his own people as individuals that terminate the national football fate. In this problematic reality, these papers suggest a reconfiguration of behavior from FIFA to look carefully towards the Indonesian football governance and work together with the government of Indonesia to reform its deficiency.

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SHORT RESUME OF THE AUTHORS

IndraKusumawardhana

IndraKusumawardhana was born in Surabaya on 20th of May 1986. He completed his Bachelor Degree of Humanity and English Literature in Airlangga University on 2010. Thereafter, he continued in the same university to earn his Master degree of International Relations on 2012. Currently, he is completing his Doctoral degree in Padjadjaran University with the concentration of International Relations. IndraKusumawardhana has been the Secretary of PendidikanKebangsaan Sumatera Utara Foundation since November 2012. Additionally, his active email address: indra15008@mail.unpad.ac.id

Muhammad Badaruddin (Badar) is Senior Research Associate at the Center for Politics and Governance Studies (CPGS) of Universitas Bakrie. He completed his first degree in Airlangga University's Communication Science in 2001, and then continued his Post-graduate study in Political Science in University of Indonesia in the same year. In 2006, Badar received scholarship from S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS-NTU), Singapore to study MSc on Strategic Studies. Then in 2009, he studied MA on International Political Economy in University of Manchester, England with scholarship from the British Chevening. Completing his study in Communication Science, Badar wrote his final essay about Political Rhetoric of President Abdurrahman Wahid. Then, in RSIS, he wrote a dissertation about Intelligence Reform and Indonesian Democratization, and also wrote about Indonesia's Energy Export Policy for his dissertation in University of Manchester. Currently, he is doing his dissertation research on the Indonesia's Energy Security Strategy in the Padjadjaran University. He can be contacted through muhammad.badaruddin@bakrie.ac.id or badarmahfud@gmail.com

Some of his publication can be read here:

Badaruddin, Muhammad, 2013, "Indonesia-China Energy Trade: Analyzing Global and Domestic Political Economic Significance in Indonesia-China LNG Trade," *Journal of ASEAN Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 25–40. The article could be retrieved through <http://ir.binus.ac.id/files/2013/09/3.-Indonesia-ChinaEnergy-Trade.pdf>

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Achieving The Ideal Peace

Penyusun :

• **Lilik Salamah**

International Relation
Lecturer

Faculty of Social and
Political Science - Unair

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Abstract

War and peace belong to two different edges, yet it doesn't mean that war could not be diminished to create peace. War commonly begins from a dispute or tension between two or more parties about something whenever or wherever it is. This action costs lives, properties, damages, and long term suffer. Various solutions had been implemented to cease war, but it keeps occurring not only in the scale of inter-nation but also between groups within a country.

Bloodshed could rise in any place and time. Some peaceful alternatives in settling the dispute had been available, but in reality, war spreads within a nation as well as universe. Hence, this article means to analyze the struggle of UN in accomplishing positive peace under the concept of diplomacy and Multitrack Diplomacy.

INTRODUCTION

Conflict, bloodshed, and war are phenomena that still remain in the current era. War is commonly sparked from some disputes or tensions between two or more parties about something. Any means of war, whether among several groups within a country or among countries themselves, both would cost lives, properties, destructions, and long term suffer. An ended war often reoccurred due to several reasons, and in some cases even worse that it had ever been before.

Indeed, not every conflict causes war, yet war mostly starts from unsettled dispute. A stable condition is often mutable and a conflict sparks in a sudden under any reason possible. Take the example of Indochina countries in 1980s or the phenomenon in Iraq after the cope of Saddam Husein Regime. Several peace settlements had been successful to put wars to end. The example is the conflict settlement of Indochina by ASEAN, or the conflict of Aceh

by the government of Indonesia and Norway in the beginning of 2002. However, who could guarantee that peace would stay forever? Who could assure that conflict would no longer rise? After the end of World War I, the majority of the universe laid their hopes on League of Nations as the institution that could prevent war to happen, but World War II happened instead, even in a bigger scale. League of Nations was considered to be helpless and useless. Thus, after WW2 was over, the organization was being developed to be United Nations (UN) in hope that peace would be more assured. Even so, after decades of UN foundation, conflicts and wars still spread in the whole world, starting from the scale of region, like Aggressive group of Mindanao in Philippine or Qurdi tribe in Iraq, to worldwide scale, just like the inter-countries war between Israel-Palrestine which is still burning even after so many diplomatic actions were taken. Why does this happen? How would peace be achieved?

CONFLICT-WAR

Several theories tried to explain what stimulates war, starting from the theory of psychology that says that the ego of humankind is the trigger of war, economic theory explains that the needs of economy invite people to possess better resources, or biology theory which states about the importance of orgasms to develop themselves, to the point of military theory about the possession and development of weapon. War keeps happening along the era of our civilization, the more advance the humankind is, the more developed the equipment and escalation of wars are. Tragically, the more casualties would be resulted from the war.

Syahdan, once there was a dispute between Habil and Qobil, the sons of Adam, about the wives they were going to get married to. They had a fight and resulted to the death of Habil. Habil could not accept the decision that he should marry a less beautiful girl than Habil's, meanwhile he is more good looking than Habil. Ambition and ego had brought him to conflict and homicide. The ambition of economy expansion had born capitalism and massive war in colonized countries, so did the ambition of German which was ruled by Hitler.

War was often provoked by conflict or the ambition for authority. Even though some conflicts or war were able to be settled peacefully, yet it was not to our surprise that a stable condition could turn out to be conflicted under any reason possible. For instance, the war between Bosnia ethnic and Serbia who used to live peacefully in Uni Soviet then turned to be a genocide of Bosnia ethnic by the Serbian (end of 1990s). Thousands had died, and thousands of children became orphans, they even had lost their future. How could this happen? This was due to the society's comprehension upon peace that was limited to a mere negative peace, not positive peace.

The concept of negative peace refers to the peace state, a state with no war, no gunfire, or military conflict, yet some potential or root of conflicts are remained. Why? Because conflict and war are not only caused by political aspect, yet other factors which are complex and simultaneous, for example, social disparity, economy disparity, elitisms, injustice, or other issues like starvation, poverty, and criminality that can alter peaceful, safe condition structurally and substantially. In other words, all issues in politics, economics, and justice could be eliminated when all is treated fairly. Thus a portrayal of a prosperous country, or civilized country would be accomplished. It is a group of citizens who feel in peace physically and mentally in a comprehensive way. But the problem is how this could be realized in order to achieve a perfect peaceful universe?

WORLD PEACE

According to UN Charter, the foundation of UN aimed to prevent and abolish war in order to accomplish collective peace. This international institution was built under the understanding that war is the main threat to peace, developed countries had the biggest responsibility for the international security. Peace would be achieved when all countries are independent, have no conflict, have no intervention or

expansion. International peace is the responsibility of all countries, not only in the extend of removing war but also realizing the equality in economy. Based on this concept, thus all the main organizations in UN – Security Council, General Assembly, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice, and Secretariat work together to reach the goal through preventive diplomacy, that is a diplomacy to prevent any conflict-war to happen by implementing several programs like education improvement, economic empowerment for the poor, or social proliferation.

Many kinds of action were taken by UN to create a comprehensive peace. Yet, up to this moment, conflict or war keeps occurring, for example in Middle East countries, even an inhuman action of Rwanda massacre and Yugoslavia massacre happened in 1990s. This reality absorbs the attention of the world, therefore UN work together with Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy (IMTD) in running a study to analyze any peace-related issues. This article itself is composed based on the study of Dr. Louise Diamond and Ambassador John McDonald in Middle East, the area which is prone to conflict rise, even a long last conflict, in which the peaceful settlement is still hard to find in order to achieve an eternal and perfect peace (Louise Diamond, 1996).

SYSTEMIC APPROACH

According to this approach, peace is the collective responsibility of all people from all layers as one whole system. It means that conflict possibly rise from the clash of interest from each uncertainty of the system, and vice versa, peace also possibly be achieved when each uncertainty of the system could go hand in hand in creating and establishing peace. In accordance with the system of nations, peace is the joint-accountability between the nation/government, citizen, groups, and media as the social communication tools among them. Each sub-system has its role and should be aware of it to achieve peace, thus there will be an organized and unbreakable peace within the society as long as well-built togetherness and unity exist both inside every layer of the structure (government-nation) or among every layer of the infrastructure (society).

Knowing that, based on the idealism of peace, peace should be eternal. It means that the life today and in the future should be guaranteed. Therefore, the way into peace is possible to achieve through three ways, such as Peace keeping – the struggle to reduce conflict and all the seeds of it–, Peace making – the attempt to settle and manage the conflicts existed – as well as Peace building – developing and maintaining the peace system established to be more intense and organized in order to create positive peace.

In order to achieve all above, according to the study and observation reported by Louise Diamond in Middle East countries, integrity and cooperation are needed from all the systems accumulated in Multi-track diplomacy that consists of 9 aspects: (1) Government, (2) Non-government (professionals), (3) Business Group, (4) Private Citizen, (5) Research, education, and training center (6) Activist, (7) Religious group, (8) Fund Raisers, (9) Media.

MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY

According to the concept of multitrack, diplomacy – effort to achieve peace- requires an integrative cooperation between each track of diplomacy so that it achieves the optimum result. Considering that the goal is to create comprehensive peace that lasts long then a cooperation from each subject of the diplomatic practice –especially nation—is really needed.

Track 1 : Government

The government or the state is a political institution that bears the responsibility upon the effort to achieve peace, and state is the frontline of peace effort. Why? Because as the representation of the sovereignty, a nation has the internal duty to take care of the society and create peace, prosperity, order and equality in law.

As a political institution, a nation has the responsibility to achieve this thing based on the social justice with zero discrimination and without bias or differentiating the people. By upholding the obligation, ideally the people will feel secure and feel interdependent and as one big unity in one piece with no discrimination and lack. It is recorded in the history that there were a lot of rebellion or separatist occurred due to the dissatisfaction upon the policy made by the state which was considered to be ignorant towards them. Besides, state also has the external duty, which is to respect others, recognize the other nations' sovereignty, have no intervention or enforce one's urgency to other.

For example is, with the reason to fight for their national needs, Iraq attacked Iran (the Gulf War of 1990-1991) with the reason of the area expansion and oil claiming.

The state has a big responsibility to achieve peace in national and international level in the form of policy making and supporting related stakeholders to achieve it.

Track 2: Non-government / Professional

The non-governmental stakeholders, especially the professionals also have an important role in achieving peace. The assumption is that if these professionals have the ability related to all aspect of life in society, then the professionals can contribute their power and mind for the prosperity of society. The examples are: the medical workers that have significant role at developing the socialization of the role of health in daily life of people in form of medication, the law expert can have the role of advocating or socializing upon the importance of order and obedience upon law with the base of respecting others in term of right and obligation.

The teachers can imply the teaching on how important peace is for society, where this can be socialized since the early age according to the developmental age of the children. The professionals can do a serial activity such as workshop, mediation, consultation, seminar, training or establishing a social network for the sake of the understanding and awareness upon the importance of piece substantially.

Track 3: Business Group

Economically, the group of the businessmen commonly try to find as much profit as possible as what their philosophy is. However, with the concept of multi-track diplomacy, this group is expected to not only prioritize the profit, but is also to responsible socially by participating in making a prosperous society. The assumption is the more prosperous the people are, the higher affordability the society will have. So, there will be a win-win benefit for both sides. The activity that can be done by these authorities are for example skill development, modal investment, doing training that can be used to increase people's income, or even to motivate people about the importance of hard-working in the struggle of life to fulfill the needs and the prosperity.

Track 4: Private Citizen

The citizens are not seen as the private individuals, but as the social group that is influential upon the dynamic of the people. The assumption is that each citizen personally is the peace determiner, which means they have the role and responsibility privately as well as socially upon the peace. The activity as the effort for peace can be achieved for example through the participation in the series of program of formal visit in the form of seminar or conference nationally as well as internationally in various topics such as health, education, role of females, agriculture, politic, and many others.

Track 5: Research, training, and education

The point of this track is the transformation of the information upon the roles of peace. The assumption is education, understanding, and knowledge play role as the foundation of the stance and one's action. Here, the role of education becomes important for one as well as the social education. The awareness can be amplified by the series of social training so that cohesive attitude, respect, and interdependency between them can grow.

Meanwhile, the university institutions with the colleagues of scientists have the role to do series of research and analysis for the entire problem in order to look for the solution and reduce the potential for conflict that exist in society. The result of the research is then socialized to the people through various brochure, journal, monograph, or the articles in media that can add knowledge of the people upon the importance of peace.

Track 6: Activist

The main task of the activists is to change institution, attitude and policy through the political actions. The assumption is that these activists has a great influence on the underground society in establishing the prosperity and peace of the people since peace cannot be achieved without the presence of prosperity, fairness in economy, political integrity as well as the environmental preservation.

The actions of the activist here can be varied, such as: protest, education, advocating, coordination, and giving support. The protests are commonly in the form of demonstration, march, strike, hunger strike, boycott or doing campaign an publication. The role of the activists here is massive in influencing and moving the mass. These activists are expected to involve actively and intensively in development of attitude and value of peace.

Track 7: Religion

Every religion in the world always emphasizes the moral law and the universal spirit upon the importance of peace. The religious leaders are expected to involve actively in developing tolerance between the religious fellows even though they are different from one and another. With this, it is expected that there will be no radicalism growing upon religion if all religious fellows respect and tolerate each other. The assumption is religion has a great role in making the foundation of the attitude of individual, as well as to the religious fellows that it can be so influential in being the role model upon the value as well as the behavior of the people.

Conflict in reality often happened due to the fanaticism upon religion, for example at the Crusade in Europe, or in the conflict between Shia and Sunni in Iran. With the involvement of the religious leader, it is expected that it can create awareness and eliminate religious, group, ethnicity, and many more fanaticism in order to achieve unity in peace.

Track 8: Funding

Whatever the activity and the program will be, it will never work without the presence of funding. Help in the form of funding is commonly given by the shareholder. The assumption is that these shareholders have the positive contribution and social responsibility upon the establishment of a comprehensive peace. The main duty is to provide the financial support for the sake of all the activities

above.

Track 9: Communication and Media

Media has an important role in the social dynamic. Through the printed, visual or radio media, positive or negative information can be given. Along with the technological advancement, electronic media for example internet can penetrate the barriers of country freely. See how countries in Eastern Europe rebell to ask for the freedom from the Soviet Union on 1990, they were influenced by the democratization that is published by the Western Media. There were a lot of conflicts that changed into war due to the media 'heathening' the situation of the war, but there were also a lot of conflicts that were eased by these media.

Media can unite society, as well as trigger conflict if they are not used wisely. For this, media has a great role in shaping the opinion and the attitude of the society. Media has the role to synchronize each of the tracks of diplomacy as one big unity.

CONCLUSION

Although various attempts of achieving peace have already done, there are still many conflicts occurring. Even sometimes war because the concept of peace is still on the phase of negative peace, instead of positive peace (the perfect peace) that is a peace condition that is not only has no war, but also successfully eliminate the potential of conflict comprehensively either socially, economically, culturally, as well politically.

As a system, positive peace will happen and be organized when there is an effective cooperation made between each track as one united step. Multi-track diplomacy is trying to do the cooperation between several tracks mentioned above as one unity.

Not all of the clash creates war, since there are clashes that can be ended in peace, this all depends on the intensity of the problem faced, the attitude of both conflicting sides, and the reaction of other sides which has business in it.

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Indonesia Involvement in UNIFIL as Commitment in Managing International Conflict and Sustaining Human Security

Penyusun :

• **Sartika Soesilowati, M.A., Ph.D**

• **Rany Purnama Hadi, S.IP**

Department of
International Relations
Airlangga University

Email:
sartika.soesilowati@gmail.com
ranyphadi@gmail.com

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Abstract

Garuda contingents serving in UNIFIL might be considered as the longest and the largest peacekeeping service that was ever performed by the Indonesia military forces. Indonesian government started to deploy its peacekeeping personnel to UNIFIL in September 2006 under the command of Garuda Contingents XIIA, as a response to UN's request for the military personnel and equipment, to help secure the ceasefire and provide the humanitarian supplies. The UN resolutions to increase forces in Lebanon mainly because of the 34-days conflict that thrown back the instability in the region, and the massive number of refugees who internally displaced in the area. Responding to UN's request, Indonesian Government offered a Mechanized Infantry Battalion Task Force of 850 personnel, equipment, and humanitarian supplies. Since then, Indonesia keeps improving the consignment of Indonesian peacekeepers in UNIFIL. In 2015, the number of Indonesian contingents in UNIFIL has reached 1,290 troops, which are the largest personnel group in Lebanon. According to the recent President of Joko Widodo, the Indonesian government has the ambition to improve the Indonesia role in maintaining the international peace and security through Roadmap Vision of 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019. The goals of this vision besides to promote Indonesian participation in world peace mission is to reach the top-ten of UN contributors of peacekeeping operations. The Roadmap Vision has marked the rigid commitment of Indonesia to be actively involved in the world peace and to help managing the international conflict and sustaining the human security

INTRODUCTION

Since in 1945, The United Nations has conducted about 16 peacekeeping missions under the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO). Until November 2015, based on UN statistics, there are more than 120,000 personnel of military, police, and civilians from

around the world. UN Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKOs) is a flagship of the United Nations to maintain the international peace and security. UN peacekeepers, which are also known as the "blue helmet" forces, tend to help the conflicting countries to create the lasting peace and to protect the civilians. The first peacekeeping operation that was conducted by UN Peacekeeping Force began in 1948

in the Middle East or known as the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). The purpose of the mission was to monitoring the Armistice Agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbors, which were the main basis of the truce in the region. The UNTSO consisted of the peacekeepers forces from 25 countries. Over the years, these numbers have been multiple and expand to more than 120 countries that have been participated in the operations.

In peace and security studies, peacekeeping is one of the instruments or methods to overcome the conflict and creating peace. According to UN Civil Affairs Handbook, Peacekeeping has traditionally defined as a process in which minimal used of force are conducted by the military force and placed between two warring parties or countries where ceasefire or peace agreement is already in place or where the parties have already consented for the deployment of a peacekeeping mission (see UN Civil Affairs Handbook, 2012). The goals of peacekeeping operation are still limited to maintaining the ceasefires and stabilizing the situations. After the Cold War, the conflict dimensions have dilated to not merely involve the inter-state wars, but also the intra-state conflicts and the civil wars.

This changing nature indeed changes the dimension of the peacekeeping operations in terms of mandates and personnel composition. In terms of mandates, the UN peacekeepers have increasingly asked to deploy its largest and complex operations including to remote and volatile the environment of the conflict and also equipping the communities as far as possible to ensure the long-peace and stabilization. Therefore, the peacekeeping operations have become multidimensional that also facilitate the political process, the civilian protections, assist the disarmament, demobilize and reintegrate the former combatants, support the organizational elections, protect and promote the human rights, and also assist in restoring the rule of law. And in term of composition, the personnel of peacekeepers have broadened to involve the policies and the civil personnel.

As the member of the United Nations, Indonesia also gives contribution in maintaining the world peace and security by deploying its troops in peacekeeping operations. Although Indonesia is relatively a new member of UN peacekeepers, but today it is one of a major contributor of the UN peacekeepers. Indonesia had started its first activities in UNPKO in the 1950s under the UN Emergency Force (UNEF I) as an impartial troop-contributing country, to supervise the cessation of hostilities in the Canal Suez zone. Indonesian and other UN peacekeepers were mandated to securing the withdrawal of France, Israel and the United Kingdom armed forces from Egyptian territory. It marked the beginning of the involvement of Garuda Contingents I in the international peacekeeping operation. During UNEF operations, Indonesia sent 400 personnel consisted of command group, one platoon with artillery mortar and machine gun assistance, and three gun companies. Afterward, Garuda Contingents have involved in several peacekeeping activities in UN missions, such as ONUC in the Republic of Congo in 1961-1963, UNEF II in the Middle East in 1973-1979, UNTAG in Namibia in 1989, and UNIMOG in Iraq in 1988-1990.

However, Indonesian effort to establish the world peace

and security through its contribution in peacekeeping operations had been frequently halted during the era of President Soeharto admissions until in the early of 1990s. The reason was because, during the New Order regime of Soeharto, Indonesian military powers were responsible mostly for internal or national security. Indonesia then retreated from UN peacekeeping mission until 2006. In 2007, Indonesia began to demonstrate a significant contribution and commitment to UN Peacekeeping by deploying six individual police officers to UNMIS in Sudan. This was also the early transformation of Indonesian peacekeepers in which they include not only the military personnel but also the police and civilian forces. Since then, Indonesia has actively participating in numerous mission of peacekeeping, ranging from sending a small group of military personnel to full-fledged participation. By the late 2015, as the Indonesia Foreign Ministry stated (Indonesia Foreign Ministry, 2015), Indonesia has been contributing in 10 of 16 UN peacekeeping missions with 2,840 active peacekeepers serving in the operations, namely UNIFIL (Lebanon), UNAMID (Darfur, Sudan), MINUSCA (Republic Central Africa), MONUSCO (Congo), MINUSMA (Mali), MINURSO (Sahara), MINUSTAH (Haiti), UNMIL (Liberia), UNMISS (South Sudan), and UNISFA (Abyei, Sudan). And in February 2015, Indonesian President Joko Widodo has attempted to improve the Indonesian commitment by increasing the country's peacekeepers in the UN up to 4,000 personnel through Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019. In the international context, Indonesian activities in peacekeeping mission had shown a concrete indicator of its role in its participation in maintaining the international peace and security, whereas in the national context, the Government of Indonesia aims to achieve the national goal to reach the top 10 of UN peacekeeping state contributor list by 2019. Moreover, such involvement could be a means of increasing professionalism of Indonesian personnel both individuals and organizations.

Until now, peacekeeping operations have become the most complex UN peace mission and continually experiencing changes both in structural and in a case of policy mandate. Although in the era of post-2000s there was a decrease in the amount of peace force globally, but in several operations area, the need of peace force is still high enough. One of the operations areas of the peacekeeping mission that still become a priority from UN is Lebanon area. It is an area where UN peace force that operating under *United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon* or UNIFIL keep doing an observation on the retreat of Israel force from South Lebanon, also helping Lebanon government to bring peace and security back in that area. Until now, Lebanon is considered as an operation area that is still vulnerable to conflict and needs UNIFIL role in helping the peace process in that region. And in this case, the involvement of Indonesia as the biggest contributor of peace forces in UNIFIL is very significant in creating the regional stability.

UNIFIL AND INDONESIA'S CONTRIBUTION

As mention clearly in UNIFIL official web page about

their history (UNIFIL 2016), the deployment of UN Peace Force in Lebanon was started in 1978 under 425 and 426 Resolution of UN Security Council. That action was as a response to the growing tension of the conflict in the border of Israel-Lebanon in the early 1970s. The UN Security Council formed United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to treat Israeli invasion on South Lebanon, which became an area of military confrontation between Israeli government and Palestinian government in that area. According to the UN official web page of UNIFIL (2016), the deployment of UNIFIL force to Lebanon has three main purposes. First is to supervise the withdrawal of Israeli troops from South Lebanon. Second is to help to restore peace and international security as a result of the military conflict between Palestine and Israel. And third is to give an aid to Lebanese government in restoring the power effectively in the region. Therefore, as an attempt to guarantee the creation of security in that region, the UN peacekeeping force is stationed in Israel region to maximize the observation process.

However, in about three years of the deployment of UNIFIL in the border of Israel-Lebanon, or commonly referred as the Blue Line, the task of UN peace force was limited to providing the protection and humanitarian assistance to the local people. The thing is, even though Israel has pulled back its troops from Lebanon area, the control over Israel through *Israel Defense Forces* and *Lebanese de facto* forces in the region is still sturdy. Hence, the UN Security Council tries to keep conducting the observation as well as maintaining the negotiations with Israel government in order to eventually withdraw from Lebanon. Afterwards, in July 2000, Israel started to pull back their military force. Following that retreatment, in 2004, UN Security Council has updated the mandate of UNIFIL operation through 1,559 Resolution.

Lebanon area is not an area where peace can be easily created. Even though that area has been guarded and observed by peace force, the minor conflicts often happened in Blue Line area that also often caused the victims on the side of UN military observer. In 2006, the conflict is rising again following the violation of arm disarmament by Hezbollah group that launched the rockets into Israel territory, and attacked also arrested several Israeli patrol troops. The increasing conflict between Hezbollah and Israel caused UN Security Council to make 1,701 resolution (2006), which has a purpose to stop the attack that is conducted by both parties in conflict.

By the formulation of the resolution, UN Security Council increases its force from 2,000 to 15,000 of military personnel. According to the new mandate that is announced by UN, there are several aspects that become tasks for UNIFIL. Those include monitoring the dispute termination between Israel and Hezbollah, giving assistance and support to Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) troop in South Lebanon region, following the retreat of Israel troops from that region, coordinating operation activities with Lebanon government and Israel, prolonging the humanitarian assistance in the civil society and helping the repatriation of *displaced person*, giving an assistance to LAF, in the process of sweeping up the military forces from the region that has

been determined by Lebanon government and UNIFIL, also helping Lebanon government in securing the border and the entry point to prevent the inflow of unwanted parties.

Since the formulation of 1,701 Resolution 2006, the mandate issued by UN about UNIFIL peace operation is always experiencing a development and update. Until 2015, UN Security Council has issued nine resolutions to strengthen and prolong the peace operation in order to always help to maintain a peace in Lebanon (UN Security Council, 2015). In maintaining a peace in Lebanon, UN also cooperates with the military forces from other countries. There are 10,410 uniformed personnel, 279 international civilian, and 590 local civil staffs that joined in UN peace force. This peace force operation also involves more than 30 states that send their military personnel and Indonesia is not an exception. Now, Indonesia is still ranked 12th of 122 (Media Indonesia News, 2015) countries in term of the biggest peace force contributors. The top five are Bangladesh, Ethiopia, India, Pakistan, and Rwanda. Therefore, Indonesian government has the ambition to be in the top-ten of peace force contributors by forming the *Roadmap Vision of 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019*, where the conducted strategy is to increase the number of Indonesia peace forces that are deployed in UN peacekeeping missions, one of them is in Lebanon/ UNIFIL. Lebanon is an area of UN peace mission that becomes one of the most promising locations for Indonesia to increase its peace forces because there is still a need for peace forces in that region.

Indonesia peace forces joined UNIFIL for the first time in 2006 and are still actively contributing until now. Garuda Contingent that is sent for a peacekeeping mission in Lebanon, in the early wave is Garuda Contingent XXII-A or commonly called as INDOBATT, which consists of 850 members of Mechanized Infantry Battalion Task Force. The purpose of Garuda Contingent XXIII-A/UNIFIL is to help UN peace force in maintaining the peace and security in Lebanon. The policy of the government of Republic of Indonesia to send this Garuda Contingent to Lebanon is formed based on Presidential Decree No. 15 year 2006 (Indonesia Foreign Ministry, 2016). In the presidential decree, there is a regulation about the formulation of Garuda Contingent forces, the policy formulation and the strategy, also the funding that is related to the departure and operation implementation that is conducted in Lebanon. This Presidential Decree becomes the legal foundation that regulates the Garuda Contingent in Lebanon. That Garuda Contingent force will carry on their duties in Lebanon in one to two period or six months to one year, which depend on the UN Security Council demand.

Since the deployment of Garuda Contingent XXIII-A in 2006, it has been more than 15 Garuda contingents that had been sent to Lebanon until 2015. After the duty period of Garuda Contingent XXIII-A/UNIFIL was ended in 2007, Indonesian National Army dispatches Garuda Contingent XXIII-B/UNIFIL for the period of 2007-2008, which consist of 850 personnel of Mechanized Infantry Battalion Task Force, Garuda Contingent XXIII-C/UNIFIL in 2008-2009, Garuda Contingent XXIII-D/UNIFIL in 2009-2010, which consists of 1000 personnel, and Garuda

da Contingent XXIII-E/UNIFIL for 2010-2011 period. In this period, the Garuda contingent that is represented by Garuda Contingent XXIII-E/UNIFIL is able to gain an achievement, not only UN Dag Hammarskjöld medal that is initially given to UN peace forces, but also gains Honor Brevet, which is the first time for Indonesia peace force. This Brevet award then became a proof of the success of Indonesia Garuda contingent in conducting the duties as an international peacekeeping force, also as a trigger for the government to keep improving the performance and capacity of Indonesia peace force.

Not only Indonesian National Army forces that are sent to UN peacekeeping force by Indonesian government, but also extra troops in the form of military police in Lebanon mission in 2008. The deployment of these police troops were as a response to the change of UN security council mandate that is stated in Fragmentary Order (Frago) No.10-10-08 that is formed at October 30th, 2008, which according to the mandate, the UN member countries are required to add civil personnel besides military personnel in peacekeeping force to manage the conflict which becomes more complicated (see TNI web page, 2016). Therefore, following the mandate, the government of Indonesia sent Garuda Contingent XXV/UNIFIL force for 2008/2009 period and 2009/2010 to South Lebanon, which consists of 75 troops of Indonesian National Army Military Police (POM TNI Task Force), which operated under a command of Force Commander of UNIFIL (FC Assessts). In the last year of their duty, Satgas POM TNI was commanded by Colonel Lieutenant CPWDwiPrasteyoWiranto.

Then in 2008, Indonesia sent the extra troops again for South Lebanon area through the deployment of Garuda Contingent XXVI-A/UNIFIL force as a squad of Force Headquarter Support Unit (FHQSU) and INDO Force Protection Company (INDO FP Coy), which consist of 200 personnel. FHQSU is different with the previous Garuda contingent formation, INDOBATT, which was spread at small areas in Lebanon. FHQSU is Garuda contingent force that is specially positioned at UNIFIL Headquarter (HQ) in Naqoura. The duty of this task force was to support the services and security at UNIFIL HQ. The duty period of Garuda Contingent XXVI-A/UNIFIL then is substituted by Garuda Contingent XXVI-B1/UNIFIL as FHQSU and Garuda Contingent XXVI-B2/UNIFIL as security squad at UNIFIL HQ in the year of 2009-2010. After their duty period was over, they were replaced by Garuda Contingent XXVI-C1/UNIFIL and Garuda Contingent XXVI-C2/UNIFIL. In this Garuda Contingent force, there was a force reformation in the role of women soldiers, in which they could be involved in the peacekeeping missions. When Garuda Contingent XXVI-C1 arrived in Lebanon in 2010, they added five women soldiers in the structure of Garuda Contingent force, and until now, the number of women personnel in the squad of Garuda Contingent force has been increased to 32 personnel (Hutabarat, 2014). The duty of Garuda Contingent XXVI-C1 itself is the same as the XXVI-B1, whereas Garuda Contingent XXVI-C2 is the substitute of Garuda Contingent XXVI-B2 with seven main duties such as 1) guarding the Main Gate, doing the patrol, observing the post, and guarding the food platoon,

2) preparing CRC that has the ability to control masses, 3) preparing Quick Response Team that can be operated any time, 4) doing an escort to all asset of FC UNIFIL when in travels to operation area, 5) as a part of coordinated defense unit in UNIFIL HQ area in Naqoura, 6) giving an reinforcement assistance to all others UNIFIL unit that is located outside Naqoura Camp, and 7) doing other duties as appropriate to FC UNIFIL order.

Until now, Indonesian government continuously does a rotation to Garuda Contingent force in Lebanon. In the period of 2013, Indonesia sent 1,169 Indonesian National Army Soldier to Lebanon led by Garuda Contingent XXIII-G/UNIFIL Mechanized Infantry Battalion Task Force that consists of 850 personnel (see artillery web page, 2012). Besides, the others forces also participated, they are 150 personnel of *Force Protections Company* (FPC) Garuda Contingent XXVVI-E2, 75 personnel of Military Police Unit (MPU) Garuda Contingent XXV-E, 50 personnel of Satgas FHQSU Garuda Contingent XXVI-E1, 18 personnel of *Task Force of Military Community Outreach Unit* (MCOU) Garuda Contingent XXX-C, eleven personnel of *Milstaf Seceast*, nine personnel of Task Force Level 2 *Hospital* XXVI-E, and six personnel of *Task Force CIMIC* of Indonesian National Army Garuda Contingent XXXI-C. These units are deployed in Lebanon for 17 months of duty period and then substituted by a new Garuda contingent squad.

The current Garuda contingent force on duty is for 2015-2016 period, they are 1,169 soldiers that consist of 850 personnel of *Mechanized Infantry Battalion Task Force Garuda Contingent XXIII-J/UNIFIL* led by Letkol Inf Dwi Sasongko, S.E., 75 personnel of *Military Police Unit* (MPU) Garuda Contingent XXV-H/UNIFIL led by Letkol Cpm Zulkarnain SH, 150 personnel of *Force Protection Company* (FPC) Garuda Contingent XXVI-H2/UNIFIL led by Mayor Inf Catur Sutoyo, 50 personnel of *Satgas Force Headquarter Support Unit* (FHQSU) Garuda Contingent XXVI-H1/Unifilled by Colonel Kav Jala Argananto, six personnel of *Satgas CIMIC TNI Garuda Contingent XXXI-F/UNIFIL* led by Kapten Inf Batara Alex Bulu, 18 personnel of *Satgas Military Community Outreach Unit* (MCOU) Garuda Contingent XXX-F/UNIFIL led by Mayor Inf Roni Agus Widodo, nine personnel of *Satgas Level 2 Hospital Garuda Contingent XXIX-G/UNIFIL* led by Mayor Ckm Dr. Purbanto Budi Susetyo, SPM, and eleven personnel of *Milstaf Seceast UNIFIL* led by Colonel Inf Abdul Rahman. With the deployment of this Garuda Contingent XXIII-J/UNIFIL, then Indonesia have been contributed for almost eleven years on a peace mission in Lebanon. And according to the data issued by UNIFIL at April, 5th 2016, from 10,547 personnel of the peacekeeping force in Lebanon, Indonesia is a country with the largest number of troops, reaching 1,295 personnel. This thing, of course, can be considered as an achievement for Indonesia Republic's military squad.

Besides keeping on increasing the number of TNI military personnel as UN peace force in Lebanon, Indonesian government also has increased its *unit personnel* by joining UNIFIL *Maritim Task Force* (MTF) since 2009. The first *Satgas Maritim TNI* sent to Lebanon is *Garu-*

da Contingent XXVIII-A/UNIFIL KRI Diponegoro-365, followed by Garuda Contingent XXVIII-B/UNIFIL KRI Frans Kaisiepo-368 in the year of 2010, Garuda Contingent XXVIII-C/UNIFIL KRI Sultan Iskandar Muda-367 in the year of 2011, Garuda Contingent XXVIII-D/UNIFIL KRI Sultan Hasanuddin-366 in the year of 2012, Garuda Contingent XXVIII-E/UNIFIL KRI Diponegoro-365 in the year of 2013, Garuda Contingent XXVIII-F/UNIFIL KRI Frans Kaisiepo-368 in the year of 2014, and the one that is on duty now is Garuda Contingent XXVIII-G/UNIFIL KRI Sultan Iskandar Muda-367 in the year of 2015. The duty of *satgas Maritimis* for doing a surveillance and *Maritime Interdiction Operation* (MIO) along the 180 km of Lebanon's coastline, in order to prevent the entry of illegal weapon and related materials so they cannot enter from Lebanon waters, which if it really happens then it will give negative impacts on the continuity of the current conflict. Besides, TNI marine force also does a joint training with the marine force of Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) to guard their waters territory. From weaponry perspective, Indonesia Republic's warship is equipped with the technology of anti-submarine, anti-aircraft, and anti-surface-ship. The *satgas* that works under the command of *Commander Task Force* (CTF) is only assigned for one period or six months in common, before a rotation.

On increasing its contribution to peacekeeping force in Lebanon, Garuda contingent is not only concerned on the military task, but also on some social works and education for the local people in Lebanon (WiRA, 2014). Several activities did by Garuda Contingent in Lebanon are making a smart-car that provide the educational book and a walking computer for children and the local people in Lebanon, building a football field and holding a friendly match, doing a first aid training, a computer course, and an English course. Besides, the Garuda Contingent force also helps the local people's activities, if needed, such as harvesting oats, helping in the mass health treatment, being a labor to help the local people's activities, and renovating houses. Not only that, Garuda Contingent force also forms a special small-sized team called as Tactical Outreach Team, which is in charge of spreading the peace messages to people around the duty area, if asked by the local village leader, especially to the schools in Lebanon, to provide an understanding to the young generations about the importance of peace, and also to distribute books and stationaries. These activities are done as an attempt to help people on building their society to create peace, also as a mandate of UNIFIL to tell simple things about UNIFIL, without exception the understanding on Blue Barrel and Blue Line that is a borderland between Lebanon and Israel.

Peacekeeping operation in Lebanon is the biggest peace operation and the longest done by Indonesia Republic government. Until now, this operation still becomes one peace mission that becomes a focus of Indonesian government. Indonesia's commitment to keeping on being involved then is showed by the formulation of Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019 that have been signed by Indonesian government in February 2015 ago. The formulation of Roadmap Vision is also a proof of Indonesia's seriousness in increasing contributions to help to keep an

international peace and security.

ROADMAP VISION OF 4,000 PEACEKEEPERS 2015-2019 POLICY

On February 2015, Indonesian government forms a roadmap based on the regulation of Foreign Ministry of Indonesia Republic Number 5 Year 2015, named as *Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019*. The roadmap that is formulated in 2015 is Indonesia's foreign policy strategy, in order to be always active on contributing in international peacekeeping operations. According to that roadmap, it is said that the purpose and background of Indonesian government policy to add the number of peacekeeping troops until the year of 2019 is as Indonesia's commitment in implementing an order and realizing a world peace, as stated on the preamble of Indonesia Constitution of 1945.

A roadmap formulated by Indonesia Foreign Ministry (Roadmap Vision, 2015), as the head of TKMPP, is a strategic reference for the development of Indonesia participation in case of peacekeeping, in international. The roadmap actually has been planned by Indonesia President since March 2012, in the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono era. But, by several numbers of considerations and the preparation process that takes two years, then the roadmap can finally be legalized in February 2015. By the formulation of this roadmap, Indonesia Republic government expects that with the increasing number of Indonesia's military forces that actively contribute to peacekeeping missions, it will give a positive impact for Indonesia, also will strengthen the strategic role of Indonesia in a multilateral forum, especially in PBB. Through a statement of Indonesia Foreign Ministry, Retno L.P. Marsudi, Indonesian government wants to be in the top-ten contributors of UN peacekeepers, which in the year of 2014 ago, it was not achieved yet.

The ambition of Indonesian government indeed is clearly shown in the background section of the roadmap. Not only having a desire to be in the top-ten contributors, but the Indonesian government also hopes that the vision brought by this roadmap will be able to give Indonesia a high bargaining position in the nomination of the UN Security Council non-permanent member and Peacebuilding Commission, in the period of 2019-2020. The expected strategic position that can be achieved by Indonesian government is a way done by Indonesian government to strengthen their diplomacy in the international politics fora.

In the roadmap formulated in 2015, Indonesian government has been planned strategic moves every year that will be executed by Indonesia in the five years period, starting from 2015 to 2019, in order to achieve the target of 4,000 Indonesia peace forces. On the general picture, the moves are about the completion of regulations and the law regarding the peacekeeping forces, the formulation of programs and the policy supporting this peacekeeping forces, forming the related institutions, performing training and optimizing the Indonesia military forces capability, forming cooperation and comparative study with the UNDPKO, also taking diplomatic measures to support the strategic

plan of Indonesia in the international forums.

Moreover, in the roadmap vision formed by the government, Indonesian government has also mapped several areas of UN peacekeeping operations, which might provide an opportunity to Indonesia to increase its participation in UNPKO. Among eleven operations area where the Indonesia peace forces involved, there are in Lebanon (UNIFIL), Mali (MINUSMA), Kongo (MONUSCO), South Sudan (UNMISS), The Republic of Central Africa (MINUSCA), Abyei-Sudan (UNISFA), West Sahara (MINURSO), Darfur-Sudan (UNAMID), Liberia (UNMIL), Syria, and Palestine. And Lebanon (UNIFIL), from the opportunities and challenges perspective, becomes one of the operation areas that is highly potential for Indonesia to increase its contribution, as compared to other operation areas.

The next question is why does Indonesia propose Roadmap Vision 2019 and want to be one of major contributing of UN Peacekeepers by 2019? What does the motivation and aims to realize this project? What kind of opportunity and obstacles will Indonesia face? These questions need to be scrutinized regarding the Indonesian plan to implement Roadmap Vision in 2019.

In respond to the Vision, Della-Giacoma, the deputy Director of the Center on International Cooperation argues as a “noble and ambitious goal of international good citizenship.” (*The Jakarta Post*, 5 July, 2015). It is obvious that the idea behind to propose Roadmap Vision has demonstrated that Indonesia needs persistent and clear strategy in regard to its contribution in international peace and security. Ideally, the Roadmap provides apparent guidance in how Indonesia should take a part in peacekeeping operation internationally. This vision will also describe the future of Indonesian participation in UNPKO, particularly UNIFIL, which is congruent with the changing in international arena and the reflection of Indonesian foreign policy.

Indonesian ambition to become the top ten of UN Peacekeepers can be understood as a way to show more commitment to contribute the international peace and security. Indonesian Foreign Ministry remarks that the ‘participation is a concrete indicator of country’s role in giving contributor to the international peace keeping and security’. (KEMLU, 2013). Strategic Planning of Indonesian Foreign Ministry (2015-2019) mentions that Indonesia wants to be *Part of Solutions* for global problems. Adding the troops in UNIFIL means that Indonesia now moves more seriously to tackle the international problems.

Furthermore, under the democratization era, some old spirits of the Army need to change. For example they need to conduct the operation that did not violate the universal value of human rights according to the international community as UN Human Right stated. Indonesian army also needs to improve its technique and spirit to deal with the civilian during the conflict. Before Indonesian Peace keeping departs to conduct its duty, UN supervises a training for the Army through serial techniques such as Observation Post, Patrol, and Standardized Tactical Incident Reaction (STIR). This training has elevated Indonesian Army skills. In the deployment of the conflict area that has designated by UN, the Indonesian Army can practice their necessary skill that had already been taught during the training.

These practice of peace keeping action in other countries under UN Peacekeeping mission will improve Indonesian Arm Forces when they have to deal with the humanitarian issues in the domestic and regional realm.

As ASEAN now currently improve their cooperation in the humanitarian issues, TNI with other ASEAN Arm Forces or Polices can apply the multilateral approach of UN model of humanitarian action to tackle the problem in the region. From their experience working with Arm forces personnel from other countries, this may change their national stand to traditional sovereignty to the point that makes them able to conduct genuine cooperation. It has been widely concerned that ASEAN member-states cannot conduct the meaningful security cooperation that this region needs because the idea of national traditional sovereignty as the most sensitive issues hampers the regional cooperation.

Indonesia’s commitment on UNIFIL and UNPKO also coincides with the unprecedented increase in the global demand for UN peacekeeping and the progressive evolution of modern peacekeeping. Blue helmet are now entrusted with more complex and multidimensional mandates. More commitment to increase the number of troops serve in UN peacekeeping, like Indonesia, would support UN Peacekeepers. Vice President of Indonesia, Jusuf Kala, during Peace Keeping Summit September 2015 in New York, recognized the UN challenge in dealing with the current situation that need this world organization to intervention and attention as follow:

“The demand does not only outpace the UN’s capacity to respond to crises around the world, but also drains the pool of personnel and capabilities contributed by member states. (Wapesri, 2015).

Furthermore, trend in UN mission as mentioned in *Report of Uniting our Strength for Peace-Politics Partnership and People*, needed to be more flexible in responding to the situation on the ground, including deploying more quickly. With Indonesian’s bold commitment to increase the number of troops and its capacity could help this (Della-Giacoma, Jim, 2015). In this sense, an effort to implement 4,000 peacekeepers is congruent with current UN peacekeeper demand.

Moreover, acceptance to doubling the troops and place Indonesian in the top ten of UN mission will boost the country position in the international and regional arena. Increasing the number of Indonesian troops would add the instrument of *Soft Power diplomacy*. According to J. Nye, power is the ability of achieving their interests. More specifically, power is the ability to be able to influence and determine the action of other in order to meet its own interests. It should be stressed that, unlike the hard power, which has military and economic means to enforce certain actions, soft power rather than influencing the action of other, it involves a process of convincing the action of others (Nye, 2004).

THE CHALLENGES ON IMPLEMENTING THE POLICY OF INCREASING PEACEKEEPING FORCES IN LEBANON

In theoretical framework of international relations, the decision of Indonesia I creating roadmap vision of 4,000 peacekeepers could be analyzed using the theory of neo-classical realism in foreign policy analysis, in which the idea of leader or government also effects the decision making process. The contribution of the government of Republic Indonesia in the peacekeeping mission matters is highly influenced by the character of the current ruling power. In Indonesia, the vision that is formed by the government, related to the involvement in activities of keeping world's security and peace, can be considered as constant from era to era. As issued in Defense Ministry Information Media in the year of 2014 (WiRA, 2014), the presidents, who have ever ruled Indonesia, have a relative same perspective one to another. While in fact, the government's perspective on seeing the world peace will affect the decision that is made for formulating Indonesian foreign policy that is independent and active. In the era of President Soekarno (1945-1968), the world peace was seen as a result created through supports for the independence of colonized states. This perspective makes Indonesian military force, in that era, was actively involved in the world peacekeeping mission in order to help to create a peace in conflicted states, in Cold War era. Whereas, in President Soeharto era (1968-1998), the world peace was seen from the spirit on developing a better and more justice world. Because its base was a development then President Soeharto focused more on the role of Indonesian military forces to build a security inside the country than aggressively being involved in UN peace missions. That condition is the cause of Indonesia temporary vacuum from UN peacekeeping missions.

Then, in the era of President Habibie (1998-1999), President Gus Dur (1999-2001), President Megawati (2001-2004), on the average they saw the world peace through the existence of agreements and international cooperation, also a good diplomacy practice among the countries. In this era, Indonesian attention to get actively involved in peacekeeping missions reappeared. Indonesian biggest contribution in UN peacekeeping increases rapidly in President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono era (2004-2014), he actively increases the role of Indonesian military force in every UN peacekeeping mission. Eventhough he has relative similar views with his predecessor, regarding the world peace through the implementation of agreement and international cooperation, his perception about equality among nations also his background as the ex-commander of Garuda contingent in Bosnia Mission makes him very eager to increase the contribution of Indonesian military forces as a part of international society also as implementations of Indonesia foreign policy. The spirit created by SBY was followed by the current president of Indonesia Republic, President Jokowi (2014 – now), who is indeed a leader figure who has big ambitions to increase the role and improve Indonesian image in the eyes of the international. The background and also the government perspective on Indonesian role in creating the world peace affect the implementation of Indonesian policies and programs related to the peacekeeping matter. Therefore, the change in character of the government that can influence the policy regulations is a challenge for the development of Indo-

nesian peacekeeping forces, without exceptions related to Indonesian military forces deployment in UNIFIL.

Then, in terms of regulations and infrastructures readiness, it also raises a problem for Indonesian forces in UNIFIL. As stated in *Roadmap Vision 4,000 Indonesian Peacekeepers 2015-2019*, the thing that becomes Indonesian forces biggest problem in UNIFIL is related to the government budget that is considered as not sufficient enough to support mission implementation in Lebanon (Roadmap vision, 2015). Therefore, Indonesian government needs to increase the integrity among the ministries and related institution regarding the formulation of ground rule that regulate the organizational structure and budgeting for Indonesian peacekeeping activities, so it can maximize the peacekeeping operation.

The other aspect that also becomes a challenge for Indonesian peacekeeping forces in Lebanon and also in other mission areas is related to the integrity of the forces and the local communities. In attempts to create a sustainable peace, it is important for the peace forces to be well-integrated with the local communities, where that forces are deployed. However, besides the sufficient military equipment, people-to-people approach to the local communities is also useful to make the peace mission easier to be carried out by the military forces. So far, Indonesian troops in Lebanon are troops that are known as friendly and able to approach the local communities well as compared to others forces.¹ This closeness makes Indonesia military forces have a good impression in the eyes of Lebanon communities also able to gain their sympathy. Besides, Lebanese people are quite sensitive, so such an emotional approach is necessary to establish a good relationship with local people. This assumption is also mentioned by the UN Secretary General, Ban Ki Moon, while visiting Indonesian peacekeeping training center (IPSC) in Sentul, Bogor in 2012, which is officially reported in UN web page. The reason of this assumption is because, at the beginning of the arrival of UN peace force in the conflict zones, it is a common thing if the local people do not trust the peace forces or also known as Blue Helmet Forces. Many of them did not receive positive responses even they got stoned. Such a condition of course will hinder the attempt of UN peace force on helping them create peace. Furthermore, the raising of scandals and sexual harassment committed by the UN peacekeeping forces in several operation zones make the attempt of fixing the image of UN peace forces quite difficult. Therefore, according to Ban Ki Moon, the people's trust is very important in UN peacekeeping operation. And the ability to gain the people's trust is what Indonesian peace forces have in Lebanon. This achievement will be a challenge for the future Indonesian military forces whether they want it or not, so they can maintain the positive image of Indonesia in Lebanon. Besides, language constraints also becomes a homework for Indonesian government in order to improve the ability of its military forces, especially in

¹As stated by UNIFIL former soldier, Harimurti, Agus. 2010. In his private blog Garuda Contingent untuk UNIFIL, Available Online at] <https://agusyudhoyono.wordpress.com/2010/01/22/winning-the-hearts-and-minds-a-lesson-learned-from-lebanon/> accessed on 27 May 2016

terms of communication, so they can maximize the attempt of peacekeeping forces in Lebanon and in the world so it will rise the trust both by other countries and UN to involve Indonesia on every peacekeeping missions.

CONCLUSION

Indonesia involvement in UNIFIL is a manifestation of Indonesian commitment to help to create the world peace and security as stated in the preamble of Indonesian constitution. Indonesian government commitment, furthermore, was manifested on the *Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peace-*

keepers 2015-2019 in 2015, where the government tries to enhance the role of Indonesian military forces in UN peacekeeping missions by increasing the number of troops to 4,000 personnel in the year of 2019. The purpose of the roadmap is as Indonesia's foreign policy strategy to be able to rank on the list of the big ten countries of the peacekeeper contributors in UNPKO. Moreover, the increasing of Indonesia involvement in UNIFIL and UNPKO is also as an attempt of Indonesia to be actively involved in protecting human rights and humanitarian security, which is currently the main regional issue in ASEAN.

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The Perils of Neoliberal Free Trade; The Case of Fisheries Free Trade Agreement between PNG and EU

Penyusun :

(a) • **Quinette E.
Mursau**

(b) (1) • **Vinsensio
Dugis**

^(a) Postgraduate
Student/Master Program, Dept.
of International Relations

^(b) Lecturer, Dept. of
International Relations

Universitas Airlangga
Dharwamangsa Dalam
Selatan 4-6, Surabaya 60286

⁽¹⁾ Corresponding authors

Tel: (031) 5034015

Fax: (031) 5012442

E-Mail address:

mursauquinette@gmail.com

vinsensio.dugis@fisip.unair.ac.id

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Abstract

It has been widely known that free trade is one among key prescriptions championed by the proponents of neoliberalism for developing countries in order to reduce poverty, raise growth, and lift up economic development. As such, developing countries have been encouraged to open up their domestic market to the global economy, and for that purpose, furthermore, engaging in various forms of free trade agreement with developed countries and international or regional organizations is seen as a promising way for economic growth and development. As a matter of fact, free trade and free market have been institutionalized through the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other regional organizations such as the European Union (EU), the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). With this belief, Papua New Guinea (PNG) has joined the WTO and has recently entered a free trade agreement with EU. Why is this poor nation in the South Pacific entering into a lucrative free trade agreement with a strong regional Intergovernmental Organization? Using a canned tuna free trade agreement between PNG and the EU as a case study, this paper argues that the proponents of neoliberal free trade routinely ignore the hidden cost of neoliberal free market to the environment and the community of developing countries. PNG's economic growth is at its infancy and signing agreements for free trade is selling all the country's resources to the EU market at a cheap price. This poses the main argument for this paper that free trade agreement between PNG and EU only serves the interest of the European market as PNG continues to maintain its status as one of the poor countries in the South Pacific. With this main argument as the focus of this paper, an analysis of the foreign company RD Tuna Canners, a Philippine canning industry that operates in PNG and exports directly to European markets under the free trade agreement was used to support the position of this paper.

1. INTRODUCTION

The remnants of imperialism in many developing countries, even after long years of colonialism under European nations, could still be felt in the contemporary world, and this is due to the widespread global influence of the concept of neoliberalism, through which the economies have become internationalized to support the economy of the developed world. This is an age of neoliberalism (Saad-Filho & Johnston, 2006), a long period where power and wealth are, to an ever increasing degree, concentrated within transnational corporations and elite groups. International institutions like WTO and IMF seem more superior to developing member countries which have no choice but to comply in negotiating with these institutions' standards and regulations (Vreeland, 2003; Odell, 2006).

Papua New Guinea (PNG) as a developing nation became a member of World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1995 and signed the Interim Partnership Agreement with European Union (EU) in 2008. The question is, why is this poor nation in the South Pacific entering into a lucrative free trade agreement with a strong regional Intergovernmental Organisation? PNG's economic growth is at its infancy and signing agreements for free trade is selling all the country's resources to the EU market at a cheap price. This poses the main argument for this paper's position that free trade agreement between PNG and EU will only serve the interest of the European market as PNG continues to maintain its status as one of the poorest countries in the South Pacific. With this main argument as the focus of this paper, an analysis of the foreign company RD Tuna Canners, a Philippine canning industry that operates in PNG and exports directly to European markets under the free trade agreement will be used to support the position of this paper.

Neoliberalism takes its basic word from liberalism to mean free capitalist market but now with the inclusion of 'neo' meaning economic liberalism where there is no control measure on economic trade but free enterprise and competition. As Thorsen and Lie (2006) put it, 'neoliberalism is a revival of liberalism.' It is a theory of political economic practices proposing that the well-being of humans can 'best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade' (Harvey, 2005: 2). While domestically it refers to 'policies and processes whereby a relative handful of private interests are permitted to control as much as possible a social life in order to maximize their personal profits' (McChesney, 1999: 7), neoliberalism globally points to a situation where the world economy is structured by the decisions of non-state actors while national governments have very little influence on it. Thus, economic liberalism is the belief that states ought to abstain from intervening in the economy and instead leave as much as possible up to the individuals participating in free and self-regulating markets (Thorsen & Lie, 2006).

In the last several decades, neoliberalism has been the dominant global political economic trend. As it has been proposed and predominantly supported by many political

parties of the right, parties at the centre and even those of the traditional lefts have in various ways adopted neoliberalism economic prescriptions as well (McChesney, 1999: 7). The problems begin to flourish when more power is given to the individuals with less government intervention and control, as this has allowed international business to have the freedom to establish operations that are designed to their advantage and not to the host country where it establishes its business operation. Thus, the poor become poorer and the rich become richer that ultimately leads to resource exploitation, and foreign investors do not take into consideration the socio-economic impact its operation has on the host country, which is usually, the poor developing countries (Saad-Filho & Yalman, 2010).

Within the system of neoliberalism economy, the role of state is being progressively reduced to the level where the market is able to function economically efficiently, and these states share power with the transnational corporations (Fotopoulos, 2001). The movements of commodities and capital across frontiers have conditioned the economic policies of national governments and the reproduction of the growth of economy. Being equally important, the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO nominally act under the instructions of the participating nation-states, and with this, they 'effectively represent the interests of the transnational economic elites, which play a decisive role in the process of electing the governing political elites in the major market economies (Fotopoulos, 2001). Thus, neoliberalism is 'the dominant ideology shaping our world today' (Thorsen & Lie, 2006).

One of the major marketing economy which emphasizes on free trade and the removal of protectionist policies by the developing economies is the EU trade block. Under the neoliberal influence, it has the belief that economic growth could be achieved in a highly possible way, and equitable distribution of wealth among the population could be effectively gained through the working mechanisms of EU. As will be seen from the case explored in this paper, however, this possibility also creates too many hardships for the citizens, especially the poor.

2. FISHERIES FREE TRADE BETWEEN PNG AND EU AUTHOR

Until late 1990s, most developing economies still maintained protective policies, ranging from tariffs, quotas, subsidies and other measures. Many of these developing nations have eventually begun to liberalize their trade since early 2000s following the agreement of structural reforms and trade liberalization signed while joining the World Trade Organization in 1995. As the liberalization widened while the developing economies lacked specialization level in production, this resulted in a significant increase in imports, whereas exports remain persistently sluggish (Abbas, 2014).

PNG from the Pacific Region entered free trade agreement with EU in 2008 and paved a way for international businesses to operate in PNG. The agreement which comes in the form of the Economic Partnership Agreement

(EPA) concluded between the EU and PNG, and also Fiji. In general, EPA liberalizes trade between the parties with the EU in goods, but does not cover the trade in services. The agreement includes; duty and quota-free exports from Papua New Guinea and Fiji to the EU as of 1 January 2008 (European Commission, 2014). PNG and Fiji have different terms of agreement depending on the type of resources each has to offer to the European markets. For PNG, liberalising 88% of EU imports with the agreement excludes the most sensitive economic sectors such as meat, fish, vegetables, furniture and jewellery (European Commission, 2014).

With EPA in place, the EU made the decision that they would like to import tuna from PNG. Subsequently, PNG signed the agreement. The EU decision to import canned tuna through free trade allowed foreign companies to invest in PNG. It opened doors for the Filipino company RD Tuna Canners to directly export canned tuna to the European market. This is an example of neoliberals influence; it is the spread of global capitalism and consumerism, given the fact that 'at least 2.5 million metric tons of the global tuna catch is destined for canning' (Hamilton et al., 2011). Indeed, overall demand for tunna has increased and to meet this growing demand, a study carried out by Hamilton et al. in 2011 showed that 'total capital investment in purse-seine fishing vessels is in order of US\$ 5.8 billion, representing over 30% of total capital investment in the global canned tuna industry (around US\$15 billion), and PNG is just one of the many contributing to the global consumerism culture by opening its economy to the global market.

It is true that achieving highly desirable economic growth is one of the most important goals of any country (Chua, 2015). PNG is one of those nations who became a member of WTO with the desire to improve its economic growth and felt that it is responsible to play a part in signing free trade agreements and to become a part of the global economic community. According to Chua (2015), openness and trade may raise the economic growth in some countries but it can also reduce economic growth in other countries. PNG opened its economy for free trade, however, through its lack of specialization in production and technological knowledge, it continues to accept foreign investors to take control of the country's resources and manufacturing industries. One of these industries is the fishing industry that allows vast stock of tuna fishing in its economic exclusive zone. According to Hamilton et al. (2011), the total catch of the PNG feet was around 200,000 mt in 2009. All vessels are privately-owned, mostly by the Philippine and Taiwanese companies with investment in onshore processing and net repair facilities in PNG, as well as fishing/ processing operations elsewhere.

However, this fishing industry investment is pushing the land owners to the fringes and turning them into marginalized communities. One line of criticism of free trade is that it 'aggravates income inequality and harms human rights, especially labor rights, because major countries play by different rules. Further, externalities in the form of harm to the environment, national security and other socio-political costs are not factored into economic gains from free trade (Emami & Tarzi, 2014).

This is the case of Papua New Guineans who are greatly impacted by this free trade agreements. The agreement striped indigenous people off their land rights. People had been evacuated from their land since the company mentioned that the land was bought off and belonged to the RD Group of Companies from the Philippines. The government has turned a blind eye to the plight of the displaced people due to the free trade agreement with the EU. Thus, it is evident that the rights of the indigenous people are overlooked and there is abuse of human rights, where local people have been used as cheap labour on their own land. A study conducted by Bismarck Ramu Group, a non-government organization that helps rural communities increase their access to information found that, 'between 2003 and 2011, 5.5 million hectares were stolen from communities by foreign corporations as a result of widespread fraud, corruption, intimidation and illegal land deals. Today, 70% - 80% of the country is in foreign hands. Communities need accurate information and support to organize and network to combat this massive injustice' (Bismarck Ramu Group, n.d). This is the new form of neoliberalism where free trade agreement takes precedence over human right struggles. Thus, the rich grow richer and the poor grow poorer as an effect of neoliberalism through free trade agreement. As Irwin (2015) states 'trade policy remains a highly controversial subject, a source of never ending public debate.'

3. IMPACT OF FISHERIES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

More and more resources are extracted from PNG under the free trade agreements and people have become the victims. Their homes have been destroyed; land and sea as their source of survival have been taken by the foreign company and the government of PNG does not have the capacity to take control of the situation. That means that international trade brings out anxieties and insecurities for people which are greatly reflected by the peoples' struggles as they are driven off their land for the economic gains of wealthy and the elites. The idea that free trade is one best way toward the development of a nation's economy only allows the sense of no control to go even further, encouraging free enterprise, free competition, which eventually means free for the capitalists to make huge profits as they wished (Garcia, n.d.), resulted in various bad impacts for the people in general.

The first impact of this Fisheries Free Trade Agreement (FFTA) is exploitation of land and marine resources. For a tuna manufacturing company, resources and labour are the two essential components used in production which is the heart of the company operation. In securing resources for an onshore canning industry, both land and sea are prime factors to acquire tuna and construction of manufacturing facility. PNG societies are built upon ownership of land and to the people, land is life as many have depended upon it for survival. Each tribe and clan prides itself in the ownership of land but for the case of the communities who live along the north coast of Madang province, their customary land rights to 860 hectares of land were stripped

off and awarded to the foreign fishing company. The company operation commenced in 1997 and in that same year, it became the principal landowner of 860 hectares of land. The question how this new foreign company acquired 860 hectares of land is an ongoing issue between the customary landowners and the company. It is a major injustice to the customary landowners who feel a sense of ownership towards the huge piece of land being awarded to the foreign company.

In 1905, the German Administrators gave 860 hectares of land to the Madang Catholic Archdiocese under free hold title. In the 1980's the customary landowners wanted to get their land back but instead of giving the land to the people, the Archdiocese gave the land title to the Madang Provincial Government and the local people were led to believe that they would get the land back from the Government to do business. However, in 1997 when RD Tuna Cannery entered the shores of PNG, the 860 hectares of land was auctioned, and the company bought the land for K3 million, making the company as the principal owner. This has allowed the company to having access to the land and its vast tuna stock, pushing the local people towards the fringes of the society and found themselves in a situation where they had to compete with the company and share their land and marine resources. The competition is always in favor of the company as the customary land rights have been stripped off the local people and awarded to the company.

After having access to the vast tuna stock and 860 hectares of land, the company built a wharf for its fishing vessels, an ice plant and a cold storage, that are operated and managed by its sister company called RD Fishing. RD Fishing acts as the supplier of tuna to RD Tuna Cannery who then processes it into canned tuna and frozen loins and exports it to the EU markets. Exports to the EU markets commenced well before the EU EPA materialized in 2008 and was ratified in 2011. In the year 2003 and the years leading up to 2008, exports were into full swing between RD Tuna Cannery and the European markets. What was needed the most between these two parties was a free trade deal within the fisheries sector to remove export and import fees to create a smooth path for the exchange of capital and goods. One study carried out by Oli Brown (2005) found that 'the EU has a long history of fishing, strong domestic demand for fish products and a socio-economically important fishing industry. With collapsing fish stocks in EU waters and over-capacity in the EU fishing fleet, there has been a great deal of pressure on the European Commission to negotiate access to foreign fishing grounds. The EU is the world's largest market for fish products and is supplied largely from third country and international waters.'

In order to remove the national borders to allow for smooth exchange between RD Tuna Cannery and EU markets, the state as a host country to the MNC entered the picture and became a signatory to the proposed EU Economic Partnership Agreement. The fisheries trade liberalization between EU and PNG placed more power in the hands of the foreign company. Once free trade was enforced between the two regions, demands for canned tuna and frozen loins increased and that resulted in the use of

more tuna for constant production. The company came up with the idea of a Pacific Marine Industrial Zone. RD Tuna Cannery then sold 216 hectares of land to the government with the idea to turn that land into a Pacific Marine Industrial Zone. When the government bought the land from RD Tuna Cannery, all the local people who settled along the 216 hectares of land were forcefully evicted by the police with houses burnt up in flames to make space for the company's marine park project to eventuate. Once again, the people were driven off the land to make way for the construction of the company's proposed idea of a Pacific Marine Industrial Zone. The company initiated the ideas, strategies and plans and waited for EU and PNG Government to agree on fisheries trade liberalization in order to execute its mission. Thus, 'governments will take whatever steps necessary to protect private economic interests, such as those held by multinational corporations (Clarke, n.d).

With 860 hectares of land being stripped away and tuna being over fished by the foreign fishing vessels to meet the EU market demands, local communities have been marginalized and pushed to the fringes and struggle to survive on a daily basis. Without land, they must fish. With RD's presence, they cannot fish as they once did. Without fish, they must labor for RD, which prevents them from working their gardens. Without sufficiently paid, they cannot feed their families, or pay school fees or health expenses. As Korten (2015) states, 'as competition for land and natural resources grows, those people who have supported themselves with small scale farming, fishing and other resource-based livelihoods find their resources are being expropriated to serve the few while they are left to fend for themselves.'

As a result of that, it has led to more social issues where young ladies have turned to prostitution, law and order issues have escalated, with female employees being subjected to robbery, an increase in ethnic clash between two different provinces. Public transportation is held up at gun point and many females walk in fear of their lives. Since all avenues of generating income have been seized by the company as having control over the land and sea, the impacted communities are subjected to social issues and increasing level of poverty. 'Experience showed that the benefits of free trade flowed overwhelmingly to the more economically advanced and/or politically powerful party'(Clarke, n.d).

The second impact is the use of cheap labour. As the principal landowner of 860 hectares of land, the company does not pay land rate and land tax. It utilizes the EU free trade with PNG and avoids export fees. The company took the local communities' land and tuna, in return they are given employment opportunities with very low wage that cannot sustain a family on a fortnightly basis. A letter by the PNG Department of Labour and Industrial Relations dated July 2010 called on the company to pay workers at the national minimum wage rate of K2.29 per hour. The new national rate came into effect in January 2010 when the company avoided raising the pay rate until it was once again called on by the PNG Labour and Industrial Department to pay workers accordingly. Following a strike by

the workers over the minimum wage, RD Tuna suspended 400 workers when they went on strike, and the company confirmed that the workers were placed on preventive suspension (The National, 2010). For a company that has 860 hectares of land, access to vast tuna stock and exports to the EU markets using the country's free trade deal and underpaying its workers is total injustice. There is no fair and equal participation of local communities in this free trade deal that comes with promises of good jobs to all, peace and prosperity. Instead, it has generated more issues for the impacted communities.

Local people along the impacted communities have given up working for the company because the time and effort they invest in the tuna production come with low wage. As a result, RD Tuna recruits casual workers from different provinces in PNG, mainly from the highland region. This has caused a wave of migration issue where those from the highland region are seeking opportunities in the coastal area where most females are now being recruited and employed by the company. The female employees outside of the province are subjected to a number of issues. Without water connection, electricity and renting traditional run down houses, the standard of living is well below the standard of a person who is officially employed by a company who is exporting to the EU markets.

The third impact is on environmental degradation. RD Tuna operating in Madang Province of PNG with license to operate in the waters of PNG has the legal right to catch tones of tuna in the Economic Exclusive Zones of PNG. In 2003, the fishing company's impact on the local communities was astounding. The impact ranges from a combination of pollution and overfishing, constant production that requires enormous tones of tuna to be processed within a given day with disposal of waste, a huge concern from the surrounding communities. Thus, community leaders sought help from the Bismarck Ramu Group (BRG) an NGO to air their concerns to relevant stakeholders, and a letter was drafted to the EU Delegation to PNG seeking appropriate actions to put a limit to the company's constant breach of the initial agreement it failed to adhere. The EU Delegation to PNG responded with a letter stating that they could not provide the solution since the tuna cannery operated within the jurisdiction of PNG's environmental laws and regulations.

In the letter dated 10 March, 2004 addressed to the EU Delegation in PNG by BRG raised the issue again that an 'independent study commissioned by the Prime Minister was conducted and while the results have not totally been made public, the Minister for Environment & Conservation has said that Parliament RD Tuna was 'guilty' of dumping waste fish into a nearby lagoon.' The PNG government has no control over the decisions and agreements signed by the two parties. PNG government gives more respect and honour to EU than its own people and as a

result, its own resources and people have been exploited by foreign investors.

Obviously, PNG is not prepared to enter into free trade agreements, as it does not have the capacity to solve the issue of the displaced people, the rise of social issues and environmental damage and is only complying with the free trade agreement imposed by EU. Korten (2015) in his study on 'When Corporations Rule the World' outlines the fact that 'politicians and the press display little awareness of life beyond the façade even less understanding of the root causes of poverty and unemployment, inequality, violent crime, family and environmental collapse and family breakdown.' The initial agreement before the company established its production plant included spin off-business ventures, revenue to the province and country, however, long-term gains have proven empty, now that it appears that RD will continue to enjoy tax exemptions, that their spin-off enterprises are structured to profit RD only' (Sullivan, 2003).

It is a win-win situation for the European buyers and the Philippine company since RD Tuna Cannery obtains more European Customers and increases its export sales and profits while European buyers do not pay for import fees. Meanwhile, the PNG government is left on the sideline to wait for the company tax fees which come in very small proportion compared to the profit made by the foreign company. As Jeff Madrick writes, 'free trade creates winners and losers' (Irwin, 2015). Therefore, arguments projected above speaks volumes of the injustice of free trade agreement between PNG, and EU and this free trade agreement unanimously benefits the EU trade bloc who comes out as the winner and PNG as the loser.

4. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is evident that neoliberalism only serves the interest of the rich capitalist economies using free trade as a scapegoat for its own gain. The establishment of WTO, IMF and World Bank is international institutions that greatly support free movement of goods and capital across borders. Regional intergovernmental organisations such as NAFTA, APEC and EU strengthen the concept of neoliberalism through its functions. Less developed countries open their economy with the belief that they will have great access to economic growth but that is not the case as evident in the case of PNG and the free trade agreement with EU. It is not a win-win situation but a win-lose situation since the rich economy has a lot to gain from free trade agreement and the rich developing country is selling all its resources at a very cheap price with detrimental social impact. This is the perils of neoliberal free trade, where the case of PNG-EU is an enormous win for the EU economy and a loss for PNG; the agreement only benefits the EU and not PNG.

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Explaining the Ineffectiveness of Indonesian's Foreign Policy toward the Papuan Issue in a South Pacific Region

Penyusun :

• **Hipolitus
Yolisandry
Ringgi Wangge**

Marthinus Academy
Sudirman

Kav. 52-53 Sudirman Central
Business District, 11th Floor One
Pacific Place Building, Jakarta,
Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta
12190, Indonesia

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Airlangga

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Abstract

The continuing human rights abuses, as well as the politically and economically marginalized condition in Papua since it was integrated into Indonesia in 1969, have prompted Pacific countries, which include a group of ethnic Melanesian countries, to pay close attention to Indonesia's two most eastern provinces. In 2015, the Melanesian Spearheaded Group (MSG), a Melanesian sub-regional political and trade bloc, granted observer status to the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULWP), a group which represents Papuan independence groups at the international level. Since then, Jakarta-based elites have started to worry. The important question, however, is why, over the years, the Indonesian government seems to have been unable to defuse the internationalization of the Papuan issue, particularly at the regional level.

Drawing from the classical debate between realism theory and constructivist concept of international relations, this paper highlights three factors which contribute to the ineffectiveness of Indonesia's foreign policy toward the internalization of Papua's issue in South Pacific Region. These factors are a lack of coordination between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as a main actor, and other related ministries; a lack of priority regarding the Pacific region on the Indonesia's foreign policy construction; and the ignorance of the Indonesian government about Papuan elites, both in Papua and in exile, to coordinate their campaign for independence. The contribution of this paper is not merely to understand the role of foreign policy in addressing the local conflict but also to discuss Pacific regional politics in what appears to be deemed a relatively less important region.

A. INTRODUCTION

In the past decade, the Papuan issue has again gained intensive attention among Pacific countries, following its first being brought onto the international radar by Pacific countries at the United Nations (UN) Millennium meeting in 2000. Some Pacific countries, such as Nauru, the Mar-

shall Islands, Tuvalu, Tonga, and Palau, along with their counterparts of some Melanesian countries, namely the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, raised concern again over the situation in Indonesia's easternmost provinces at the 71st session of the UN General Assembly on September 2016 in New York. In response, a young Indonesian dip-

lomat rejected all claims they highlighted about the severe human rights condition in Papua. Accordingly, the attention to Indonesia's human rights record in Papua prompted nationalistic responses back home, with local media¹ making a star of diplomat Nara Masista Rakhmatia for standing up to the audacious Pacific upstarts and accusing them of interfering in Indonesia's domestic affairs.

The diplomatic show at the UN General meeting has to be seen as another battle in the internationalization of the Papuan issue, particularly in the Pacific region. What happened at the UN General Assembly was more than just a symptom of ongoing disagreements between the Indonesian government and Pacific countries over human rights abuses and the "internationalization" of the Papua issue. It was also an example of Indonesia's poorly handled diplomacy toward the small Pacific states. Defensive Indonesian statements about sovereignty and territorial integrity do nothing to address the humanitarian issues that are, in fact, the primary concerns of state and non-state actors in the Pacific.

In the last ten years, the international campaign for Papuan self-determination has attracted wide attention. This fact raises an important question: why, over the years, has the Indonesian government seemed unable to defuse the internationalization of the Papua issue, particularly at the regional level? In this paper, I will argue that three factors hamper the Indonesian foreign policy to contain the Papuan issue. First, a lack of coordination between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as a main actor, and other related ministries. There is a need to align what happens on the ground with what is presented to the international community. Second a lack of priority regarding the Pacific region on the Indonesia's foreign policy construction. In this regard, the South Pacific region in which many Melanesian communities reside is not part of Indonesian projection of its foreign policies for years. Third, there is no strong and deep diplomatic network in South Pacific countries. Many Indonesian diplomats lack the precise competence to contain the Papuan independence campaign across the Pacific area.

The paper is divided into four parts. First, I start by briefly discussing the debate on the realist-based theory of state sovereignty and the constructivist concept of human rights recognition for a state's citizens. Second, I briefly highlight the international campaign issue and how it affects Indonesian foreign policy. Third, I outline three factors which hamper the effectiveness of Indonesian foreign policy toward the Papuan issue. And fourth, I conclude that the Indonesian government has to alter its foreign policy toward the international campaign on the Papuan issue across the Pacific region.

B. SOVEREIGNTY VS. HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION

For years, the Indonesian government has projected its foreign policy based on the sovereignty principle. As displayed by the Indonesian diplomat at the UN General Assembly, territorial sovereignty is the key to rebut all statements on the human rights situation in Papua made by seven Pacific countries. According to the thesis of sovereignty, such statements were misaddressed and should be considered an effort to intervene in Indonesia's sovereignty over its easternmost provinces.

The sovereignty concept has been a subject of the international relations debate for years. The concept is a key element of a realist theory argument that the state is a key actor with territorial authority in the international system. Sovereignty is therefore a source of political legitimacy. Moreover, much plausible scholarship focuses on state domination over the sovereignty concept is seldom, and studies are regularly distributed among state and non-state actors, depending on the issues at hand (Bartelson, 2006).

One basic prerequisite for a state to have legitimacy is its power to control its territory within a defined area (Morgenthau, 1948). As a source of political legitimacy--in which "a group of people within a defined territory is molded into an orderly cohesion through the establishment of a governing authority that can be differentiated from society and which is able to exercise an absolute political power" (Loughlin, 2013)² — the state has an exclusive authority to use its coercive power to contain any perceived threats from both external and internal sources (Ilgen, 2003). In this regard, a governing authority will use any possible means, including military campaigns and diplomatic instruments, to defend its defined territory from both external and internal challenges.

Given its domination over the sovereignty concept, the state tends to defend its national interests at the expense of its citizens' interests. Citizens' interests are perceived as less significant than the state's interests at the international level. From both the international perspective and the Westphalian concept, which is often used as a foundation to argue about state sovereignty, human interests, particularly those of marginalized people, are regularly overlooked. Although, some critics have proposed a globalization concept which challenges the state-domination concept of sovereignty, the state maintains the non-interference principle as a foundation to deal with international protests over domestic problems, such as state-sponsored human rights abuses. However, this principle does not obviate the need to seek international intervention to resolve domestic problems which are deemed at odds with international values.

International intervention over domestic problems in many developing and poor countries in the post-Cold War period has shown the flexibility possible in the non-interference principle in its relation to international pressures. In the cases of Bosnia and East Timor, the notion of state sovereignty over domestic problems could not be used to contain external pressures.

¹ Hendra Gunawan ed., 2016, *Diplomat Cantik Indonesia Hajar 2 Presiden dan 4 PM di PBB*, <http://www.tribunnews.com/internasional/2016/09/28/diplomat-cantik-indonesia-hajar-2-presiden-dan-4-pm-di-pbb>. Accessed on October 20 2016.

² Martin Loughlin quoted in Jens, Bartelson *The Concept of Sovereignty Revisited*, *The European Journal of International Law* (EJIL) Vol. 17 no.2, p. 469

Along with international pressures, state sovereignty is also challenged by domestic pressures based on humanitarian values. Humanitarian principles are part of the constructivist concept which focuses on values and norms which are universally applicable. The international relations debate over human protection is based partly on national interests which are viewed as limited to a state's capability to defend its power or security. Moreover, in forming its foreign policy, the state overlooks national identity based on social interaction. To the realists, human rights are low on the list of national interests. Due to the anarchy in the international condition, and the primacy of national interests, human rights issue are often overlooked; that is, the national interest which based on material values, such as economy and military, should come first when the state interacts with other states.

In contrast to the realists' assumption, the constructivist concept offers arguments more favorable to the human rights issue. For the humanitarians, there is no clash between the state national interest of sovereignty and moral values related to the promotion and protection of human rights (Dunne & Hanson, 2008). This argument is based on an assumption that the international system is not merely about the pursuit of national interests but is also formed by social norms and principles. The international system is based on social structure created by human interaction and has three components: shared knowledge, material resources, and practices (Wendt, 1995). The humanitarian norms are also a national goal which has to be pursued by the state; the goal is not merely material resources as argued by the realists.

Human perception plays a significant role in shaping and determining state interaction (Kowert et al., 1998). Human security is a concern not only of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and some individuals; it is also adopted by a government in its national political agenda. The duty of intervention limited by to state sovereignty has been changed to the responsibility to protect. This argument is a basis for the UN's International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) to evaluate the role of the international community in intervening and stopping the state from sponsoring human rights violation over its citizens (Yu-tai, 2009), as occurred in Rwanda and Bosnia.

The constructivists believe that the change from a state-centered concept of human security based on national interests to a people-centered concept leads the state to forge its international relations based on a common societal interest. Moreover, a focus on a people-lead human security concept can be formed through collective identity, cultural identity, national preference, and language and norms (Yu-tai, 2009). Accordingly, human security is a universal concept that is not limited within national territorial boundaries. In many cases, collective identity based on states' interdependence and cultural identity rooted in shared cultural identity with other states can transform the way a state deals with the protection of its people.

A shared Melanesian identity has prompted some Pacific countries to challenge Indonesia's ignorance about the condition of the Papuans. The constructivist concept

of collective culture as proposed by Peter J. Katzenstein³, is not limited by a state's sovereignty but by shared cultural heritage as can be seen in the Melanesian community across the South Pacific region. Their shared culture has prompted some Pacific countries to raise concern over the human rights situation in Papua (Elmslie and Webb-Gannon, 2014). In turn, the international campaign for Papuan self-determination has become more vibrant at the international level.

C. THE INTERNATIONALIZATION CAMPAIGN OF WEST PAPUA

The issue of Papuan independence in the late 1990s, shortly after the downfall of the authoritarian leader Suharto, stemmed from several factors, such as human rights violations, the exploitation of natural resources which left Papuans with no welfare improvement, the peripheral condition of the economic and cultural sectors, and also spontaneous and planned transmigration which treated Papuans like a minority in their own land (Braithwaite et al., 2010). In response, the issue of Papuan self-determination gained momentum at both the domestic and international levels.

In February 1999, approximately 100 Papuan leaders visited President B. J. Habibie to ask for Papua's independence. The approach of the government's first plan about national dialogue calms down the self-determination issue. The idea of an independent state was turned down absolutely by the government, leaving Papuans with uncertainty about their future after the downfall of former general Suharto. The idea of independence, however, was still alive among Papuans, particularly after the Papuan Second Congress was held in Jayapura from May 29 to June 4, 2000. This Congress was attended not only by local Papuans, but also by representatives of the Papuan exile community based in Papua New Guinea, Pacific countries, Australia, and Europe. The Congress was even supported financially by the Indonesian government under President Abdurrahman Wahid (Braithwaite et al., 2010, 84). One of the key issues discussed and recommended by the Congress was to consolidate the Papuan independence movement with other concerns, such as rectifying the history of Papuan incorporation into Indonesia in 1969 and security conditions in the province.

However, following the regime change from President Wahid to President Megawati Sukarnoputeri, the future of the Papuan independence idea was brutally challenged by Indonesian security officers, particularly after the murder of the Papuan independence leader Theys Eluay by the Indonesian Special Forces (Kopassus) (Hernawan, 2005). Since then, the local dynamic associated with the Papuan self-determination concept has been responded to harshly by the Indonesian government.

Although the Papuan self-determination idea was not a primary issue at the local level, it increasingly received attention at the international level. Following the Papuan

³Peter J. Katzenstein ed.1996a. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, page 60-62.

Second Congress in Jayapura, leaders from Vanuatu and Nauru declared support for Papuan independence at the September 2000 UN Millennium Summit in New York (Lawson, 2016). In the same year, four West Papuans were part of the Nauru delegation to the 31st Pacific Island Forum in Kribati (Oxfam Community Aid Abroad, 2002). This Forum raised concern over the condition in West Papua and proposed peaceful dialogue to find a solution over the human rights issue in the Indonesia's easternmost province.

Along with the international campaign of West Papua at the Pacific Forum, some Papuan independence activists also launched several lobbies to attract sympathizers from around the world who have a concern with human rights. The campaign has two designated fronts: the elite level, including several prominent leaders and NGOs; and the grassroots level which aims to mobilize people for peaceful campaigns, particularly in South Pacific countries.

There are several independence groups which give special attention to the West Papuan issue, such as International Parliamentarians for West Papua (IPWP), International Lawyers for West Papua launched in the Netherlands in 2014, and also West Papua National Coalition for Liberation (WPNCL) which was formed in Vanuatu in 2008. The WPNCL received special attention since it originally tried to propose an intention for becoming a member of the MSG in 2014.⁴

All the aforementioned groups which have a concern about the human rights condition in Papua have initiated several informal efforts to challenge the Indonesian treatment of Papuans since Papua became part of Indonesia in 1969. For instance, in 2013 the Papuan independence activist Benny Wenda, through his lobbying of several parliament members in Europe, successfully formed the WPNCL in London⁵ and launched protests over the Indonesian presence across Papua which he considered "illegal" given the flawed referendum in 1969 which forced Papuans to vote for Indonesian authority over the land shortly after the Dutch left the area in 1967. In addition, Wenda and Octavianus Mothe, another Papuan independence leader, made several international trips to meet world leaders in African and Pacific countries in order receive attention to and support of the Papuan self-determination idea. In addition to the self-determination concept of Papua, it also gained support from some world figures, such as Noam Chomsky and Bishop Desmond Tutu from South Africa.⁶

⁴ Rika, Netani. 2015. "Indonesia Puts Pressure on Vanuatu: Leaders Choose Regional Solidarity Over Bully." *Islands Business Magazine*, January. Accessed October 22 14, 2015. <http://www.islandsbusiness.com/2015/1/cover-story/indonesia-puts-pressure-on-vanuatu/>.

⁵ The Jakarta Post, 2013, Indonesia Protests Opening Free West Papua Office Oxford, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/05/05/indonesia-protests-opening-free-west-papua-office-oxford.html>. Accessed October 22, 2016

⁶ Chomsky's support to the Papuans can be seen in this video <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XWlYorZWvWw>. Additionally, Desmond Tutu has long vowed for the UN to investigate the human rights situation in Papua, <http://www.unpo.org/article/435>. Accessed on October 12, 2016.

At the grassroots level, the self-determination idea has been raised through peaceful protests across some Pacific countries, such as in Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea. Through shared Melanesian culture and coordinated by local NGOs, such as churches, many people have showed their support for the independence of Papua from Indonesia. The Morning Flag, the cultural symbol of West Papua, has been raised in several peaceful rallies and seen in the capitals of some Pacific countries (Elmslie, 2015).

Pacific countries have become a main priority for the international campaign of the Papuan issue since other regions, due partly to their formal and informal relations with Indonesia, have not shown clear support. The Pacific countries, rooted in the three interconnected Polynesian, Micronesian, and Melanesian cultural communities have displayed solidarity (Lawson, 2013) ever since the Papuan human rights condition was raised at regional meetings. The cultural solidarity is the main reason why the Papuan issue has gained special attention since the early 2000s.

Given that backdrop, the independent group WPNCL has been trying to apply for membership at the MSG. However, due to Indonesian diplomacy and the different stances among the five members of the MSG, the WPNCL's application was turned down. This denial has been seen as a victory for the Indonesian government. One reason for the WPNCL failure was that the competing independence groups—WPNCL, the Federal Republic of the West Papua (FRWP), and the National Committee of West Papua (KNPB)--could not form one single group representing the Papuans both domestically and internationally.

However, the ultimate momentum of the internationalization of the Papuan issue came when the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP), an umbrella group which coordinated all the Papuan international campaigns for independence, received observer status from the MSG leaders in Vanuatu in 2015. Since then, massive and coordinated lobbying has been undertaken to challenge the Indonesian authority over the Papua area and to a lesser extent the severe human rights condition in the area. At this point, the Indonesian diplomacy in the South Pacific region was ineffective.

D. INDONESIA'S FOREIGN POLICY INEFFECTIVENESS ON THE PAPUAN ISSUE

For years, the Indonesian government has been trying to contain the internationalization of the Papuan issue at the international level. Recently, the Pacific region has become the priority because the Papuan issue is becoming one of the much-discussed political agendas in the region. However, the reactive style of the Indonesian diplomacy has proved unsuccessful for calming the Papuan issue at the international level.

Based on the recent performance of the Indonesian diplomat at the United Nations General Assembly, the source of dispute appears two-fold. First, Indonesia claims sovereignty over Papua. Second, the Indonesian government maintains ignorance about the human rights problems in Papua--a stance challenged by other states, such as seven

Pacific countries.

Ironically, although the Papuan issue has been an intense concern in Pacific, the majority of Indonesians have little knowledge not only about the international campaign on the Papuan issue but also the real conditions in Papua which is considered by many Indonesians an undeveloped area with a poor condition. Additionally, many Indonesians are more excited about Papuan natural resources than about the condition of Papuans which has been relatively overlooked by the Indonesian government with its partial and inconsistent policies. However, the question of the Papuan issue still rests on the government.

The real question that should be asked is why the Indonesian government cannot contain the international campaign of the Papuan issue. In contrast to some arguments which underestimate the Papuan issue at the international level, I argue that Indonesian foreign policy on the Papuan issue has been ineffective, particularly since the ULMWP gained a new status at the regional organization.

There are three factors which contribute to the ineffectiveness of the Indonesian foreign policy:

D.1. Lack of Institutional Coordination

A lack of coordination between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a main actor and other related ministries has led to the lack of a single policy to defuse the Papuan issue (Wangge and Djali, 2016). Accordingly, there is a strong need to form a parallel approach between what happens on the ground and what policy will be presented in the international community. Insufficient coordination and cooperation is an old and unresolved problem that the Indonesian government has faced since it initiated structural reforms in the early 2000s. In the case of Papua, there is no grand strategy to deal with the internationalization of the Papuan issue that has two implications.

First, the Indonesian government has not made parallel efforts to bridge a) the political and security dynamic in Papua with b) substantive arguments based on comprehensive research to counter allegations at the international level about the condition in Papua. For instance, there are no comprehensive data to present at international forums for resolving human rights cases in Papua. If there are data, they are found in the Violent Conflict in Indonesia Study (ViCIS) published together by the World Bank and the Indonesian State Development Planning Board (BAPPENAS) (Anderson, 2015). However, this data is merely based on newspaper archives collected from 1998-2011. On the contrary, when some Pacific countries challenge the Indonesian diplomatic overtures on the human rights issue in Papua, they rely on reports provided by the NGOs that have conducted research in Papua, such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and those that produced the Franciscan International Report on Human Rights Condition in Papua. Ironically, those NGOs reports have been deemed speculatively and groundlessly by Indonesian government officials, without providing their own reports. Second, governmental institutions in Jakarta and Papua undertake different and sometimes uncoordinated policies to deal with the Papuans' problems, particularly

in the political and security spheres. For instance, when the Papuans raised their political and cultural aspirations, they were responded too harshly by the security apparatuses (CJPC, 2016); apparently this response was not the case for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, since it has repeatedly said at international forums that conditions, particularly indigenous rights, have improved significantly. Another instance: although Indonesian President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo stated that there would be no restrictions on foreign journalists⁷ coming to Papua, there have been no specific policies to implement such a promise. In fact, any foreign journalist who wants to come to Papua still has to obtain complicated permission and follow strict requirements, particularly from security-related agencies, and occasionally without coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thus, the President's statement appears to be only rhetorical.

D.2. Pacific (South Pacific) is not a Priority Region

For years the Pacific region has not been a priority for the Indonesian government (Wangge, 2016). Indonesia has no strong diplomatic relationship with Pacific countries, even though a formal diplomatic relationship with some countries, such as Papua New Guinea and Fiji was forged in the 1970s. For instance, in the economic sphere, Pacific countries are not among Indonesia's top 10 trading partners. As a result, there is no single and independent agency within the foreign affairs ministerial bureaucracy that focuses mainly on the Pacific countries. The Pacific region does not have its own directorate. It is merely incorporated into the general directorate of Africa—culturally, politically, and economically a different region from that of the Pacific.

Since the Pacific is not a priority region, Indonesian policies toward the Pacific countries, particularly the South Pacific countries which share a Melanesian culture identical to Papuan culture, are apparently reactive. As the Papuan issue has become intense in the Pacific region, the Indonesian government has been trying to understand this culture which is a source of solidarity for Papua. For instance, the government sponsored a grouping of the five "Melanesian" provinces in Indonesia – Papua, West Papua, Maluku, North Maluku and East Nusa Tenggara – dubbing it "Melindo" and provided support for the Melanesian Arts and Culture Festival to be held in Kupang in 2015.⁸ These were transparent attempts to convince Pacific countries about Indonesia's commitment to Melanesian heritage across the country, even though the majority of people in

⁷ George Roberts, 2015, Indonesian president Joko Widodo lifts foreign media restrictions in Papua provinces <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-05-11/indonesia-opens-restive-papuan-provinces-to-media/6459068>. Accessed on October 20, 2016.

⁸ Susi Ivart et al., 2015, Festival Menyatukan Rumpun Melanesian di Kupang Dilanjutkan Tahun Depan (Melanesian Festival Aimed at a Uniting Melanesian Clump Will Be Continued Next Year), <http://print.kompas.com/baca/sains/kebudayaan/2015/10/31/Festival-Menyatukan-Rumpun-Melanesia-di-Kupang-Dil>. Accessed on October 10 2016.

East Nusa Tenggara, Maluku, and North Maluku do not share as strong a sense of belonging to Melanesia as indigenous Papuans do.

In addition, when the WPNCL was going to apply for the membership at the MSG in June 2013, the Indonesian government tried to pend this application by allowing the MSG Fact Finding Mission (FMM) to visit Papua in January 2014, although the Vanuatu government boycotted the mission. As predicted, the participants in the half-day trip never met with government critics or human rights activists in Papua. As a result, the WPCNL application was deferred to June 2014 and turned down. The lesson from these examples is that the Indonesian government has always been reactive to South Pacific countries when the Papuan issue has been raised. In terms of strengthening the diplomatic relationships with Pacific countries, the Indonesian government has provided merely *ad hoc* economic assistance to Pacific countries for development, either as part of economic diplomacy or, most importantly, to contain the role of Papuan freedom campaigners. In another instance, when Luhut Panjaitan, former Indonesian coordinating minister for politics, law, and security, last visited PNG and Fiji, traditionally well-known supporters of Indonesian sovereignty in Papua, he displayed the Indonesian government's commitment to invest in several industrial and agricultural sectors and to provide humanitarian assistance for people affected by natural disasters in both countries.⁹

D.3. No Strong and Deep Diplomatic Network

The Indonesian government has not built a strong and deep diplomatic network across all segments in the South Pacific countries. Many Indonesian diplomats lack the precise competence to contain the Papuan independence campaign across the Pacific area. As the Indonesian representatives abroad, the diplomats must have the capacity to establish networks at multiple levels, not only with fellow diplomatic officers, but also NGO activists, political leaders, community members at the grassroots – even Papuan self-determination activists – if there are to be supportive discussions on the Papua issue. The relationship focuses merely at the top-level diplomatic line and rarely at the lowest level.

The impact of the absence of a strong diplomatic network is that Indonesian diplomats occasionally underestimate the ability of Papuan independence activists living overseas to coordinate their campaign to free Papua from Indonesia. It seems the Indonesian government has not learned from history from its past actions related to disintegration-oriented movements. In the case of East Timor, the Indonesian government underestimated the role of the Fretilin group and its humble and savvy diplomat, Jose Ramos Horta. Despite limited resources, Horta was able to convince the international community to pay close attention to what happened in this tiny nation from its in-

tegration in 1975 to its attaining independence in 2002. In the case of Papua, the central government has relatively overlooked the potency of Papuan intellectuals, both in Papua and in exile, to coordinate their campaign for independence. However, since Benny Wenda, a spokesman for the ULWP, opened a Papuan Freedom Organization Movement (OPM) office in London in 2013, and ULWP's offices in Port Vila and Honiara in 2015, there has been no strong and continued political lobbying from the Indonesian government to the British and to Vanuatu and Solomon Islands in order to counter the Papuans' freedom campaign.

Moreover, in the last five years, diplomatic lobbying to contain the Papuan issue has been conducted mainly high-level state officers and politicians, and not by diplomats. For instance, in many international visits to discuss the Papuan issue in 2015 and 2016, Luhut Pandjaitan¹⁰, the former coordinating minister for politics, law, and security, was rarely accompanied by the Indonesian foreign minister or high-level officers from the ministry of foreign affairs. In this regard, the Papuan issue has not been handled across coordinated institutional lines; rather it tends to be dominated by one institution or some figures without consulting with the foreign affairs ministry. As a result, Indonesian diplomats have not produced strong and substantive arguments for discussing the human rights issue in Papua.

The aforementioned factors which hamper the Indonesian diplomatic efforts to contain the Papuan issue have to be resolved immediately. If they are not resolved, the issue will become a thorn in the flesh of the Indonesian government in years to come. The approach of the current government under President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo--providing a bunch of infrastructure projects across the area-- is not enough to calm the issue internationally. There has to be a breakthrough solution to address the Papuan's problem.

E. CONCLUSION

The internationalization of the Papuan issue cannot be contained if the Indonesian government rests its argument only on a sovereignty claim over the Papuan territory. The human rights issue, which is a key concern of the Pacific countries, has to be handled properly by the political will to resolve all past and current human rights cases and to prevent the ability to commit future human rights abuses, particularly by the security apparatuses. The current government under President Widodo has to prove its commitment and show consistency in resolving not only welfare problems but also the security and human rights issues across Papua.

Eventually, two facets can be proposed. First, Jokowi claimed at the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), to support relentlessly Palestinian independence given the misery caused by the Israeli government's hegemonic power. The same approach should be applied in the context of Papua. Indigenous Papuans have repeatedly been side-

⁹ Fardah, 2016, Indonesia Strengthens Ties with South Pacific Nation, Antara News, <http://www.antaraneews.com/en/news/104056/indonesia-strengthens-ties-with-south-pacific-nations>. Accessed in October 21, 2016.

¹⁰ Radio New Zealand, 2016, Jakarta turns to Britain to explain Papua situation <http://www.radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/303996/jakarta-turns-to-britain-to-explain-papua-situation>. Accessed October 21, 2016.

lined in economic and administrative spheres, with misery caused by arrest; torture; limitations of freedom of expression and association; and even murder conducted mainly by security apparatuses. If this continuing treatment fails to receive much attention from Jokowi's administration,

the idea of seceding from Indonesia is inevitable. Second, the ineffective diplomacy of the Indonesian government toward the internationalization of the Papua issue will fortify an image of the government's being unable to protect its sovereignty over Papua.

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The Contestation of Discourses on Sustainable Development in the Controversy of Benoa Bay Reclamation

Penyusun :

***(a)• I Made Anom
Wiranata**

**(b)• Sjafiatul
Mardiyah**

**(c)• Zainal Abidin
Achmad**

^(a) Udayana University
Jl. P.B. Sudirman, Denpasar
80232, Indonesia

^{(b)(c)} Airlangga University
Jl. Airlangga 4-6 Surabaya
60285, Indonesia

* Corresponding author.
Tel.: +62 361 812677
fax: +62 361 255378
E-mail address:
anom_wiranata@unud.ac.id

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environmental justice.*

Abstract

Benoa Bay has been a contested space since groups of civil society organizations and custom villages resist the provincial and national government decision to allow the reclamation of the bay. The protest was initiated by groups of NGOs and individuals in 2013 and followed by tens of custom villages in 2015. This article aims to analyze the contestation of discourses between proponent and opponent of the reclamation project plan. This research applies qualitative method with document study as its data gathering technique. By using discourse analysis technique, this article has found that the controversy of Benoa Bay reclamation involves a contestation of discourses in development in relations to environment. In the contestation of discourses, actors compete to gain public and decision making acceptance by using frames and narratives in order to gain support for their definition of reality. The story-line or narratives from the investors and their supporters have inter-related texts within the discourse of mainstream ecological modernization discourse. This discourse basically mentions that the solution of environmental issue is by doing more industrialization. Environmental impact can be remedied by science and technology. The narratives from the opponents are influenced by the discourse of environmental justice which looks at the several dimensions of justice i.e., equity; the full function of community and nature; sustainability of local economies, and preservation of local and traditional cultures and practices.

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1. BACKGROUND

Benoa Bay has been a contested space since groups of NGOs, musicians, and individuals started an opposition in 2013 to the Governor of Bali's decision to permit the reclamation of Benoa Bay to private investors. By conducting around 700 hectares reclamation project, the company, PT TirtaWahana Bali International (PT. TWBI) will mainly build tourism resort, housing, and supporting facilities. The protest was not sufficient to change the provincial governor decision, more over President SBY strengthened it by issuing Presidential Regulation Number 54 / 2014 that legally changed the designation of the area from conservation to general utilization. As the result, the oppositions to the project have been getting bigger and happening more frequently. Since early 2015 tens of custom village members have been conducting demonstration demanding the cancellation of the President Regulation.

The pros and cons of the Benoa Bay reclamation project dispute the economic and ecosystem value of the bay. At one side from the lenses of economy, Benoa Bay has a very high value. The property in the artificial island from the reclamation project will have a very high value at least from their strategic location. Benoa Bay is located near the International Ngurah Rai Airport and in the routes of tourism industry areas promoted internationally i.e. Kuta, Nusa Dua, Sanur, and Jimbaran. From the other side, Benoa Bay has an important ecosystem value. This area is the estuary of several rivers flowing from Denpasar City and Badung Regency. Benoa Bay is home to mangrove forest, coral reefs, sea grass, and various kinds of in fauna with high level of biodiversity which is good for the fish to spawn. Along the areas adjacent to bay there are dwellings with dense populated areas such as Pemogan, Suwung and Sidakarya which are located around two meter above sea level. This sub districts had experienced coastal flooding in the past.

The conflict on Benoa Bay indicates conflict between conservation versus utilization of the natural environment for mainly commercial purposes. This conflict signifies a complex and continuous struggle regarding the definition and the meaning of the environmental issues (Gray, Hanke, & Putnam, 2007, p. 1) and development. This paper analyzes the discursive conflicts on development in relation to environment in the controversy of Benoa Bay reclamation. The writer examine how narratives patterns work in coherence with particular development and environmental discourses.

2. METHOD

This article applies qualitative method with a discourse analysis. Data are collected through secondary sources which cover news, article, website and publication both from the investors and the opposition groups. The data are analyzed by using discourse analysis which is applied to highlight the social and cognitive foundation of the construction of reality. The discourse can be identified through pattern of narratives which reproduce certain discourses that have already existed and influenced humans' thought

and practice. Two steps of procedures i.e. discourse structuration and discourse institutionalization are used to identify the influence of particular discourse. Discourse structuration happens when many people use that discourse to conceptualize reality. When a discourse hardens into norms and organizational practices, it becomes a discourse institutionalization (Hajer, 1995, p. 60-61).

3. THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

Since the late of 1980s, environmental discourse has achieved progressively to be more important in crafting and mapping development theories and practices, especially under the concept of "sustainable development" (Haque, 2000, p. 3). Referring to Brundtland Report entitled Our Common Future, sustainable development is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987, p. 8). Before the recognition of the linkages of environment and development, the conventional theories of development overlook the critical environment issues in the development milieu, for example, modernization theory of development focus on economic growth, political stability and order, entrepreneurship and merit mentality that breaks away from primordial mindset. By the same token, radical development theories, classical Marxist and neo-Marxist theories, are concerned to the different kinds of modes of production, production relations, and class structure.

Those theories have a common weakness that they do not see the significance of environmental issues in human development. In recent times, there has been a global agreement regarding the significance of environmental issues in relations to socio economic development. (Haque, 2000, p. 3-4). However there is no agreement on the meaning of environmental issues and development. The disputes on the meaning of nature and development are reflected in Benoa Bay reclamation plan.

In the case of environmental issues, there are two approaches i.e., realist and constructivist approach. Realist approach views that environmental problems are objective and "out there". The constructivist approach criticizes the realist approach which inaccurately sees the environmental issues objectively fixed. The proponents of realist approach overlook the human relations that we always act upon our images of reality and are surrounded by certain discourses that influence our mindset, expression, and action (Hajer, 1995, p. 16). Discourse analysis is mainly aimed at understanding why certain understanding of environmental problems to some extent more powerful while other understanding are set aside (Hajer, 1995, p. 44).

Discourse is here defined as a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities (Hajer, 1995, p. 44). Yet actors can only make sense of the world by referring to the terms of the discourses available to them (Hajer, 1995, p. 53). Discourses could construct as well as constrain how people talk about a particular topic (Hall, 2001) by directing the

legitimacy of knowledge and action in a range of context. Hajer conceptualizes discourse not in the same Foucault does. Foucault sees that actors are being disciplined by a discourse. While Foucault positions actors as passive subject directed by a discourse, Hajer follows the social-interactive perspective of discourse which sees actors as active agents who choose and adapt ideas, modifying and creating them, in the searching for argumentative win over rival actors (Meadows, Randers, & Behrens, 1978). In an argumentative situation of discourse contestation, Davies and Harre (1990) point out that political context is also to be examined as a discursive construction. Rules, distinctions, or legitimate modes of expression could only be understood when we know the context they are taken up. Social-interactive perspective of discourse scrutinizes the practices through which actors make efforts to influence others to see reality in the light of the orator or rhetorician (Hajer, 1995, p. 53)

In an argumentative context, to comprehend the meaning of a sentence or whole discourse, it is not sufficient to just scrutinize the words in that discourse or the images in the mind of the speaker at the time of utterance. It is important also to understand the position which being criticized, or against which a rationalization is being produced. Without understanding these rivalry-positions, the argumentative meaning will not make any sense (Billig, 1987, p. 91).

In a discourse analysis, discourses, frames, and story-lines (narratives) are integral parts. Discourse gives the constitutive rules within which one constructs and sustains frames. (Fairclough, 1992). Since it has a constitutive nature, a discourse mentions how the world is, should be and what are important the most (Gray et al., 2007). Discourses structure the embracing of framing process and construct collective identities among actors who embrace these language patterns within a certain discourse (Hajer, 2003, p. 2). According to Goffman (1974), frames are internally coherent interpretations of events that group experiences within certain demarcation, attribute meaning, and prompt action. "Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meaning that things have for them" (Blumer, 1962, p. 2). By framing, people delimit their experience and curtail vagueness by settle on what need to heed on and what to disregard (Weick, 1995).

Discourse has been used to designate a general exchange of meaning on a general theme that by and large structures how one thinks of particular topic (Rose, 2001, p. 138). Narratives can be viewed as a more specific expression or modes of explanation fostered by an actors of a group of actors (Roe, 1991). For example, within the discourse of environmental conservation, numerous actors could elevate their particular narratives on the focus of environmental impact or environmental risk and best ways to cope with those issues. Along the same vein, Hajer prefers to story-lines instead of narratives. To him, story-lines are "narratives on social reality through which elements from many different domains that are combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references suggesting a common understanding" (Hajer, 1995, 61).

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Contention on Sustainable Development Discourses and Narratives

Development means making a better life for everybody. Beyond meeting basic needs for human survival, human quality of life is culturally constructed (Peet & Hartwick, 2009, p. 1). Different societies may have a different vision about human quality of life. If societies have different vision of human quality of life, it means they have different development discourses. The mainstream discourse of development is the founding conviction of modernity that is believed to make the world for the better through rationality. In this conventional development discourse, "all the modern advances in science and technology, in democracy and social organization, in rationalized ethics and values, fuse into the single humanitarian project of deliberately and cooperatively producing a far better world for all" (Peet & Hartwick, 2009, p. 1-2).

Sustainable development literally means continuing development overtime. The way people perceive development is significant, because it is the basis for how effort and institutions as well as means are employed to achieve it. Sustainable development is basically about reconciling development and the environmental resources on which society depend on (Elliot, as cited in Wiranata, 2008). As Adams (as cited in Wiranata, 2008) notes, sustainable development cannot be understood in 'a historical vacuum' as it has many contexts and discourses. Of particular significance are the differences and changes in thinking about what constitutes 'development' and how best to accomplish it, the relations between humans and nature, and changing ideas about the 'environment.'

Modernization has been a mainstream in the sustainable development discourse. According to Talcott Parsons (1966), in the perspective of sociology, modern societies are signified as expansive, with ability to control their environment and problems (as cited in Peet & Hartwick, 2009). The level of modernization in a society is determined by the degree of structural specialization and the degree of its split-up with traditions. Modern society unlike traditional society is indicated by rationality, efficiency, and liberty (Peet & Hartwick, 2009).

From the perspective of economic, the idea of modernization derives from Classical Economics, which assumes that market is the most efficient way of allocating resources. As mentioned by Adam Smith, "the aggregate effect of individuals seeking to maximize their personal welfare through market mechanisms was thought to bring greatest material benefit to society as a whole, as if by an 'invisible hand'" (as cited in Pepper, 1996, p. 62). In terms of maximization of human wants, modernization theory suggests that society must endorse economic growth which will be followed by specialization of economic activities and role occupations (Peet and Hartwick, 1996). The theory views nature as a resource used for commodities to maximize human demand (Wiranata, 2008).

Regarding Benoa Bay reclamation plan, the statement from the investors contains inter-related texts within the

discourse of mainstream development discourse. The investors regards several conditions that need to be transformed into investment project to sell commodities, in this case, property and tourism infrastructures. The Artha Graha Network company with its affiliated companies mention that Bali contributes 45% of total foreign exchange for Indonesia from tourism sector. The number of international tourists at the national level increase by 10% while that number of the international tourists in Bali increase only by 5%. Bali has been a well-known location for international convention. Bali needs a new resort that will accommodate the need of international convention. Hence, Bali needs a breakthrough and an acceleration for infrastructure development in order to sustain the development of tourism industry. What they mean by a breakthrough is building tourism infrastructures by reclamation project in Benoa Bay (ArthaGraha Network & ArtaGrahaPeduli, n.d.). They argue that reclamation project will bring Bali at the same level as other high class tourism resorts in developed countries.

The investors' view regarding Benoa Bay as resource for producing commodity indicate a mindset and practices within the discourse of mainstream development discourse. They perceive Benoa Bay as a neglected area since it suffered from mud sedimentation and solid waste in the mangrove forest in the Bay. In other words, without investment, the economic values of Benoa Bay have been wasted. According to their position, through Benoa Bay reclamation project, the population will have a better life. The 30 billion rupiahs investment will create around 250 thousand jobs during and after the project (Rajasa, 2014). As part of creating unique commodities, the investors will build Bali culture center and world museum in the reclamation island.

Although the project will cause a huge environmental change, the investors never directly mention to the public regarding the environmental degradation risk of the project. On the contrary, they repeatedly say that the project will restore the environment in the area. The sedimentation will be dredged and sea water will be able to flush the mangrove forest. The flush is important for mangrove to grow. Besides creating botanical garden, the company will also promise to restore Pudent Island, a small island which undergoes abrasion due to the rise of sea level. Instead of saying reclamation, they say revitalization or revitalization with reclamation basis to stress out the meaning of making Benoa Bay vital again.

While the investors claim that there is no negative environmental impact including flooding in surrounding Benoa Bay, oppositions to the project demand the project to be stopped because of environmental concern and justice. There are two main opposition groups. The first group is called ForBali (Bali Forum for Opposing Reclamation) is a loose coalition consisting of civil society organizations, youth organization, associations, musicians and artists, individuals. The second group is Pasubayan Desa Adat Tolak Reklamasi, the coalition of 38 custom villages which keep coordinating with For Bali. The content of environmental concern and justice can be seen from their narratives expressed through their website, media statement, and

repertoire (demonstration, marching, and other kinds of repertoire). As mentioned by Davies and Harre (1990), in a contestation of discourses, parties can always refuse the terms and data set by the other parties and stress out the significance of the existence of other alternative discourses which are described and expressed through narratives. Below are the narratives on Benoa Bay reclamation from the opposition group at one side and at the other side from the investors and their supporter.

Narratives of Opposition Group	Narratives of Investors and Supporters
Benoa Bay is a conservation area, home to coastal ecosystem.	Benoa Bay has a problem of serious sedimentation and solid waste. It needs to be revitalized through reclamation.
Benoa Bay reclamation will cause environmental damages.	Benoa Bay reclamation will restore the environment in the area.
Benoa Bay reclamation will cause ocean flooding during rainy season.	There is no relation between Benoa Bay reclamation and ocean flooding.
The area around Benoa Bay has been already overpopulated.	Benoa Bay reclamation will create around 210.000 jobs
Benoa Bay reclamation will aggravate the traffic jam problems.	The increase of traffic can be handled by scientific fix, for example by building flyover roads.
In democracy, the voice of the people should be a parameter for the government to immediately cancel the Benoa Bay reclamation plan.	In democracy, the opposition to Benoa Bay reclamation is legitimate. However, the government has the final and binding decision. The company follows the rule and regulation made by the government.
Democratic practice is the freedom of the community to directly decide against Benoa Bay Reclamation.	Democratic practices is implemented in legal process and public policy such as Presidential Regulation, Bali Governor Regulation, and recommendation from Bali Provincial Legislature.
The tourism infrastructures in Southern part of Bali is already overdeveloped. The tourism infrastructure in Northern part of Bali is less developed.	There is imbalance of tourism infrastructure development in Benoa area. The Eastern part of Benoa is well-developed, while the Western part (Benoa Bay) is less developed.
Development is defined as a balance between meeting human need, environmental conservation, and the opportunity of local culture to sustain.	Development is defined as economic output (commodity).
Benoa Bay is a sacred area and could not be submerged through reclamation.	The investors have sworn to the Gods in Besakih Temple that they will do reclamation in a correct way.

The environment and justice contents of the opposition narratives are not coincident. They are influenced by the discourse of environmental justice which have gained acceptance in environmental movement in the last 25 years. The opposition may not recognize the academic concept of environmental justice, but they have a particular understanding regarding environmental problems and justice in Benoa Bay Reclamation and they transform their understanding into practice. In this case, discourse analysis mainly seek to comprehend why a particular understanding of the relations of human and environment acquire dominance, while other understandings are regarded as enemies. The discourse of environmental justice practiced by the opposition of Benoa Bay reclamation discredited the investors and their supporters understanding of human-environment relations which is anthropocentrism and technocratic.

The discourse of environmental justice puts justice at its foci (Schlosberg & Carruthers, 2010, p. 13). At the beginning of the discourse, environmental justice concentrated on a phenomena that minority groups were more exposed to environmental bads compared to other social structures. Obviously, the scope of environmental justice discourse has been enlarging far beyond its early understanding to inequities in externalization of environmental bads and risks to vulnerable groups (Schlosberg, 2013, p. 37-38). The expansion of the environmental justice concept enter a new milieu where environment and nature are comprehended to establish conditions for social justice.

At the beginning of this discourse, the understanding environment and ecology are perceived differently and this influences different kinds of social movement. The concept of ecology is represented in the description of Pepper (1996, p. 15) that mentions that "Nature has intrinsic worth, in its own right, regardless of its use value to humans. Humans are therefore morally obliged to respect plants, animals and all natures whose right should be in existence and humane treatment." In the concept of ecology, nature is seen as wilderness that should be freed from human exploitation that could damage its balance. The concept of environment refers to see nature in parts of its function to daily human life. The new discourse of environmental justice covers both the concept of nature and environment. This new discourse combine the understanding of environment (ecology) in the sense of 'big outside' wilderness which has intrinsic value with acknowledgement to a much more generally identified conception of environment condition in which people are engaged in their daily lives. The early years of environmental justice movement (First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in 1991) brought the indigenous view regarding the relationship amongst human beings, non-human nature, and culture into the discourse of environmental justice. This discourse confirms the 'sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity, and the interdependence of all species' (Schlosberg, 2013, p. 38-39).

The ideas of environmental justice have been diffusing with vertical and horizontal extension. In vertical terms, environmental justice discourse has been expanding be-

yond state borders and adopted globally. The horizontal expansion of environmental justice is clearly manifested by the use of environmental justice discourse in numerous global environmental movements which are organized around themes such as anti-neoliberalism, indigenous rights, local fishermen rights, forest protection, pollution, and anti-genetic modified food (Walker, 2009).

Another expansion of environmental justice discourse is moving beyond the issue inequity of vulnerable groups to environmental hazards into pluralistic meaning and understanding of that injustice (Schlosberg, 2013, p. 39-40). The pluralistic concerns in environmental justice movement has been manifested in environmental justice movement. Equity is always a part of environmental justice discourse. Besides, new aspects have emerged in the discourse i.e. political participation and cultural recognition. Participatory aspect of environmental justice represent the involvement of communities in the discussion about decision regarding environmental change (Schlosberg, 2013, p. 39-40). In addition to that, the extending discourse of environmental justice also covers the development of capacities needed by individual and communities to function well. Hence, environmental justice is not only about distribution of equity but also capacity development (Schlosberg & Carruthers, 2010, p. 14). The indigenous community struggles in environmental justice theme in many parts of the world indicate a wide-ranging, inter-related, and diverse understanding of justice in relations to environment. That understanding of justice cover various demands for not only equity, recognition, and participation, but also other capacities regarding the basic functioning of nature, communities, and culture (Schlosberg & Carruthers, 2010, p. 12-13).

Concerning capacity aspect, Martha Nussbaum (2006) has contributed to the discourse of environmental justice by aiming on the capabilities which are necessary for the people to function well in a fully human way based on livelihood that they choose. Nussbaum (2006) represents the traditional liberal political idea that sees environment justice in the sense of capabilities of individual in relation to the environment through just processes. However, ongoing environmental justice movements do not confine themselves to seeing injustice as encountered by individuals. Justice for the function of community capability is often the organizing frame for collective protest movement especially protest from indigenous community. The capability at the collective or group level is distinct from and beyond the sum of individual capabilities (Stewart, 2005).

When indigenous communities make protest, they voice their concerns from a community point of view. In practice, individual experiences alone are not the subjects of environmental justice since individuals are implanted in community. In other words the discourse of environmental justice looks at the full functioning of both individuals and community which covers safety from environmental danger, sustainability of local economies, and preservation of local and traditional cultures and practices. This individual and community functioning is called social reproduction (Di Chiro, 2008).

4.2. The Opposition Practices in the Discourse of Environmental Justice

The contemporary discourse of environmental justice is developed through a dialog of academic reflections and practices conducted by environmental justice movement. The way the opposition movement against Benoa Bay reclamation conceptualize and articulate justice in relation to environment reproduces categorizations, ideas, and ways of thinking within the discourse of environmental justice. The reproduction of a discursive order could be understood in the repetition of cognitive commitment by the opposition groups implicit in their narratives or story-lines.

The narratives of the opposition groups especially those pooled in ForBali voicing environmental justice in terms equity which is a fair distribution to goods, services, revenue, and access to economic capital (fund). ForBali mentions that the investors plan to conduct reclamation in Benoa Bay will only benefit the investors and their cronies. Bali has been encountering water supply issue since the water sources flow drops and the Water Companies begin to find difficulties in supplying waters to the public. If the reclamation project will be implemented, then the new reclamation islands will take the water from Bali mainland. The reclamation will also bring waste disposal issue. The solid waste landfill in Denpasar has been already full and its air pollution smell has been affecting wider areas. Not to mention the threat in Southern part of Bali which experiences coastal flooding. If reclamation are implemented, houses in the coastal Southern part of Bali will have a risk of flooding every day. Those who rely on their livelihood from coastal waters will lose their jobs because of the changing of the sea flow (ForBali, 2014).

Environmental justice categorizes the issue of the basic functioning of nature, community and culture. One of the main ForBali figures, Jerinx, mentions that the Southern part of Bali has been encountering imbalance between population and the carrying capacity of the environment, but still the area has kept being developed with tourism industry infrastructure (Jerinx, 2014). His statement represents the view of the opposition groups that they are not anti-development. The development that they envision is not the one that not only based on economic consideration without taking side to ecology, future sustainability, and traditional culture (Apriando, 2015).

The expansion of environmental justice discourse is reflected in the issues articulated by the opposition group ForBali. The justice concern on the Benoa Bay reclamation plan is not only about threat or risk to equity distribution, but also about the political participation of community regarding public decision making that affects their life and their environment. Before the government policy permitted the reclamation plan in Benoa Bay, the area was considered a conservation area based on President Regulation Number 45/2011 signed by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. The narratives from ForBali mentions that the initiative to change the status of Benoa Bay from conservation area into utilization area came from the Central Government. They conducted meetings and public

hearings with those who supported the reclamation project and set aside the opposing groups. According to ForBali, on April 14th 2014, The Office of National Body of Spatial Management together with Bali Provincial Government held a public consultation meeting discussing a proposal to revise article 55 of the Presidential Regulation Number 45/2011 or to to change the the conservation status of Benoa Bay into general utilization status (ForBali, n.d.). In this public meeting, none of the opposing groups or the conservation groups was involved including WALHI (Environmental Organization). WALHI was used to be invited to consultative meetings with Environmental Agency and Planning Agency of Bali Provincial Government. However, in the case of changing the conservation status of Benoa Bay into general utilization, WALHI was totally not being involved (WALHI, 2014). In a metaphoric expression ForBali activist Jerinx (2014) wrote “We ourselves will decide the future of our own house.”

The theme of recognition of local community livelihood and culture is also endorsed in the discourse of environmental justice. In Bali, the indigenous community is existing in the form of custom villages. A group of 38 custom villages called the PasubayanDesaAdatTolakReklamasi (Solidarity of Custom Villages Resisting Reclamation) is another major group who oppose Benoa Bay reclamation. Since 2015 until present, they have been frequently holding demonstration mobilizing thousands of people in the street demanding the government to stop the reclamation. Their narratives are clearly consistent in demanding recognition of Balinese traditional culture and belief. In Bali Hinduism belief, the meeting of rivers (campuhan) is a sacred area that could not be exploited. The reclamation could change its spiritual function in providing prosperity in terms of unseen supernatural power (niskala) to the people of Bali. Benoa Bay is indeed the meeting of five rivers flowing from Denpasar City and Badung Regency. They reiterates that the Balinese ancestors have kept the sacredness of Benoa Bay and customs villages in that union will fight against the investors as part of their dedication (bhakti) to the mother land (pertiwi). The harmony of Bali has been kept by the principle of Tri Hita Karana which means the balance of human relationships to Gods, other human, and the environment. The Pasubayan emphasize that reclamation plan has been already resisted by many people causing imbalance of human interaction. The project implementation will destruct the human relationship to supernatural beings and to the environment (Setiawan, 2016).

4.3. The Investors within Ecological Modernization and Ecological Discourse

Having attacked by anti-reclamation groups, the investors and their affiliations and supporters create narratives that reclamation in Benoa Bay is the best way to restore the environment in Benoa Bay. Instead of consistently use the term reclamation, in the early 2015 they have been more frequently using the term revitalization of Benoa Bay to frame that the project will revitalize and restore Benoa Bay in a better condition. Although, the term ‘revitaliza-

tion' actually does not exist in the law regarding Coastal and Small Island Management (Laws Number 1/2014), the term is consistently used even in a formal meeting. The frame of revitalization and the narration that reclamation will restore the environment and increase the number of tourists' visit to Bali are the reflections of a discourse in which modernization is the key to answer to remedy the problem of environmental degradation while at the same time it keeps the economic growth.

The discourse of ecological modernization is embedded in the theory of modernization. Basically ecological modernization is modernization which incorporates environmental issues. It admitted the environmental side effect of modernization project but industrial modernization should not be left. Environmental impact can be remedied by science and technology. Instead of abandoning modernization, it suggests that modernization should become the instrument to remedy environmental degradation. Society have to modernize themselves to prevent and handle environmental crisis.

Instead of viewing environmental degradation as an obstacles in economics, ecological modernization sees it as a new opportunity for economic growth, because environmental degradation is a demand for 'environmentally friendly' products such as green cars, low energy air conditioner, low emission buildings, etc. (Hajer, 1996). This concept is originating from the thought of modernization thinker Schumpeter, saying that demand is "a fundamental impulse that sets and keeps the capitalist engine in motion" (as cited in Hajer, 1996, p. 249). In the language of Spaargaren and Mol (1992, p. 336), ecological modernization envisages that "the only way out of the environmental crisis is by going further into industrialization, toward hyper- or superindustrialization."

Ecological modernization voices a need of social, economic, and scientific concept that could make an environmental issue quantifiable and help rationality in social behavior. Natural sciences are needed to measure environmental risk and carrying capacity of how much natural resources could be exploited. That quantifiable environmental assessment works to assist a development plan by a government in order to make a sound policy. Engineering sciences are needed to innovate technologies that could make industry meet the minimum standard for environmental safety (Hajer, 1996). Ecological modernization put a high dependency on science and technology that make this concept contain a strong technocentrism environmental outlook. Ecological modernization offers a rational and technical solutions to overcome environmental issues, and more efficient institutions for environmental management and control (Adams as cited in Wiranata, 2008).

In the Benoa Bay reclamation, the investors see realities from the vantage point of their stand in the dominant ecological modernization discourse. The concept, images, metaphors, and narratives that they use show how they see the world. The investors see that environment in Benoa Bay is abandoned because garbage floating around mangrove forest in the Bay have not been overcome. Besides, Pudut Island in Benoa Bay has been suffering from abrasion. That environmental conditions are signals for the

need of modernization through investment i.e. reclamation that will handle those environmental problems. In the reclamation project, the investors reproduce the discourse of ecological modernization. Their practices and narration show a view that the nature could be controlled and assessed through scientific calculation which is institutionalized in the AMDAL (Environmental Impact Analysis). Through this AMDAL environmental risk is quantified and hence the investor can prepare anticipative efforts to make the project sounds right.

Since the discourse of ecological modernization is dominant around the world, in an argumentative setting, the discourse discredits other point of view that does not have a scientific basis. This tendency can be seen in the narratives of the investors and their supporters. Their narratives mention that Benoa Bay reclamation will revitalize the environment not damage it. Clearly, the supporter of Benoa Bay reclamation, Ketut Wianasaid that those who said that reclamation would destroy the environment were not environmental experts.

5. CONCLUSION

Development means making a better of life or a better quality of life. Quality of life as a subjective meaning of human well-being covers economy, security, cultural expression, political participation, healthcare, recreation, etc., and other needs beyond basic needs of human survival. However, the meaning of that quality of life will be determined by the values in the community that could differ from one community to another. In other words, development is about human construction. In contemporary development discourses environment is unseparated part of development especially since the popularization of sustainable development concept. Any human actions in relation to the environment or nature involve discourse on development. The conflict on Benoa Bay is a conflict between conservation versus utilization of the natural environment for mainly commercial purposes. This conflict signifies a complex and continuous struggle regarding the definition and the meaning of the environmental issues (Gray, Hanke, & Putnam, 2007, p. 1) in development.

How people understand the meaning of human relationship to nature involve a discourse. Discourse is here defined as a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities (Hajer, 1995, p. 44). We always act upon our images of reality and are surrounded by certain discourses that influence our mindset, expression, and action (Hajer, 1995, p. 16)

In the case of Benoa Bay reclamation plan, the statement from the investors contains inter-related texts within the discourse of mainstream development discourse. The investors view regarding Benoa Bay as resource for producing commodity contains a mindset and practices within the discourse of mainstream development discourse. Having criticized of lack of concern to environmental issues, modernization discourse of development add the scope of the discourse to cover environmental concern. The new

discourse, called discourse of ecological modernization is embedded in the theory of modernization. Basically ecological modernization is modernization which incorporates environmental issues. It admits the environmental side effect of modernization project but industrial modernization should not be left. Environmental impact can be remedied by science and technology. In the Benoa Bay reclamation, the investors see realities from the vantage point of their stand in the dominant ecological modernization discourse.

As mentioned by Davies and Harre (1990), in a contestation of discourses, parties can always refuse the terms and data set by the other party and stress out the significance of the existence of other alternative discourses. The ecological modernization discourse used by the investor is contested by environmental justice discourse that influences and it is being reproduced in the opposition against Benoa Bay Reclamation plan. That understanding of justice cover various demands for not only equity, recognition, and participation, but also other capacities regarding the basic functioning of nature, communities, and culture. The discourse of environmental justice looks at the full functioning of both individuals and community which cover safety from environmental danger, sustainability of local economies, and preservation of local and traditional cultures and practices.

In the contestation of discourses, actors compete to gain

public and decision making acceptance by using frames and narratives in order to gain support for their definition of reality. In that struggle, different actors are pooled in a coalition to contest the other rival group. Discourse-coalition is not the same as political coalitions or alliances. Discourse coalition is actors who share the same discourses and supporting frames and narratives. They share the same understanding, speech, and thought on the meaning of development in relations to the environment (Hajer, 2003). In the opposing group, actors under the discourse of environmental justice are civil society organization, custom villages, musician, artists, and individual. The discourse-coalition under ecological modernization involve investors, Bali Provincial Government, individuals, and non-government institution supported by the investors.

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CHAPTER 4

**Democracy, Citizenship
and Security**

PROCEEDING

**RE-EXAMINING
GOVERNANCE:**

**STRENGTHENING
CITIZENSHIP
IN THE CHANGING WORLD**

The Power of Powerless

(Role Of Women's Group On Disaster Management)

Penyusun :

• **Baiq Lily
Handayani,
S. Sos, M.Sosio**

University of Jember
Jl. Kalimantan 37
Kampus Bumi Tegalboto
Kec. Sumbersari Kab. Jember
Jawa Timur, Indonesia 68121

Email :

baiq.lily@yahoo.co.id,
baiq.fisip@unej.ac.id

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Abstract

Disasters often lead to the onset of loss of life, property and damage to public facilities infrastructures. Disaster would be devastating, especially for those most vulnerable to disasters. It has been shown in several studies that women are a particularly vulnerable groups when disasters occur. Based on Elaine Enarson's results of her research (2000), it was underlined that women and children are parts of a group of people who are on the list of high-risk groups to the disasters. Statistics of Earthquake and Tsunami in Aceh also show that the mortality rate of female victims is 30-40 percent higher than that of men because in the event of disaster most women work at home, and they are not powerful enough to run to higher ground while they are carrying babies who cannot walk (Oxfam, UNFPA, 2005). Similarly, women are the majority of the victims of the earthquake in Jogjakarta. There are around 145 casualties among female individuals and pregnant women. According to Elaine Enarson (2000), women become more vulnerable to disasters due to numerous factors, they are: 1). The social role of women, 2). Social networking, 3). The information network 4). Self-preservation skills, 5). Control over natural resources and economy, 6). Individual mobility 7). Warranty residence and employment 8). Control in decision-making. Further, Enarson (2000) sees that the local customs and culture construct women as a greater role in the domestic sphere. The social role of women is more at home, causing the scope of activities of women to range only those in the household. Lack of access to information and involvement in the dissemination of disaster at the hamlet / village is also one of the causes. Therefore, there should be a need for the inclusion of women in disaster management. One of them is through the role of women's group. As done by the Regional Government of Sumenep in an effort to reduce the impact of disaster risk, Sumenep regency government built 117 rural villages into standby. The program deploys the use of base community groups items, namely the PKK, Fatayat, Muslimat, Aisyiyah and GOW, in which the group initiated disaster awareness activities in each group which will then be coordinated at the level of districts and counties. A similar concept is applied in Tulungagung in-

volving the PKK, IBI, Bhayangkari, Persid, Fatayat NU, NU's Women, Aisyiyah and LDII. Post-occurrence of flash floods in Panti, Muslimat, Aisyiyah, PKK, Arisan groups, Muslimah PKS, Salimah, MT, KAMMI and MHTI also contributing in restoring the condition of the people. They are cooperating in the reconstruction of their social system in place for relocation. Their teaching activities, meetings and social gathering help them get over the past incidents and reinforce their psychological condition/ruhiyah. Even through the group, they build networks and strengthen the economy, empowerment and the share of value on disaster mitigation. The potential role of this group is so immense that it should be deployed in disaster risk reduction programs in Indonesia. It can be concluded that women who have long been regarded as vulnerable, weak and in need of special attention turned out to have a potential and strength to be able to become a part of the disaster management efforts, both in the pre, during, and post- disaster. Through women's groups, they were able to engage to perform recovery, to strengthen the economy, to conduct trauma healing, to get involved in the common kitchen, to maintain the bodies of corpse women, and also to help the recovery of the children.

INTRODUCTION

According to some accounts of disasters events that have occurred, one of the groups most vulnerable to the impacts of disasters is women and children. As at the time of the earthquake in Yogyakarta on May 27, 2006 the majority of the victims were elderly women, who at the time were in the kitchen to prepare breakfast and late of being aware of the earthquake. As the results, Elaine Enarson (2000) underlines that women and children are a part of the group of people who are on the list of groups with a high risk of disasters.

Data Earthquake and tsunami in Aceh also show that female victims died 30-40 percent more than men because at that time most women were working at home or not strong enough to run to higher ground while carrying the children who cannot walk. (Oxfam, UNFPA, 2005). Data victims of the earthquake in the hamlet Gedongan, Piyungan, Yogyakarta show that the number of female casualties is among 145 people of the total population of 281 people.

The low access to information and involvement in the dissemination of disaster at the hamlet/village is also one of the causes, based on the joint report of Komnas Perempuan in 2007 about the condition of the fulfillment of the human rights of women refugees in Aceh, Nias, Yogyakarta, Porong, East Nusa Tenggara, Maluku and Poso. Women who survived and are in refugee camps are in vulnerable condition. Frequently, they also receive sexual harassment in the camps. There is also a need to live as widows and is responsible for the family's economy at the same time having to take care of her children. Post-disaster logistical assistance is most commonly instant noodles, rice and other canned foods. Indeed, they are necessary, but often the

relief agencies have forgotten to provide women's clothing, women's clothes that fit local culture (for example, long dresses in Aceh), children's food, sanitation, and the needs of other women.

A variety of events and data, then constructs women as weak, vulnerable and need help, the need for special regulations for women as a vulnerable group. In the end, the government implemented a policy on gender mainstreaming in the process of evacuation and emergency response. Women, children, the elderly and persons with disabilities are prioritized for evacuation before men.

In fact, the role of women in disaster management is considered to have a role that is quite effective, one through the role of women's groups. As has been done by the Regional Government of Sumenep in an effort to reduce the impact of disaster risk, Sumenep regency government built 117 rural villages into standby. The program uses the base community groups, namely the PKK movement, Fatayat, Muslimat, Aisyiyah, and GOW, where the group initiated disaster awareness activities in each group which will then be coordinated at the level of districts and counties. A similar concept is applied in Tulungagung involving the PKK, IBI, Bhayangkari, Persid, Fatayat NU, Muslimat NU, Aisyiah and LDII.

Many parties have acknowledged the existence of the role of these communities in support of various government programs. The Family Planning program of community groups has been shown to provide a significant contribution to promoting the activities. The role of other groups can be seen in the anti-narcotics; they have encouraged the successful eradication of narcotics in Indonesia. National Education Department also collaborates with groups in the community in eradicating illiteracy in Indonesia.

The contribution of women's groups to the national development program has been recognized in various circles. The role of these communities is very real because the structure of the group that directly contacts with various people. The potential role of these groups should be empowered in disaster risk reduction program in Indonesia, as well as in Jember district.

The results of research conducted by Baiq Lily Handayani (2012), in the district of Panti shows that the role of women's groups is very large in doing post-disaster reconstruction and rehabilitation. Most women's groups such as Muslimat, Aisyiyah, PKK, Arisan Group, Muslimah PKS, Muslimah KAMMI, and also Muslimah HTI, perform network of cooperation in the process of disaster management, during emergency conditions, post-disaster (rehabilitation), as well as post-disaster mitigation.

The existence of groups of women in society is a form of social capital that plays a role in disaster risk reduction efforts. Some research indicates that women's role in the disaster can reinforce their existence in society. For example, when Hurricane Mitch came in 1998, women in Guatemala and Honduras directly built a house, saved the water supply, and built shelters. The importance of the role of women in the process of post-disaster reconstruction has prompted a local NGO to make strategic campaign.

In the book *Women and Disaster*, experience Yogyakarta (2007: 62) the role of women in disaster management in terms of the struggle to form a common kitchen done spontaneously by the mothers well whose houses collapsed or not, help each conducted so that families do not starve. Additionally, initiator establishment of a common kitchen specially set up by the victims are women. The women are the ones who are active in the organization at the hamlet as well as larger organizations outside the region where they live.

Although there is often limited access to information or access to structural, women are also able to take an active role in certain roles that are sometimes forgotten. So, the attitude and the active role of women can influence the changing of people's conception of women's capabilities. Additionally, in structural culture in Indonesia, women in both rural and urban lots are members of the groups, such as prayer groups, savings and loans groups, hobby groups, PKK, Dharma Wanita, and so that it can function in a variety of aspects. Associations forming women at regional and national level are essential if the roles are maximized in efforts to build community, including women's involvement in disaster relief efforts, such as preventive measures through the dissemination of disaster preparedness, which is usually done through various activities of women's groups in the villages, such as: teaching, PKK, gathering, and others. And also the involvement of women in the processes of discussion and decision-making various settlement issues in disaster management at the local/village government. When a disaster strikes, how the roles that have prepared it to be ready to apply mainly to address some of the issues that arise in the camps.

Therefore, strengthening the capacity of women's groups is conducted. Strengthening capacity will minimize disaster risk from existing hazards. When women as indi-

viduals or institutions have the capacity, then they too will increase the level of resistance. They will be easy to adapt, understand how to save themselves and able to make quick recovery after the disaster happens.

Why was a women's group? Because through women's groups, the role of women can be seen and recognized. Results of research conducted previously by Baiq Lily Handayani (2011), in the district of Panti indicate that the involvement of women in the study group in her village is 40,7% being very active, the remaining 31.5% and 13% are quite active and inactive respectively. In addition, other informal forums are often done by women as a platform to gather, for example, when rewang, celebration, condolence or when delivering between schools.

THEORY

Some Thoughts on Social Capital

Hawkins and Maurer (2009) did a lot of research showing that in addition to physical capital, financial capital, human capital, social capital is also needed in the response to natural disasters. Moreover, because natural disasters often lead to the social, economic and health (physical and mental) are quite heavy. Social capital can be recognized on two levels. At the micro level, it is in the form of social networks that allow a person to get help to reduce the suffering caused by the disaster that happening to him. At this level, the role of social capital allows citizens to get information, warnings and help to save themselves when a disaster occurs. Similarly, getting emergency help response in the short term contributes to reduction of suffering (physical and mental) while in the camps.

At the macro level, it is in the form of social groups that are driven by the citizens, who supported the norms and mutual trust, to jointly encourage coordinated disaster mitigation and recovery of socio-economic conditions as before the disaster. At the macro level, social capital allows citizens to categorize themselves for a bigger role in determining the style of tackling social and economic impacts of disaster in the medium and long term in order to suit the needs of citizens as well as the appropriate socio-economic conditions and local culture.

People who are socio-economically stronger before the disaster, on average, have a pattern of broader social capital. They generally have a bridging social capital and social capital linking which are more powerful. Both social and capital allow them to have wider social networks, including the people and institutions organizing key role in programs of disaster mitigation. The result is usually also faster in accessing programs of medium-term and long-term recovery.

As social beings, every individual has the need for flocking. Each community or communities should have the social capital, of course with different degrees of social capital among the public (community) with the other community (community). Ibrahim (2006) states that the nature of social capital is a social relation that exists in the daily life of citizens, in which social relationships reflect the results of social interactions in a relatively long time

so as to produce a network, patterns of cooperation, social exchanges, mutual trust, including norms and the value of the underlying social relationships. The pattern of social relations underlies collaborative activities or collective activities between citizens. Thus, the community is able to solve their problems together (active participation). Joint activities (collective) among citizens can be awakened if fulfilled with availability of the elements of social capital. Principal elements of social capital are, among others: (1) the relationship of trust (trust); (2) social networks (social networks) (3) institutions (institutions); and (4) the reciprocity (mutual exchange).

Woolcock and Narayan in Vipriyanti (2007) states that there are four perspectives of social capital in economic development, namely; (1) The communitarian view (*the communitarian view*), equating social capital with the organization at the local level (such as associations, clubs, and groups of citizens). Social capital is measured in a very simple, namely through the number and density of an organization in a particular community, the more it will be better and always give positive impact on the welfare of the community, (2) view of the network (*the networks view*), stressing the importance of the association vertically and horizontally between individuals, and relationships within the organization and between organizations such as community groups and companies. In this view, there are two basic dimensions of social capital at the community level, which are known as *bonding social capital (intra communities)* and *bridging social capital (extra community network)*. This perspective assumes that the community can be characterized by congenital (*endowment*) they will both dimensions of the social capital. The difference between the two-dimensional combination will affect the results obtained from the social capital, (3) the views of institutions (*the institutional view*), finding a network of communities and civil society, broadly is the result of the state of political, legal and institutional environment. This view has produced a number of methodological and empirical facts which are strong but only for macro policy, (4) view of the synergies (*the synergy view*), combining the views of the network and the institutions on the basis of the assumption that none of the development actors (government, private and public) will be walking alone in accessing the resources needed to create a sustainable and equitable growth. Social capital is used as the variable liaison.

Woolcock (1998) proposes three dimensions of social capital, namely: bonding, *bridging* and *linking*. According to Woolcock, they are as follows:

- 1) Social capital binding (*bonding social capital*) refers to the relationship between individuals who are in a group of neighbourhood primary or adjacent to each other. Communities that show internal cohesion are strong; it will be easier and smoother in sharing knowledge.
- 2) The social capital that is bridging (*bridging social capital*) is the relationship between people who are different, including the people of the community, culture, or socio-economic backgrounds which are

different. Individuals in the community reflecting the dimensions of social capital that is bridging will easily gather information and knowledge from outside the community environment and still get actual information from outside the group. The type of social capital refers to the relationships between individuals who have power or access to the business and social connections through groups of secondary.

- 3) The social capital are linking (*linking social capital*) allowing individuals to explore and manage resources, ideas, information, and knowledge within a community or group at the level of the establishment and participation in formal organizations.

METHODS

This study used a qualitative research method with a phenomenological approach. The phenomenological study aims to explore the deepest awareness of the subject of the experience and its meaning. The process of extracting this data uses a method other than literature and documentation, and also uses the instrument of in-depth interviews.

ANALYSIS

Overview of the women's group

Each of women's group has its own role. Study groups had a role to promote harmony and religious spirit. Dama group has a role as the spearhead of the PKK in conveying information from the government, whether it is healthy information and the work program of government. Meanwhile, gathering has economic function, namely as a medium for saving.

This study group only contains readings including the reading of Q.S Yasin and tahlilan. So, it functions more as a bonding social capital (social capital binding). Familial bonds between its members can create a sense of belonging, mutual trust, mutual obligation and mutual recognition.

Members recitals muslimat are mothers. Their backgrounds vary, from all levels in the community coming together, sitting together, sharing of value and there is no dominance between one another. Unlike other groups, which make their group meetings as a medium to show off or sell media, this study group tends to be simple and even some groups of women in different areas have their own uniform.

Unlike the case with members of Dama, in general they are the young mothers who are sufficiently highly educated. They even study in university. Dama member is also a member of the PKK cadres Posyandu and villages. So, generally Dama groups have access to information from the village far greater than the study group members.

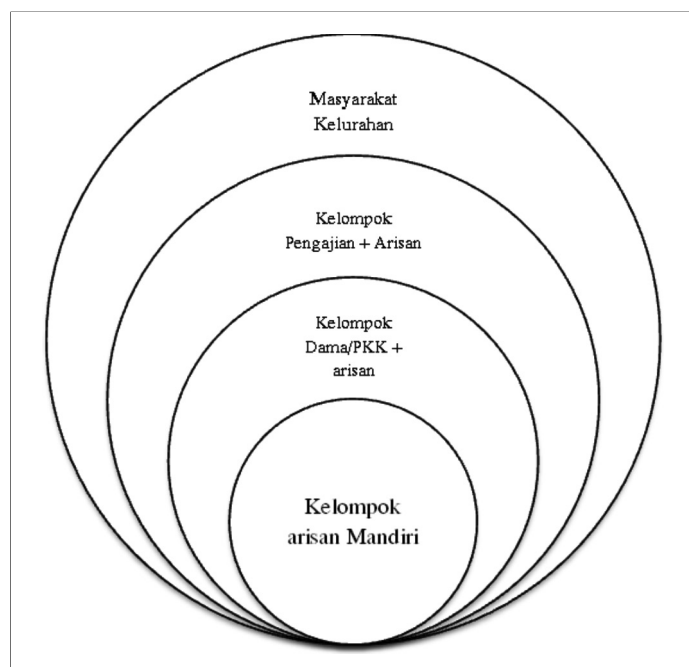
In individual recitation, mothers rarely get access to information from the village. They get more disaster information from television and radio. Forums of Muslimat cannot provide access to information for them. Though the intensity of their meetings is quite often, they meet almost

every week. All female residents or minimal representation of one family are together in one room and sit down together.

The women's group is a group that is a part of a community. It can be drawn in the following figure:

Figure 1.1

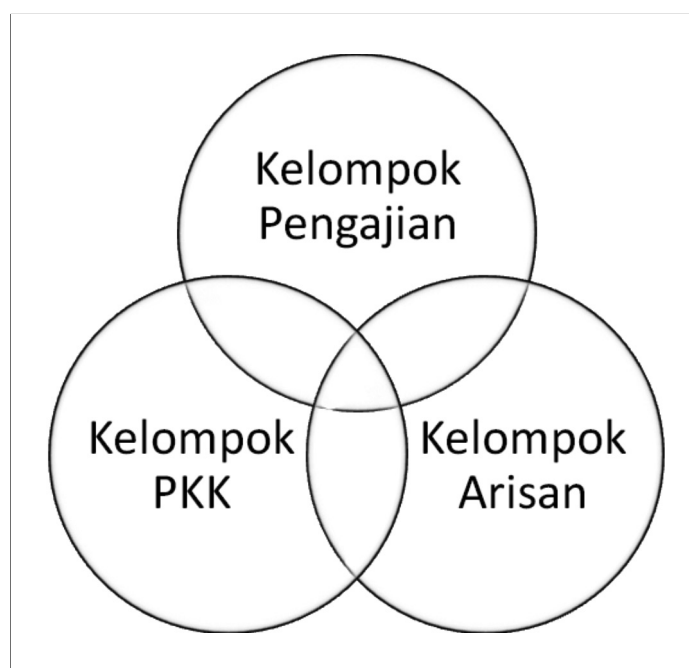
Overview of existence of women's groups



Women's groups institutionally actually stand on their own, but almost all members of the group dama are members of the recitation, but not all members of the study group are members of the group Arisan, except arisan Dama and recitation gathering. Members of this group experienced an intersection, as shown in the following figure:

Figure 1.2

The intersection between members of the women's group



Women are an agent within the family, as well as a manager in the household. Increasing the capacity of women is conducted, not only the capacity in the face of disaster, but also in other fields. Women are seriously multi-tasking individuals. Women have a great responsibility in child care, in keeping the possessions in the home, and the responsibility for the condition of the house. The role of women caring of the household makes women better understand the condition of the house, condition of property, valuables and also their family members.

The condition of the State of Indonesia is very vulnerable to disasters. The government and society should work together to maximize functions of social institutions that exist in society. The government should be able to maximize the functions of the PKK and Dama in transforming people's knowledge about the disaster. Then, the PKK and Dama can work with groups of women such as recitation muslimat, gathering, and other *majlis taklim* to socialize.

The capacity of individual member recitals and PKK/Dama is very supportive in the process of disaster management. However, so far, its existence is still not optimized by the government to socialize disasters, especially with regard to ways to save themselves when disasters strike. Whether it is through women's groups such as the PKK / Dama, prayer groups muslimat or study groups, others never do counselling on disaster.

This group of women as a medium of socialization

Women's groups have a role as a medium of socialization, a medium of interaction and communication, a medium of self-existence. The media increase the spirit of religion, as well as improving the integrity and harmony among the members. They meet and sit together almost every week. They interact, have social relationships, communicate and coexist while sharing value.

Most of the women/housewives claim that they always try to be present in events recitation. Not only that, the mother admitted that they often attend events celebration of weddings, circumcisions (*hajatan*), *Jagong bayi* and also they often help organize events in the neighbourhood (*ngerewangi*).

Media meeting for women/mothers are more often done through forums of teaching, social gathering and also Dama, except when they help neighbours who are having a celebration. They rarely conduct *nonggo* (playing to a neighbour's house for a chat), it is because they are busy with their own affairs.

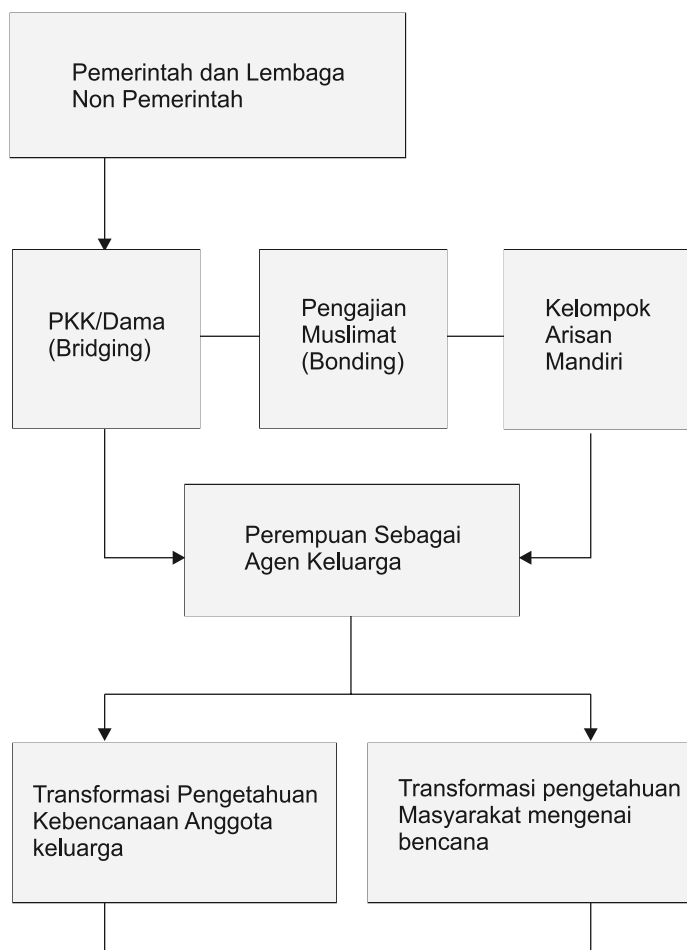
Therefore, women's groups have become an important tool for them to get to know neighbours, knowing the condition of society and the environment and also find out the latest information. Mechanism meetings conducted by Dama and study groups use *anjangsana* system, enabling them to get to know each other.

The government should be able to optimize the role of the PKK/Dama in transforming the women's knowledge and community disaster. PKK works with study groups and social gathering, a group of social bonds in direct contact with the public. Women as agents in the family are

able to transform their knowledge to members of the family, whether they are children, parents, brothers, husbands and other family members. So, these institutions can work together in a form-conscious society and disaster preparedness.

Scheme 1.1

The Role Model's Women and the PKK
as a Media Transformation of Women and Public
Knowledge About Disaster



The function of Arisan as Media for Saving

In every recitation and Dama, there must be a social gathering agenda. Although arisan money of recitation is not great in amount, it is enough for the extra money every day. Arisan serves as a means of fastening members. Arisan motivates the members to always be present in every activity. In addition, there is also a social gathering mechanism set aside money for cash. The cash will normally be used to buy equipment such as plates, cups, spoons, pots, pans and a stove. Cash is also sometimes played or loaned to members in need.

When they really need help, gathering even money can be exchanged with friends, provided there is no agreement between them. Through these women's groups, women can save money potluck. So, when they ketempatan (home the meet) for recitals or Dama for example, they have had a lot of money.

Arisan money is also used to prepare school fees, build

houses, buy valuables, and also for working capital. Even arisan money is sometimes used as collateral to borrow money debt from neighbours or other friends.

The utilization of the capacity of women's groups to community-based disaster management

This group of women has fairly frequent intensity of meetings every week or every month. The group members are also people who are educated and have cooking skills, in addition to other capabilities. In addition to their proximity to children and other family members, women are considered as agents in the household.

Women/mothers become centres of education in the family, assisting children in their homework, preparing for school, preparing meals, and keeping the family more comfortable. So, in case of a disaster, a mother who has had such knowledge can quickly help families recover psychologically. Supposing that some cases are due to the disaster, a child would be traumatized, so this is when the role of a mother is needed. If there is any traumatic healing done by outside parties, the role of recovery continues to be the mother and family.

Similarly, in terms of the restoration of health of family members, disaster will surely result in loss of property and lives as well as injuries. In such conditions, a mother and a wife become agents of health in the family. It is them who prepare healthy foods to help restore the physical condition of their family members.

Therefore, increasing the capacity of women is absolutely necessary because if capacity is increased, the level of vulnerability to disasters is not only downhill, but also other family members. It is time for the government to cooperate with groups of women in transforming people's knowledge of disasters. The government can increase the capacity of women, at every stage of disaster management.

- At the stage of mitigation and preparedness, the government can take advantage of meetings PKK/Dama recitals and gathering as socialization of media disaster, whether it is about the signs of disaster or environmental conditions to save yourself and your family and belongings to be prepared.
- At the stage of response/emergency response in the disaster area, they become a part of the victim. They have to know the ways to save themselves, to save valuables and to evacuate as soon as possible, even though their husbands are not at home. Therefore, the government through women's groups can provide disaster simulation, skills training to set up tents and to cook in the common kitchen, training in first aid and training in traumatic healing. So, if they are not a part of a disaster, they can immediately provide relief to disaster victims.
- At the stage of the recovery/restoration, the results of the study the researchers did earlier in Kemiri district, Panti, showed that the study group, Dama and arisan had a very important role in the recovery

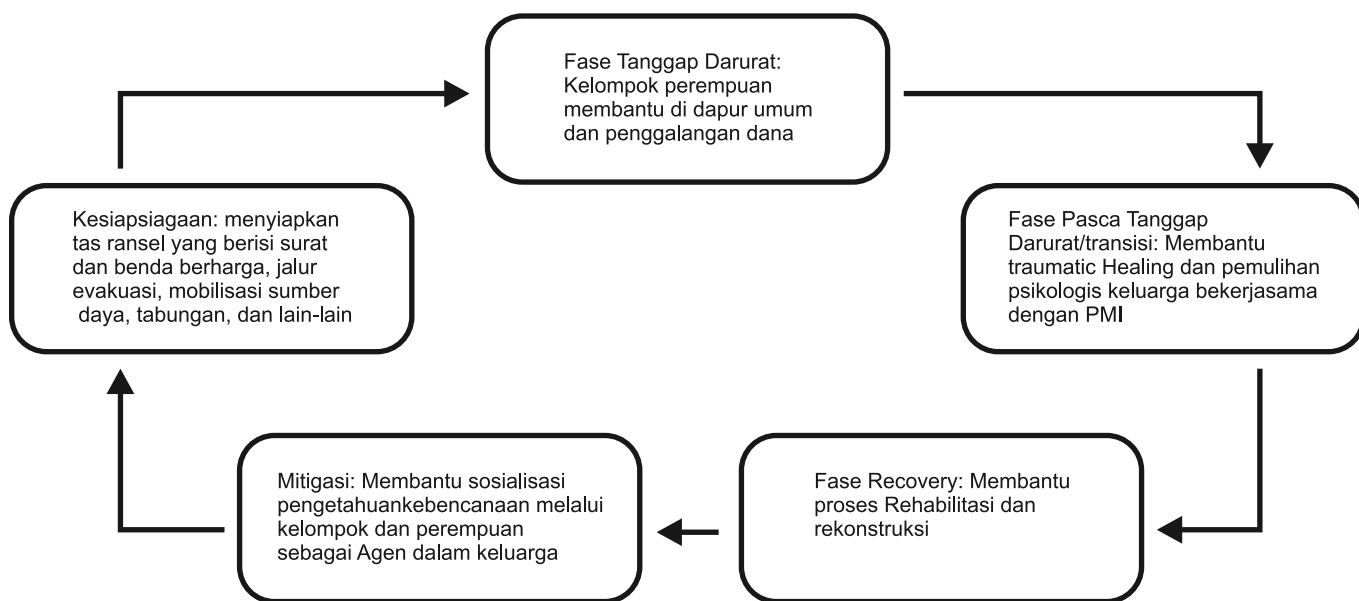
of disaster victims. Because through these forums, they can mutually reinforce, remind and share about anything. Therefore, the government can maximize the role of a group of women by increasing their capacity.

The capacity of women's groups such as the capacity of social, economic and human resource capacity can be fully utilized in disaster management, as seen in the following scheme:

against them. On the other hand, women are able to participate actively in emergency conditions. For example, they are able to set up a public kitchen, to help set up tents, to help the recovery process, to handle corpse women, and even to perform trauma healing, especially on those closest to them.

The ability of the women becomes a power, especially when they are in a group. Therefore, the capacity of women's groups should be utilized by the government, especially BPBDs in disaster risk reduction. For example,

Scheme 1.2
Capacity of Women in Disaster Management



CONCLUSION

Women on the one hand are seen as a group of weak, vulnerable people being in the need for mainstreaming

they can be involved in the training for the logistics cluster, cluster communication, cluster of women's body care, trauma healing, and cluster common kitchen.

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Protecting Human Rights and Countering Terrorism in Indonesia: Debate, Policy Implication, and Solution

Penyusun :

• **I Gede Wahyu Wicaksana**

Department of
International Relations

Faculty of Social and
Political Sciences

Airlangga University

Jalan Airlangga 4-6,
Surabaya, East Java,
Indonesia, 60286

Corresponding author.
Tel.: 087762265058; fax:
0315012442.

E-mail address:
wahyu.wicaksana@gmail.com.

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Abstract

Intelligence is a great boon to the Indonesian government's effort to combat terrorism. However, intelligence has to face with public criticisms directed by the elements of civil society at the agent approach and domain of function. The critics suggest that counterterrorism intelligence must be carried out in an ethical manner that respects human rights, obeys the rule of law, and follows good governance. This article argues that terrorism has brought about different nature of threat that Indonesia's intelligence must cope with, from the politically motivated subversive act against the state's order to the religiously inspired militant movements struggling against what they call the infidel. Under this circumstance, the business of intelligence should be understood in practical and situational ways. Forcing ethics to control intelligence will create instrumental conditions that disrupt effectiveness of counterterrorism policy. The first section outlines the debate on the basis of legitimacy for the intelligence to take any possible ways to accomplish the goal of preventing terror. The second and third sections look at the impact of the post-Cold War terrorism issues on the development of Indonesia's intelligence as well as the political and legal implications of transnational terrorism to the intelligence work. The last section is conclusion

1. INTRODUCTION

Intelligence is a great boon to the Indonesian government's effort to combat terrorism. The state intelligence

agencies gather, analyze and give information to the policy makers about the terrorist networks and dangerous activities, aiming to prevent future deadly terror incidents. Therefore, the government intends to develop stronger and

more effective intelligence by increasing the budget, improving personnel capability, and upgrading technologies. However, intelligence has to face with public criticisms directed by the elements of civil society at the agent approach and the domain of function. Human rights activists criticize covert operation conducted towards individual citizens whose social and political rights are protected by the constitution and international law. Because the fight against terrorism is framed as an unconventional war on extremist violence, the government and its counterterrorism establishment have manipulated the objective of eradicating terrorism to be the legitimate ground for the state that undertake the repressive actions to the suspected terrorists. They are especially related to the intelligence methods for collecting the critical information through the violent means (Faizal, 2016). In this context, human rights become the casualty of unethical antiterrorism intelligence.

Other critics question about the domestic orientation of the government's policy to enhance the intelligence roles. This is because intelligence is actually used to pursue and maintain the state's strategic national interests in the international politics, mainly the safeguarding of territorial integrity from outside penetration. Thus, intelligence is more appropriately utilized as the device of foreign policy, while for the internal security affairs it is submitted to law enforcement system of the police, lawyer, and justice. There exists about a clear distinction between the job of intelligence to serve the external defense and to deal with the internal security issues focusing on the disturbance to the social order and political stability. Regarding terrorism, the proponents of this view emphasize on the need to uphold the national law instead of conducting extrajudicial actions of intelligence to counter terrorism. For this reason, intelligence is required to meet the standard operational procedure that applies the principles of transparency and accountability (McBrien, 2013).

The above arguments suggest that counterterrorism intelligence must be carried out in an ethical manner that respects the human rights, obeys the rule of law, and follows the good governance. This article, however, problematizes the idea that ethical intelligence practice can be feasible for Indonesia's counterterrorism policy. It argues that terrorism has brought about different nature of threat, which Indonesia's intelligence must cope with, from the politically motivated subversive act against the state's order to the religiously inspired militant movements struggling against what they call the infidel. Under this circumstance, the business of intelligence should be understood in practical and situational ways. Forcing ethics to control intelligence will create instrumental conditions that disrupt the effectiveness of counterterrorism policy. This argument is explored in the discussion that is organized in four sections. The first section outlines the debate on the basis of legitimacy for the intelligence to take any possible ways to accomplish the goal of preventing terror. The second and third sections look at the impact of the post-Cold War terrorism issues on the development of Indonesia's intelligence as well as the political and legal implications of transnational terrorism to the intelligence work. The last section is a conclusion that provides emphasis on import-

ant points presented in this article.

2. THE LIBERAL VS. REALIST VIEWS

The debate on the basis of legitimacy for intelligence to employ hard measures to counter terrorism reflects the opposition between liberal and realist views about the state legitimacy to use force for purposes of making the social order. On the one side, the use of violent means in intelligence, thus they are considered unethical, is rejected due to the idea about democratic governance. On the other side, intelligence is deemed favorable to implement coercive methods because it does so for the interests of the whole nation to be secure from the violent threats.

According to the critics of intelligence, the operation is not legitimate when it entails deception and lying. They rely on Kantian philosophical argument that these activities are wrong since they diminish another person's capacity to act morally by positively deceiving them or at least by depriving them of full information (Erlenbusch, 2010: 164-166). They also make mutual confidence among states impossible since they are practices that cannot be universalized, i.e. followed by everyone. Followers of this view condemn in particular the instigation and use of treachery in dealing with other states (Rodin, 2006: 241).

The democratic objection to intelligence focuses on problems of accountability (Gerlof, 2012: 606-610). In order to be effective, many activities of intelligence agencies must occur covertly and remain hidden from the public, even from elected legislators. Neither armed forces nor the police are given such latitude. Their activities take place largely in the public view, often in the presence of national and international media, and are subject to extensive legal regulation and legislative review. Nor is the judiciary well-placed to act as a check on intelligence agencies since relevant cases only rarely find their way to court. If intelligence agencies are to be kept accountable, prime responsibility must fall on the executive government.

It is also problematic from the ethical point of view that intelligence activities often take place in the situations inherently liable to lead to abuse as a consequence of great disparities of power. Information, the Kantian proponents have argued, is more easily gained from the weak, the vulnerable and the innocent. Holding a person prisoner, above all, seems to create a natural temptation to use violence to extract information. Activists' warning – 'power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely' – applies not just in the political arena but also in the interrogation room.

Contrasted with the Kantian view, the most common justification for intelligence gathering is that it contributes to the security of the state. Like a war, it is a continuation of policy by other means and can be defended in the same way that Machiavelli justified the war in *The Prince*: 'that war is just that which is necessary'. Whatever it takes to secure the state and its citizens is justified regardless of who gets hurt in the process, innocent or otherwise, and of the means employed (Begby et al., 2006: 1-2). The end justifies any necessary means.

Machiavellian followers accept the existence of morality among individuals but distinguish between the political

and personal obligations. A prince is not like an ordinary citizen since he has an overriding duty to protect his state. He must therefore overcome the personal ethical qualms about what he has to do. A prince must 'learn to be bad' in order to protect his state. Actions can be justified for national security even though they may leave the ruler (or the intelligence agent) with a sense of having 'dirty hands' (Begby et al., 2006: 22). This goes with the job.

Referring to Thomas Hobbes' political thinking, the intelligence supporters see no place at all for ethical qualms in international politics. Since there is no sovereign authority among states, there can be no law and no morality. Leviathan describes this as a 'state of nature' in which sovereigns have 'their eyes fixed on one another; that is, their forts, garrisons and guns upon the frontiers of their kingdoms; and continual spies upon their neighbors; which is a posture of war'. Preparing for war and spying on neighbors are not so much justified as simply part of the struggle for survival (Begby et al., 2006: 101-104).

3. THE WAR ON TERRORISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES

The traditional security focusing on military capabilities and intentions has not disappeared since 9/11 though it has been displaced in some measure by wider concerns such as environmental, economic and health security and greatly overshadowed by the demands of the war on terror. The attacks of 9/11 and the Western response to them have meant significant changes in the type of threat perceived and in the responses to them. During the Cold War the intelligence-to-force ratio was relatively low – what mattered most was military capability – but the war on terror has demanded a high intelligence-to-force ratio (Withaker, 2007: 1017). What counts now is accurate intelligence about the personnel, plans and activities of terrorist groups, rather than the weapons they have.

Several characteristics of intelligence gathering in the war on terror can be identified, all of which point towards greater difficulty in creating or observing any limits on the targets or on the methods of collection. First, the threats originate not just from the enemy armies and arsenals, but from any group of people anywhere in the world (Withaker, 2007: 1029). The Indonesian government sees terrorism as global and transnational, rather than as national and local. Once anyone, including a country's own nationals, is a potential terrorist, the range of people from whom and about whom information can be sought is unlimited.

Second, critical information is no longer focused primarily on the major weapons held by an opponent, but on an enormous range of weapons and tactics that a terrorist might use – from Kalashnikovs to kidnapping, from homemade explosives to stolen computer codes, from ground-to-air missiles to hijacked aircraft. Where nuclear espionage was the epitome of Cold War rivalry, a huge variety of possible threats now attracts the interest of security organizations (Cruz De Castro, 2005: 212-214). To the extent that terrorists might seek weapons of mass destruction, this at least provides a focus for information gathering.

Third, the means of collecting intelligence have be-

come much more complex. In the Cold War, satellites, seismographs and listening devices provided the great powers (and still do) with much of the information they needed about each other's nuclear and conventional capabilities. In the war on terror there are no easy methods. For one thing, information is not easily collected by technical means. Vast amounts of data can be sucked up from emails, mobile phones, financial transfers and the like, but identifying specific terrorist activities among billions of transactions requires immense effort and complex assessments. What is needed now above all is that most challenging form of information gathering – human intelligence (Cruz De Castro, 2004: 191-192).

Finally, the importance of individuals as sources of information is greater than before 9/11. Nuclear spies and defectors certainly played a useful role during the Cold War but the war on terror has put a premium on securing information from captured individuals who might provide actionable intelligence that could prevent attacks or reduce terrorist capabilities (Jensen, 2008: 594). As a senior intelligence agent told the media: 'In this war, the most important source of information on where the terrorists are hiding and what they are planning is the terrorists themselves'.

The war on terror is part of a broad political struggle between contending ideas but it manifests itself through actions at the individual level. While conventional war takes the form of battles and campaigns, the key engagements in the clash between terrorists and their opponents are rather different. On the one hand, the terrorist attacks itself – often conducted by individuals or a small group and usually involving the asymmetrical use of force against unarmed civilians.

4. POLICY IMPLICATION

The term war on terror invokes the historical precedent that the executive governments are granted the extraordinary powers in time of war or national emergency. But it is also presented by the Indonesia's chief intelligence agency as a 'new type of war', in which the enemy is believed utterly determined to attack – to the point of suicide. A religious element on both sides adds to the perceived intensity of the struggle. States must therefore be prepared to use 'every resource' for the 'destruction and defeat of the global terrorist network'.

The search for security against terrorism has led to increased constraints on civil liberties and to greater freedom for security organizations to engage in activities such as assassination, covert operations, the detention of suspects and their interrogation. In this context, developing rules face two particular difficulties.

First is minimal public knowledge about intelligence collection. There are legitimate reasons for security agencies to operate clandestinely, not least the desire to protect individuals as well as methods and sources of information. The governments, indeed, may be justified in deliberately misleading others in this regard, including their own nationals (and arguably their own legislatures). It may be advantageous, for example, to keep out of the public domain the very fact that a suspect has been detained. Again, a

government may state that information leading to the capture of a terrorist resulted from a confession by an existing captive when in reality it derived from infiltration of a terrorist organization by an agent (Lee, 2013: 15-16).

A second factor undermining restraint is the inherent uncertainty and complexity in judgments about the value of information gained. In defending harsh methods of interrogation, for example, the governments are prone to inflate the value of information they have obtained. The claims after the event that the information allowed an atrocity to be prevented are always hypothetical and often improvable. (The information provided about plans may have been incorrect or, if true, other means of prevention might have been found.) The scope for exaggeration and misinformation in attempting to justify extreme measures is clear (Lee, 2013: 38).

A central problem of finding rules in the war on terror is that it does not sit easily either in the category of war or in the category of crime (Schafer, 2013: 135). The established laws and practices of war and of policing seem inadequate or inappropriate, not least where interrogation is concerned. The dilemma is clearly illustrated in the case of the detainees whereby the government finds itself pursuing three partly contradictory goals. It seeks to detain them (like prisoners of war) for as long as they may return to fight in a particular war, to convict at least some of them as criminals, and to subject them to rigorous interrogation as part of the war on terror.

With regard to the prisoners of war, the law of armed conflict strictly limits the information they must supply to their captors and prohibits mistreatment, but detention may continue until the end of the war concerned. The law also provides that those who break the rules lose the protections due to lawful combatants. While they must not be treated contrary to international law, combatants who are deemed not to be 'lawful' must by and large take their chances with whichever state captures them. This gap in the law, some argue, is deliberate and intended to dissuade belligerents from straying outside the rules. Observance of the law of armed conflict is aided in part by the pressure of reciprocity – abuse by one side may provoke retaliation by the other – and in part by the relatively limited value of the information most captured soldiers are likely to have (Schafer, 2013: 139-140).

In the war on terror, however, the information to be gained from the captive promises will be highly useful while the strict adherence to the rules of war in questioning captives is unlikely to secure the information desired, especially if prisoners know they will not be subject to mistreatment. The threat of terrorism, moreover, may continue indefinitely, creating a reluctance ever to release the captured suspects, nor is treating the captured terrorists according to the law of armed conflict likely to encourage the terrorist organizations to treat their captives any more decently. The kidnapping, torture and murder of captives is essentially part of the asymmetric warfare used by the terrorists that they cannot abandon. Reciprocity simply does not work.

Dealing with the suspected terrorists through a criminal process also has major drawbacks. Though the terrorists

plan and commit criminal acts, the police forces have very different approaches compared with the security agencies. First, the police serve the judicial system that demands respect for the rights of anyone under arrest e.g. remaining silent, the presence of a lawyer, a contact with family, and limits to the period of detention without charge. Failure to observe the proper procedures can mean failure to convict. The security agencies, by contrast, serve the executive government, enjoy greater freedom to act in matters of security and operate largely outside the public gaze, or indeed that of the judiciary or the legislature. Many methods employed by the security agencies clearly do not meet the standards of evidence required by the courts, a difference that can cause significant problems in the sharing of information between the police and the security agencies (Williams and Kennedy, 2011: 68-71).

Second, the police generally focus on the crimes already committed; seek any information to prove that an individual has committed a crime to the satisfaction of a court of law where the burden of proof is on the prosecution. Though they are naturally concerned also to prevent the future crime, most of their activity is reactive to the past crime. The security agencies, by contrast, are directly focused on the future threats and search actively for the possible conspiracies. For them merely suspicious behavior may constitute actionable intelligence (Schafer, 2013: 141).

Third, the consequences of failure are different. If the police do not secure adequate evidence to convict a person who has committed a crime, an injustice occurs. The victim feels aggrieved, the criminal may re-offend and the public confidence in the police is undermined. While these consequences are unfortunate, the society may not see them as dire. It is by no means totally unacceptable that the widely accepted principle that it is better for ten guilty people to go free than for one innocent person to be convicted suggests that the failure to punish a crime. In practical terms, moreover, the victim is no worse off while the lucky criminal may end up in prison because of other offences or may simply not re-offend (Schafer, 2013: 141-142).

An intelligence failure, on the other hand, can mean a major loss of life (in contrast to most non-terrorist murders) and a highly visible atrocity likely to engender widespread public fears (such as occurs with only a few more notorious crimes). The public are manifestly worse off than if a past crime goes unpunished. Political reactions are also likely to be vigorous and agencies blamed, fairly or unfairly, for apparent incompetence or negligence (Lee, 2013: 102).

At the bottom of the scale, soft interrogation is unlikely to be seriously opposed on ethical grounds (though detention without charge may be). At the other end, a torture has provoked strong and principled objection, though it does not lack defenders either. Can the lines be drawn somewhere?

It is apparent that there are few, if any, 'bright lines' – the term used by John Yoo in defending US Department of Justice memoranda that sought to provide a clear guidance about what a definitely torture was. The aim was clarity even if blunt language was used and sensibilities offended.

Clear rules also make it more difficult for those in authority to evade a responsibility by claiming that the subordinates engaging in the torture broke the official guidelines (Markovic, 2007: 349). It is all too easy for those in the authority to condemn the practices in general terms without defining them closely and providing the detailed rules.

Yet the benefits of clear lines can also be challenged, particularly if there is a disagreement about the scope of an activity to be prohibited. Thus banning the torture that is too widely defined invites widespread non-observance and encourages interrogators to keep the dubious activities hidden from the outside scrutiny, perhaps even from their superiors. On the other hand, defining an activity too narrowly will permit a great deal of undesirable behavior or even encourage it because it is not expressly prohibited.

If the line between the torture and the coercive interrogation is slippery, so too is that between the psychological pressure (surgical gloves) and the physical pain (boxing gloves). There are certainly some arguments that the manipulation through, say, '[a]nxiety, humiliation, loneliness, and pride' is far more effective than the physical pain. This goes to effectiveness, and suggests that physical pain is unnecessary. But is there any ethical distinction in principle between the two? A certain natural squeamishness causes many to react more strongly against the physical coercion (perhaps because it can more easily be imagined) but both methods hurt the victim and both can cause long-lasting harm (Markovic, 2007: 350).

These points to the further problem in the individuals respond differently to pain, whether physical or mental. Identical treatment applied to different people could inflict very different levels of harm, both short and long term. Should the rules of interrogation reflect the degree to which a prisoner can tolerate hurt? Is it more permitted against someone who has had training to resist coercive methods? The difficulties in predicting a person's response are also evident, not least because an assessment must be made before the coercion is applied. A further problem is that methods that might seem bearable for a short period of time could prove very harmful if used in the long term. Keeping a prisoner awake for two hours beyond normal bed-time is quite different from depriving him of sleep for two weeks (Williams and Kennedy, 2011: 89).

If judgment by the impact on the victim offers no easy answers, nor does judgment by results. As already argued with regard to torture, success or failure cannot be known in advance for a number of reasons (Williams and Kennedy, 2011: 92). Rules of conduct, however, are only useful if they provide guidance in advance, on what can or cannot be done. Perhaps, then, it comes down to the character or integrity of those seeking information – to what has been termed 'virtue ethics'. They alone know all or most of the circumstances and might be trusted to decide what methods are reasonable.

People with moral character will come up with defensible guidelines as to how far they can decently go. As a former agent operative puts it: 'Interrogation is such a dirty business that it should be done only by people of the cleanest character. No one with sadistic tendencies should be in the businesses. But many would argue that those in

the business of interrogation, especially the more coercive forms, could not be relied on to make dispassionate judgments. Even the practitioners disagree as to whether they can maintain their personal integrity while working in a job that requires lies and deception, threatening and harming. There are also obvious difficulties in creating a professional code of conduct and ethical principles for security agents along the same lines as the established professions that rely on strongly internalized values and strict self-regulation (Vian Bakir, 2016: 12). For such reasons the military professionals who live and die by rules and discipline normally reject the torture or coercive interrogation as part of their duties and see it as simply incompatible with professionalism. A former four-star general insisted that the military must follow the highest standards of conduct in the war on terror.

Both critics and defenders of torture see it as an extreme, as something in a category of its own (Newbery, 2013a: 512). Indeed, there is a clear parallel with terrorism that is also generally regarded as an extreme action – either never justifiable or permitted only in desperate circumstances. The International Convention against Torture of 1984, for example, distinguishes the torture from other forms of cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, outlawing it directly while enjoining signatories to prohibit lesser forms of brutality. It also denies states the right to resort to torture even in the extremities of war or public emergency. The decisions in British, European, Israeli and US courts have also drawn a line, albeit in varying places, between torture and other treatment that might still be cruel, inhuman or degrading.

Both terror and torture also encounter the problem of definition. Though a universally agreed general definition remains elusive, terrorism is outlawed in specific forms such as aircraft hijacking and bombing in the public places. Torture has been defined in general terms but much uncertainty remains about its precise nature and scope. The Convention against Torture refers to 'severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental' that is 'intentionally inflicted' (Vian Bakir, 2011: 239-240). But how severe must the pain be? Can lesser pain inflicted for a long period become severe? Are physical and mental suffering to be judged in the same way? Who is to judge severity – the torturer, the victim or a third party?

Torture has been employed for centuries for a variety of contentious purposes, including repression of political opponents, the saving of human souls, the extraction of confessions to secure punishment, the gaining of information for the public good as well as sheer cruelty. Debate about its moral value has revived since 9/11 as the desire of governments to prevent terrorist outrages has attracted attention to the interrogation of captives. There is no need here to go into the debate at length. The key dispute is between absolutists who argue that torture is inherently wrong and never justifiable (the deontological view), and pragmatists who argue that torture can be justified as a last resort when the ends are sufficiently great as to outweigh objections to the means (the consequentialist view).

The pragmatic approach has won a degree of support in recent years as the perceived threat of terrorism has grown.

In the earlier decades, an attack might kill a few dozen people, at most a hundred or two on board an aircraft. Now, it is clear that a single terrorist act can kill 3,000 people or even more, perhaps 3 million if weapons of mass destruction are employed. The greater the evil to be prevented are, it is argued, the greater the justification for extreme means in preventing it will be. The threat, moreover, is very real, coming from extremists and zealots prepared to stop at nothing and resistant to other methods of persuasion and deterrence (Newbery, 2013b: 4-5).

A second leg of the ethical argument for torture is that it is a preventive measure for the public good (Kem, 2009: 430-433). It envisages cases where information secured by torture genuinely allows authorities to prevent a looming atrocity, namely information can be secured, and sufficient time and suitable means are available, to disarm a 'ticking bomb'. In other words, the motives for torture are public-spirited, not political, punitive or personal. Safeguards can also be put in place – such as approval by an independent judiciary – in order to ensure that torture is only approved when pre-conditions are met and that it is only employed rarely and with reluctance.

A third type of defense focuses on the presumed character of the victim of torture. A captive known to be a terrorist who has no regard for ordinary law or morality has, some argue, lost the right to certain protections. Most 'deserving' of torture is the person who has actually placed a 'ticking bomb' or has committed outrages in the past. Perhaps he or she retains a right to life, but not necessarily the right to security from serious physical or psychological harm. Terrorists are 'at war' with society and hence lose their immunity. On this view, terrorists are the modern equivalent of pirates, once deemed *hostes humani generis* – enemies of humankind who could be hunted down and killed by law-abiding citizens (Newbery, 2013b: 10-14).

Finally, there are pragmatic arguments for permitting torture. One is that it is going to happen anyway, even if formally prohibited, so that setting up the strict legal and the political controls is more satisfactory than an ineffective ban that drives it underground. Moreover, if the terrorists know that their captors will not use torture, they will be more likely to hold out against robust interrogation, especially if they have been trained to resist and know that interrogators are working within rules. The assumptions behind such arguments may be questioned but any rejection of torture in principle needs to at least consider the real-world consequences of such a position (Newbery, 2013b: 28-29).

Among the opponents of torture, the absolutist position argues that no human being is ever justified in deliberately inflicting the extreme pain on another (save in emergency medical situations). Torture is always wrong, even if it actually prevents a greater evil (Guiora and Page, 2006: 427). The lesser evil is not an option. Legalizing torture, moreover, would produce what the opponents see as an abhorrent consequence – the society would in effect license certain people as torturers.

A second type of argument against permitting torture is pragmatic. There is a 'slippery slope' in that once torture is permitted, its use will naturally and inevitably widen even

if well-intentioned safeguards are put in place. Torture will be carried out by the agencies operating outside the public scrutiny and there will be temptation to use it in the hope that it will yield useful information. Once started, there is no natural time limit to torture – apart from death – for the torturer may well believe that more information can be gained, even if the victim has already talked. One success with torture, indeed, is likely to encourage more torture. There is also a slippery upward slope – if less painful interrogation techniques do not produce results, harsher treatment will follow and eventually torture will be employed. Only a total and unequivocal ban will keep coercive interrogation from crossing the boundary into torture (Guiora and Page, 2006: 434).

A final criticism of torture challenges the assumptions underlying the 'ticking bomb' argument, arguing that they will rarely, if ever, obtain in practice. How can there be certainty in advance that a prisoner has the information concerned, that he or she will provide it in time, and that securing it will actually enable prevention of an atrocity? Arguments for torture often rely on extreme and hypothetical situations but 'artificial cases make bad ethics' (Guiora and Page, 2006: 441).

Critics and supporters of torture take various positions on whether torture actually works. The former often argue that it simply does not work. Some individuals will simply not have the information sought. Some will resist even extreme pain indefinitely or to the death. Most likely, people under torture will provide information that is untrue or unreliable but what the victims think the torturer wants to hear. By its nature, the torture seems to be designed to make victims confess to acts they have not committed. But even if the torture occasionally produces results, the absolutist will remain opposed. For their part, the supporters of torture claim that in some cases it has in fact saved innocent lives. Yet even if this were not so, there is a benefit in retaining the option against some future scenario when it may be needed.

Finally, one can take a wider view. The supporters of torture claim that it will send a powerful message to the opponents, demonstrating determination to defend one's position and possibly deterring resort to terror. Critics of torture argue that even if it saves innocent lives, it will create more terrorists. It may also provoke more intense opposition and a greater willingness among opponents to fight to the death (Newbery, 2013b: 51-54).

5. CONCLUSION

This analysis has focused on the interrogator, but a responsibility for the treatment or mistreatment of detainees is always far wider. The abuse of prisoners at Abu Ghraib, for example, was primarily by jailers and not necessarily connected with interrogation. At worst, there may be a deliberate policy by guards of 'softening up' prisoners in advance of interrogation, but even at the best detainees are likely to draw their own conclusion: cooperating with interrogators will reduce the risk of harsh treatment. Can interrogators ethically take advantage of this situation? Can interrogators avoid taking advantage of such a situation?

Ethical interrogation clearly needs more than just ethical interrogators. The governments bear overall responsibility for the actions of organizations and personnel involved directly and indirectly in interrogation. Many of the cases of mistreatment of detainees, an official report conceded, were due to some factors such as lack of planning, insufficient resources (especially interpreters), failure by superiors to respond to indications of problems and missed opportunities for detailed guidance on interrogation techniques.

In political, if not ethical, in terms the governments can seek to diffuse responsibility for mistreatment by employing private contractors rather than using their own agents. ‘Failures’ can then be blamed on the company or its employees – despite the supposed best efforts of government. It is fair to observe, however, that employees of private contractors may well be skilled and experienced interrogators, often ex-military, who do not need to rely on methods that are more coercive.

The most cynical device for shifting responsibility is that of ‘extraordinary rendition’ – transferring prisoners for interrogation in other states where it is possible, or even expected, that torture will be used. The practice is contrary to the Convention against Torture but allows a government

to deny (accurately) that it engages in torture. If the matter becomes public, the blame can be placed on the receiving state. Similar considerations apply to states that agree to hand over battlefield detainees to another power as Australia did in relation to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The law of armed conflict requires the transferring state to be satisfied that prisoners will be treated appropriately, an obligation that remains as long as their detention continues.

Information-gathering for intelligence purposes faces an environment unfavorable to the development of clear ethical principles and strong ethical practices. Lack of transparency and accountability, the high stakes that are involved, the disparities of power, the difficulties of judgment about legitimate targets and legitimate methods – all conspire to starve ethical principles of oxygen.

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Quo Vadis Student Movement In Indonesia: Lesson Learned In Universitas Sebelas Maret

Penyusun :

• **Faizatul Ansoriyah**

• **Tiyas Nur Haryani**

Public Administration
Department

Faculty of Social dan
Political Sciences

Universitas
Sebelas Maret

Email :

ansoriyahfaiz@gmail.com

tiyasnurharyani@staff.uns.
ac.id

Keywords :

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Development,
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Abstract

In the history of Indonesian nation, the youths played an important role in achieving independence and uniting homeland. Youth Congress in 1928 marked Indonesian youth movement. Indonesia's independence struggle was the result of the younger generation. Regime change was also always tinged with the student struggle. Ahmad Subardjo, Soetomo, Soekarno, Agus Salim, Mohamad Hatta, Sukarni, Muhammad Yamin, Sudjono were present in youth and intellectual modern row at that time. Originally, Indonesian student movement became nationalism locomotive. They wrote and discussed about Indonesia. In 1960, Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia (KAMI) prosecuted Sukarno actively. The 1998 Reform was conducted fully by student unity coming from a variety of Indonesian areas assembling in the State Capital. Some student activists were kidnapped and had not been known for their existence until today, eight of them died in Trisakti tragedy during massive demonstration supporting the reform of Soeharto reign that had ruled for 32 years. Delegitimization of Soeharto government resulted due to the increased rate of corruption, collusion, and nepotism despite the design of take-off development for Indonesia by Soeharto regime. Student in higher education has a major role in the development of the country. We can see the role of the students in each of the national struggle. Post-reform, the student movement went down to the street more frequently with demonstration action. The reform opened the freedom of society groups, press, and student movement as the Government's watch dog. But recently, the students look like them entering their comfortable zone. The question that arises now is whether the student still has a sense of struggle. Globalization stream and expensive access to high education become a distinctive challenge to the students' social economic burden today. As we know that the orientation of student now is to get good academic performance index, pass and get job quickly. The time's demand makes human more reactive to economic urgency. Many students today are stuck in pragmatism. The objective of research was to determine the involvement of students in the organization of stu-

dent movements. Survey was used in this research. The population of research was all of students in Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta (UNS). The sampling technique used was multistage sampling one. The data analysis was carried out using descriptive quantitative analysis. The result of research showed that the students' involvement in movement organization was dominant in internal organization but small in number if compared to the total number of UNS's students. The result also showed that student involvement in the external organization of the movement was low despite the fact that many students' involved in the organization considered that the movements were important. Most respondents stated that it was unimportant to be involved in internal organization of campus, so was in external organization of campus. Meanwhile, information about internal and external organizations of campus had been socialized widely by students. Students' involvement in internal organization of campus was dominant as the place for discussing newest (hot) issue, social activity and academic advocacy. Students had an apathetic soul to the problems of society. There was a gap between higher education and the reality of a society. Student organization that should be independent would be the problem statement in the future research. The recommendation of this research was to maximize socialization channels about external student movement organization.

INTRODUCTION

The student is called the agent of change. In addition, they are called government's watchdog. Student aspiration is considered as people aspiration. Student critique is considered as the indicator of the public's satisfaction with governance. Student movement as the element of political infrastructure contributes to political system. In the history of Indonesian nation, the youth played an important role in achieving independence and uniting homeland. Boedi Oetomo founded by STOVIA students was born as the sign of Indonesian youth movement thinking of the nation welfare fate. The founding of Boedi Oetomo implies that Indonesian youths entered into the nation's political life and development. Indonesian youth struggle continued in the Youth Congress in 1928 uniting Indonesian nation's nationalism into one motherland, one nation and language, Indonesian language. Furthermore, Indonesian history notes Indonesian youths' struggle for Indonesia's independence proclamation on August 17, 1945. Ahmad Subardjo, Soetomo, Soekarno, Agus Salim, Mohamad Hatta, Sukarni, Muhammad Yamin, and Sudjono were present in youth and intellectual modern front. Indonesian student movement became a locomotive of nationalism.

Student movement develops over time along with the governance. In 1966, *Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia* (Indonesian Student Action Unity, thereafter called KAMI) prosecuted Soekarno's government actively because the Guided Democracy government in the end of President

Soekarno's reign was considered as authoritarian by the public. The 66-generation student movement appealed for the event distribution of welfare and the change of unstable Indonesian state political systems at that time. The political system responded to the student movement's demand. The students' political movement encouraged the change of Guided Democracy into Pancasila Democracy-political system (Arbi Sanit, 2014). Domestic political stability was unstable again when the student movement moved in 1974 and MALARI incidence (the incidence on the 15th January, 1974) occurred in Indonesia. The incidence on the 15th January, 1974 was triggered by the student movement criticizing the governance under Soeharto's reign that will hold international cooperation with Japan. The students responded to it and considered that it would not able to build people welfare. In MALARI incidence, the student movement made alliance with other political power element so that the social riot occurred called MALARI, on January 15th, 1974.

Student movement got its moment again during criticizing President Soeharto's authoritarian government that had reigned for 32 years in Indonesia. The 1998 reform was conducted fully by student unities from all areas throughout Indonesia assembling in the State Capital. In that event, some student activists were kidnapped and are still unknown for their existence until today, other eight students passed away in that Trisakti tragedy during massive demonstration action supporting the reform of Soeharto reign. Delegitimization of Soeharto government

resulted due to the increasing Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism although Soeharto's government was designing take-off development for Indonesia.

It can be said that students are the agents of nation change with their movement and innovation for the state economic development and growth. Sanit (2014) said that the increasing role of students in political life is because: as the group acquiring high education, the students are considered as having broad horizon to move within society; the students are considered as having experience in political socialization process; campus becomes a social-cultural acculturation environment to students; the students have access to power and nation economic structure in the future.

Historically, the 66-generation student movement in Indonesia was born due to high intellectual tradition, despite no support from well-established economic condition, the presence of *Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat* (People Cultural Institution, thereafter called Lekra) and the effect of American campuses providing scholarship opportunity (Sair, 2016). The student movement in 1966 was a political movement requiring the *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (Indonesian Communist Party, thereafter called PKI) to be dismissed, the Dwikora Kabinet to be reshuffled and price of goods to be lowered (UGM), although the 66-generation stated that it was a moral action to build justice and welfare (Usman, 1999). In American countries, students movement were also at the forefront of a major change in American values and attitudes - particularly in areas such as relations between the sexes, reproductive rights, music, and social norms (G. Altbach and Robert Cohen, 1990).

The research on student movement that had been conducted by Sair (2016) focuses on considering the students' political knowledge on the organization of general election recently, their knowledge's contribution to figure and profile of president candidates in 2014. The result showed that the students' political knowledge on the general election of 2014 tended to degrade with internal factor of education system deconstructing the students' function and external factor of information technology advance and students' instantaneous style (Sair, 2016).

In post-reform, student movement often went down the street with demonstration action. Reform opened the freedom of community groups, press, and student movement as the government's supervisor. Over time, the theme of student movement activity, the struggling technique and the problem encountered are different (Sanit, 2014). The question arising is how the students' contribution nowadays is. The students look like them entering their comfortable zone. Globalization era and the expensive access to high education become distinctive challenge to social-economic burden of students. We know that the social demand for high GPA, short study period, and short waiting time become the challenge to the students today. The time's demand makes human more reactive to economic urgency. Many students grow in pragmatic process. This research studied the student movements today, particularly in Sebelas Maret University, and is expected to represent the conditions of Indonesian student movement nowadays.

METHODOLOGY

This study was a descriptive quantitative research with survey technique. The population of research was all students of Universitas Sebelas Maret. The sample consisted of 405 respondents, taken using 405 respondents. The sampling technique used was multistage sampling approach. The data analysis was conducted using descriptive quantitative analysis, with percentage.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Sair (2016) stated that campus and students are analogized to intellectual locomotive with political power. Therefore, student participation in a movement organization is important to serve the role in both intellectual and political areas. However, ironically many students do not know the meaning of student movement organization now. Considering the result of research, it can be found that the students' assumption about internal and external campus organization is as follows.

Table 1.
Students' assumption about Movement Organization

Reasons	Percentage
Soft Skill Development	14.1%
Student aspiration	35.6%
Activator	14.3%
Government control	4.1%
Silaturahmi (friendship)	2%
Service to society	5%
Not Knowing	30.2%

From the data above, it can be seen that most students (35.8%) assume movement organization as the medium of accommodating the student aspiration. Meanwhile, other 30.4% state that they do not know what a movement organization is. Only few respondents state that student movement organization has the function of controlling over government and is close to society. It means that it is far different from the condition of organization in independence; old order collapsed and reformed order birth. The students always play a significant role in the change of each nation, not only in Indonesia but also in other countries. Similarly, in Chile, student movement requires the college policy in that country to be more egalitarian, to improve the capacity of college and requires the college not to be profit-oriented only (Bellei et al: 2014). Sometimes, a movement emerges due to the hesitancy to the legitimacy of ruling government (Zhao: 2015). It is just like what had

occurred in Indonesia during the collapse of new order age under Soeharto's government.

Views from the students' participation in both internal and external organizations can be observed in the data below.

Table 2.

Students' Participation in Student Movement Organization

Type of Organization	Participating	Not Participating
Internal Campus	55%	45 %
External	2%	98%

From the data above, it can be seen that student participation in external campus organization is very low. About 98% of students do not participate in external campus organization. Meanwhile, 55% students participate in internal campus movement organization. However, the next data shows that cheerful assumption about the importance of movement organization: 94% for internal and 78% for external organizations. It implies that actually when a movement organization can show its existence and can introduce the importance of organizational participation, the student participation in external organization should be improved. It occurs because the students' assumption about what is done in an organization is only around discussion rather than the presence of control over the campus policy or the government policy. It can be seen from over 40% students participating in both internal and external organizations arguing that the most activities conducted in organization are discussion. It can be seen in the table below.

Table 3.

Activities in Student Movement Organization

Activities	Internal	External
Campus Politics	6 %	3 %
Academic	6 %	4 %
Demonstration	11 %	8 %
Religion	5 %	4 %
Social activity	28 %	35 %
Discussion	44 %	46 %

From the data above, it can be concluded that activities in both internal and external movement organizations tend to be more discussion, compared to that in previous era which became the control of political activity. Student movement as the driver of change in the present context in Indonesia degraded post NKK and BKK as the form

of government's attempt of restraining the student action considered as intervening much with the political affairs (Mustafidah and Sri Mastuti Purwaningsih, 2016).

Related to the low participation in campus movement organization, particularly in external organization, the students' reasons can be seen in the table below.

Table 4.

The reason of not participating in Organization

Reasons	Percentage
Disagree	2 %
Taking much time	10 %
Busy	17 %
Unclear	1 %
Disinterested	27 %
Lazy	2 %
Not passing successfully the selection	2 %
No self-confidence	1 %
others	38 %

Considering the data above, it is irony that the students do not participate in both internal and external campus organizations due to disinterestedness. It indicates that nowadays student movement organization gets its existence inadequately among the students. Similarly, in the revolution made in China, the student movement is successful in making revolution due to emotional impulse including self-feelings, either situational or interactional, to make a change (Yang, 2000). It is this that makes it different from the condition of students today in comfortable zone with any facilities and faced with pragmatism in education inadequately generating emotion or motivation to participate in conducting a movement.

Behind the students' low participation in movement organization, there should be actually an opportunity of improving the students' participation by improving the effectiveness of socialization. As indicated with the result of research, the information media of introducing internal organization is friend and exhibition organized more than 50%. In contrast, for the external organization, information media considered as usable is exhibition and social media. Therefore, an effective information media can attract and improve the students' participation in student movement organization.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

The factors affecting the existence of a change and student movement is the low legitimacy of government, in addition to emotional impulse. Safe condition and less sensitivity to social problems lead to the students' low attention and interestedness in movement organization, either internal or external to campus. Nevertheless, the result

of research shows that restoring the existence and the role of student participation can be done by utilizing the most effective medium of socialization, through exhibition and social media. However, it should also be proved with real work of campus organization in the term of participation and partiality to the low-class and oppressed society. It means that the role model is required for the student movement organization to show off its existence again just like that in the history that had recorded the student participation in any historical events in Indonesia. If it cannot be realized, there will be apathy and demise of student move-

ment both inside and outside campus.

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An Alternative Agriculture Policy To Confront Village Autonomy In Tabanan Regency, Bali Province

Penyusun :

• I Putu Dharmanu
Yudhartha

Faculty Social and
Political Science

Udayana University
Sudirman street
Denpasar City, Bali

Corresponding author:
Tel.: +628-1804-3810-67

E-mail address:
p_dharmanu@unud.ac.id

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Abstract

Implementation of the village autonomy demanded to village government in tapping the potential in the village became the leading sectors. The agricultural sector is one of the potential ideals in Tabanan Regency to support national development. The current village government is granted the authority to help the task of the local government. Therefore, the development in the village has to optimize the agricultural sector. Problems encountered in the agricultural sector in Tabanan include the high prices of agricultural inputs, the prices of agricultural products which are not stable, the presence of processed agricultural products industry, and the function of farmland.

This study is aimed at discussing and analyzing the challenges and obstacles related to an agricultural policy in the context of the autonomy of villages with the descriptive approach. The study is conducted by combining theoretical studies and research of the case or phenomenon that happens, and then it will be formulated into a form of a public policy in the agricultural sector in the face of the autonomy of villages. The autonomy of the village is the Central Government's efforts in restoring the role of the village as the forefront of national development. The village is identical as the granary of food, a role which would like to be returned so that pattern Builder is bottom-up. To support and realize the role of villages mainly in the agricultural sector, an alternative policy is needed. The policies in question are as follows: empowerment of the rural sector, subsidies on agricultural inputs, input-output agriculture policies and the merger between the previous policy.

1. INTRODUCTION

This nation is awarded as having fertile soil because there are many mountains and tropical climate. Our ancestors are famous also as the nation's farmers in addition

to the sailors. This is evident by a life of relying on a field switch. This behavior continued until the time of kingdoms, and trade started to exist in Indonesia but is no longer moving. More farms use tools that are more modern. Then, the people of Europe looked for spices in the coun-

try beginning to be famous in the corners of the world. Then, the colonization by Europeans to acquire the wealth of nature and other natural resources started. The inclusion of VOC provided a significant impact against the plantation commodities mainly trade but then the Dutch wanted to do a trade monopoly with the conquered kingdoms in Indonesia.

After Indonesia became independent, the first president of Indonesia, Soekarno once said that agriculture was the demise of the life of this nation. Then, at the beginning of the old order, government policy tried to revive farming to become a pillar of the implementation of economic autonomy. Agriculture in Indonesia could be veins of growth of the economy like agriculture but in fact it is forgotten. This is proven by the findings of the BPS data (2009) that mostly poor population (65 per cent in 2009) worked in the agricultural sector. The above statement proves that there is a problem there that is seen from the policy sector, where villagers, primarily farmers, experienced poverty.

The number of markets opened in Indonesia was increasing, and food products came from the country that became an industrial farm in the world. Countries like Australia, America, New Zealand, the European Union, even China started to come into play with the ACFTA. The countries gave hefty subsidies protection against agriculture products. Then, a flood of imported products spoiled food markets in Indonesia with a low import duty free imported products, even this price was cheaper than the local product. This was due to the costs of agricultural production in developed countries which were cheaper because of the large subsidies compared to our agricultural production costs which were minimal subsidy. Food imports become a dependency of the country if we see the trade of agricultural products. Indonesia is now very dependent on imports, at least on a few commodities that are included in that. Our rice commodities tend to be safe, at least there was no imports by 2015 (table 1).

Table 1.

The total value of food imports and 2014-2015

Commodities (ton)	YEARS			
	2014		2015	
	Export	Import	Export	Import
Rice	3.026	815.307	1.215	-
Corn	44.843	3.296.106	400.000	1.600.000
Peanuts	6.291	254.323	5.284	129.475
Soy	51.184	5.786.446	6.938	3.642.471
Red Onion	4.439	74.903	1.500	-
Chili	12.125	26.162	7.181	-
Green Beans	34.928	82.957	6.181	32.991
Cows Live	-	246.509	-	113.732

Sumber: Kinerja Kementan 2015

If dependence occurs, it continues to be a problem in the future because of the large population food security being the main thing. Imports of corn and soy are pretty fantastic although the figure declined by 2015. If you see the potential natural commodities produced by the rele-

vant policy, the government needs to create and empower farmers to leave the import dependency then people only become consumers, and hunger becomes the new face in this rich country. Yet the policy of ACFTA (Asean-China free trade), which China gradually began, masters agriculture needs and “kill” the potential of local agriculture. So, talking about food security is difficult because of a lot of interference from external as well as an internal agricultural sector. Then, imports increase clearly detrimentally to farmers, and agricultural products will compete with imported products.

The farm is currently suspended as well as farmers. Many farmers who do not enjoy the results of their fields or sell his farm land become peasants. Agriculture as Xenophon, i.e.

“Agriculture is the mother of all arts. When it is well conducted, all other arts prosper. When it is neglected all other arts decline “

Agriculture is not just an activity as well as a source of life for all of us. Through agriculture, we can prosper people a lot because the thickness, the food, and agriculture sector also require a lot of labor. Then, it is ironic if poverty strikes farmers in Indonesia as shown in BPS data available in the village. They are like hunger in the rice barn.

The issue of subsidies is the result of new order project in creating self-sufficiency in food through the green revolution. The green revolution policies cause problems that occur to this day. *First*, the farmers become dependent on seed and fertilizer which are expensive to buy. *Second*, the understanding of “food self-sufficiency” equated with “rice self-sufficiency” results in continuous rice planting (Hasbi in Pramusinto, 2014:179). Policy changes through the green revolution bringing more negative impact. This nation has achieved self-sufficiency in rice and received an award from the international world but on its way it is difficult to repeat such a feat again. This is due to the dependency of rice higher than the other staple food. The increase of the population that is not supported with the growth of the agricultural land and the expensive cost of production are not comparable with the results as well as the selling price of grain making farmers choose to plant other crops that are more profitable.

Agricultural land, primarily rice land that becomes one of the staple food, increasingly shrinks each year. The data of the Central Bureau of statistics (BPS) indicate that extensive rice farmland in Indonesia in 2010 about 12.870 million hectares (ha) shrank 0.1% from the previous year which was 12.883 million ha. Agricultural land area as a whole, including non-paddy in 2010 estimated 19.814 million ha, shrank 13% compared to the year 2009 which reached 19.853 million ha. These conditions continue to worsen the lives of farmers (SPI, 2008). This shows that earth, water, and natural resources are managed by the State, and the intention to create a welfare society is not achieved.

The autonomy of the village became one of the steps of the Central Government in encouraging the development of the village. The village is an unincorporated community located in an area, where there has been the nation

of Indonesia's independence before. Then, there are the words that describe the role of the village in a country which are “*Desa mawa cara, negara mawa tata*””. The term has meaning: first, each village has its own customs and traditions, behold and the right to run it according to how (*mawa cara*) each; Second, the country has a set of conditions (*mawa tata*) that must be adhered to for the sake of order life together (in villages), as a part of a State (Gunawan, 2013:15). The relationship between the village and the country can not be separated because of the progress the country is definitely supported by the village itself, but the village should be subjected by the rules in a country (*mawa tata*). On the other hand, the village is entitled to organize its life (*mawa*) way in accordance with its own mores and norms.

After the nation became an independent role of the village as an integral part of development, stretching the village only became the object of development which is no longer the subject of development. The village is just fields of ambitious entrepreneurs, as a result of the role and existence of the village increasingly forgotten. The village began to be abandoned by the community due to the process of development and modernity. The village is considered a region lagging behind or a bunch of poor communities. The villagers feel their dreams about welfare and simply not able to materialize while living in the village. Population migration flows are increasingly not unstoppable again because all these dreams have shifted shops. This condition resulted in switch to rural life farming and gardening, namely changing identity into urban areas with more encouraging housing development, factory, and shops. Life becomes a farmer instead of a beautiful ideal to the younger generation even for those who stay and live in a family of farmers. Land-agricultural land begins pawned and sold for the sake of a dream of modernity and development because the city is no longer able to accommodate all the growth development. So, the course of this nation's village is likely to only be a victim in a development.

Various problems that occur due to the loss of the concept of *State mawa tata* namely government policies are not pro farmers. The welfare of farmers is getting marginalized by a weak central Government attention. Farmers must be against the free market commodity, and all prices are governed by them. Nervousness is perceived to be a serious problem for the country's future because its impact is starting to be felt at this time, i.e. when the imbalance of development between cities and villages carries significant implications. The enforcement of decentralization and autonomous region are expected to give hope in creating justice for the region. An autonomous region works to re-establish a pattern of healthy relationships between the Central Government to the areas (*the horizontal imbalance*) and also reduces inequalities between different areas in Indonesia (*vertical imbalance*). The journey of decentralization and regional autonomy of more or less 15 years has not brought significant performance to development, especially for rural areas. Hegemony of the autonomous region is more noticeable on the election of the head of the region directly, whereas the problems and demands community demands with campaign promises tend to be

only rhetoric. We can understand that to be a leader of the people (election results directly) shadows the challenges and obstacles that will be faced alone, and the entry in the political system is not healthy. Regional authorities and officials will get caught up in the bureaucracy in dualism which will be run, whether they are neutral bureaucracy or bureaucratic politics. A challenge is heavy enough for the leaders of the region who are able to position themselves in that situation because they are political officials (selected through elections) while the bureaucracy requires more neutral (bureaucratic neutrality) so that policies and services talk more to the public. However, we should not be too skeptical of the governance of the Central Government and regions because it definitely appears some figures able to lead regions with high integrity.

Conceptual decentralization leaves room to innovate and thought, visionary in developing regions. It was this that prompted the Central Government to make room for the village along with all of its components to create and enhance the development of the smallest community of citizen i.e. the village. Village autonomy through law No. 6 year 2014 attempted to restore the role of the village as a center of development so that it is able to support the development of region and nation. The enactment of such laws encourages the role of the village to become an important part of the development process, not only as a complement but to ‘players’. It is implied in law No. 6 year 2014 that the village needs to be protected and empowered to become powerful, advanced, independent, and democratic. An expectation and demands must be manifested by the leaders, executors, stakeholders and communities.

Understanding the concept and application of contextual laws 2014, it is 6 years that the position and authority of village construction functions describe the *self-governing community with local self government* (Dirjen Pemdes, 2014). *Self-governing community* constitutes the authority concerned as to the village of origin of rights or customs and local authorities in accordance with the needs of the village. *Local self government* pertains to assigned authorizations by the Government (Central Government, the province and the region). It is the efforts of the Central Government restoring order or pattern relationships of State and village based on the history of “*Desa mawa cara, negara mawa tata*”. The village was given the authority and also followed by the budget in accordance with the conditions and requirements in the village. A major responsibility must be counterbalanced by a commitment of the leaders and village authorities to implement it.

The autonomy of the village should be able to improve the ability of the apparatus of the village in managing the existing potentials into an advantage. The potentials of the village of course will vary according to the conditions of nature and society. The most important step is that the autonomy of the village should be able to empower village communities and the need to control from the Central Government and local governments, learning from previous experiences when the autonomous region put in place many of the poses problems i.e. abuse of authority and budget. Hopefully, this condition does not occur in the course of village autonomy in future for not only talking

about the output (policies, programs and performance) of the autonomy of the village but also talking about the impacts (outcomes) that empower village community.

The village-based development potentials are the responsibility of the Government of the village later and certainly need the support of the Central Government and local governments. The potentials of the relevant village in support of creating national strategic plan and self-reliance are the agricultural sector. The agricultural sector has been discussed previously into one flagship sector in creating food self-sufficiency or better known as the food self-sufficiency. The agricultural sector should be the main COGS of development in Indonesia.

Tabanan Regency became compelling case studies when talking about agriculture in Bali. As the area of national and international tourism, Bali's tourism activities are in a cantilever need because the tourism sector will not develop if it is not supported by other sectors. Agriculture becomes one of the important sectors in the development of tourism in Bali. Tabanan Regency became the granary of food in Bali because it is associated with extensive agricultural land and plantations. The agricultural sector in the Tabanan Regency became the leading sector (see Graph I) because of a lot of absorbing manpower as well as contributions to economic growth.

of Bali. So, to answer the challenge, an alternative public policy ideal is necessary.

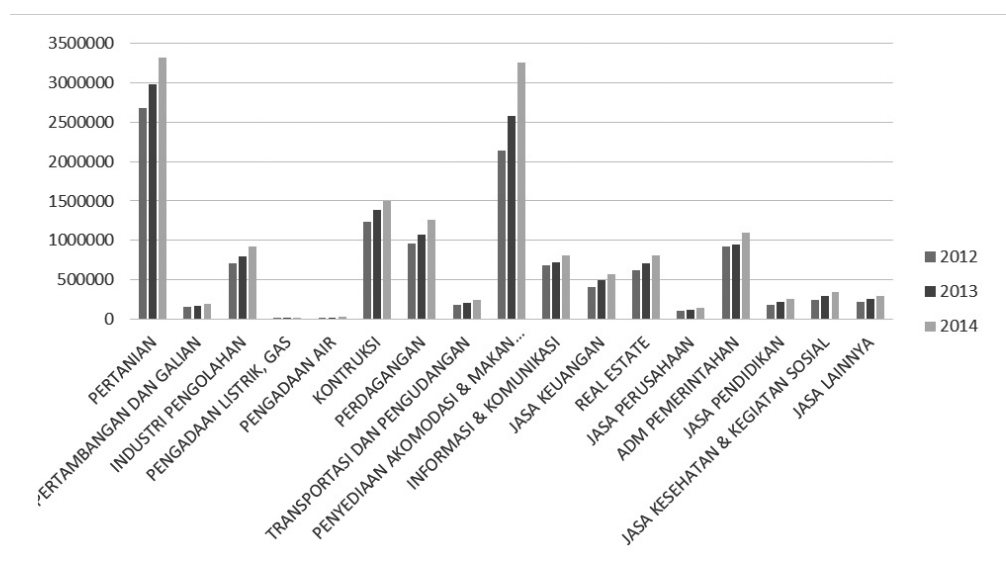
The village autonomy is in fact into a proper step in building construction from the village. The village is expected to have complete control of development in the agricultural sector into existence becoming pre-eminent in Tabanan. With regard to a variety of problems, then the author discusses and analyzes some of the issues in this paper: first, how the right agricultural policies are in favor of the autonomy of the village; second, the challenges and obstacles faced in what will be the implementation of the agricultural policy.

2. METHOD

The methods used are descriptive qualitative approach whereas the technique of data collection is based on the study of literature namely legislation, *policy papers*, reports and books that are relevant in reviewing, analyzing, and designing policy in the agricultural sector. Prior to the formulation of public policy, the identification of problems in the agricultural sector is required so that it is able to generate a sustainable policy later in the implementation of the autonomy of villages in Tabanan Regency.

Grafik I.

Produk Domestik Regional Bruto Kabupaten Tabanan
Atas Dasar Harga Berlaku 2012-2014



Agricultural sector in Tabanan regency also gained the spotlight by the agriculture minister Andi Amran Sulaiman who encouraged to increase rice production to become 111 thousand tonnes. The current rice production in Tabanan Regency recently reached 51 thousand tons (Tribune, 2015). The shrinkage of farmland in Tabanan Regency that occurs today specialized in the agricultural sector that is over past five years reached more than 1,000 hectares. In 2010, the amount of agricultural land reached 22.455 hectares in 2015 to 21.714 hectares (Tribun Bali, 2016). The condition becomes a contradiction in maintaining the existence of Tabanan regency as farm buildings in the province

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Problem identification

The autonomy of the village became an answer to the village's role in development that has just become the objects of development. The role of government of the village if referring to law No. 6 year 2014 is how democratic life is, giving good social services so that they can bring their citizens on the life of prosperousness, peacefulness, and the sense of Justice (Yout, 2015). The financial authority and the government of the village made the village as

subjects of development so that patterns of development are *bottom-up*. The paradigm of development in Indonesia is experiencing the development after the change of laws or strengthening the role and function of the village. The village development paradigm in Indonesia (table 2.2) that gives an overview of the village is obliged to contribute in the massif to the State, province, County/City and village community.

Table 2.
The old paradigm and a new paradigm
of development village

Old Paradigm	The New Paradigm
The focus on economic growth	A quality and sustainable growth
The redistribution by the State	The process of democracy and the involvement of citizens in decision making marginal.
Authoritarianism tolerable as the price to be paid due to the growth	Accentuate the values of freedom, autonomy, self-esteem, etc.
The State gave subsidies on small entrepreneurs	The State makes an environment that allows
The State provides social services	The development of local institutions for social resilience
Technology transfer from developed countries	Respect for the wisdom and local technology in participatory technology development;
The transfer of valuable assets in developed countries	Strengthening institutions to protect the assets of the poor communities.
The construction of the real: measured from the economic value by the government	Development is a multidimensional process and often not real formulated by the people.
Sectoral	Comprehensive and integrated
Hierarchy organization to carry out the project	Organizational learning non-hierarchy
The role of the State: the organizers, producers and managers of the largest consumer	The role of the State: the legal framework for creating a conducive, dividing power, encourage the growth of institutions-the local intrusion.

Source, eko, 2012

The village must contribute to the maximum to the State that is to overcome the problems and challenges especially in the agricultural sector. Farm policy when in mismanagement or wrongly managed causes the most distressed farmers, communities and the country. Political problem is the target in improving the governance of the agricultural sector policy. The village later claimed to be able to

synergize the agriculture-based development with community development through a policy and program. Political issues not only on agricultural policy alone but also other policies either directly or indirectly will influence the agricultural policy. As an example of free trade policies is ACFTA (Asean-China). Although this agreement has been planned for the early 2000s, this nation has not been able to strengthen the capacity of the agricultural sector. This opens opportunities for the government of the village in Tabanan in managing agriculture to generate commodity flagship product and process so that it is able to compete in the free market. In addition, it is able to help the Central Government and local governments as the essence in autonomous villages.

Another problem faced by Tabanan Regency is poverty. This becomes something interesting because poverty is prevalent in the rural sector. The village becomes an agricultural base that is supposed to be able to contribute to the economy of the village community but the reality speaks otherwise. BPS data mention that poverty in Tabanan reached 5.21 percent, higher than in Bali in general reaching 4.49 percent (Tribune-Bali, 2015). The autonomy of the village is expected to be able to answer challenges and demands. The number of workers in agricultural sector is more than that in other sectors. This is because the agricultural sector is labor-intensive sector that is capable of absorbing a lot of labors. According to data of the Central Bureau of statistics, the population of Tabanan Regency, according to the field of business in the agricultural sector is around 93 thousand out of 262 thousand workers (BPS,2015)

As a food granary area in Bali, Tabanan Regency is claimed to be able to maintain and increase production in the agricultural sector. Agricultural land is one of the important factors in encouraging to increase production which is not possible because farmers will farm without any land. Recent development of farmland in Tabanan Regency occurred over the function into the housing, economic activity and tourism center. The lack of protection against land-agricultural land makes this happen often, as a result of less agricultural sector contributeing to the development of the community. Farmers prefer to sell agricultural land that is clearly beneficial than managing the land in the middle of the Government's lack of attention from Tabanan Regency. This is emphasized by the Declaration Astawa (between, 2014) that the quality of the farm in Tabanan, originally as the biggest rice-producing regions is now incapable of providing an adequate level of well-being. The existence of a farm in Tabanan not only speaks on economic and social elements but there are cultural elements, namely water. Agriculture and water control system can not be separated, as the recognized world heritage Unesco, water control system should remain preserved in the agricultural sector in Tabanan.

3.2. Analysis Of Policy Alternatives

This policy initiative provides the view of policies that can be selected to address existing problems. Hence, the need to study in depth about policy alternatives for

addressing a problem of poverty afflicts farmers. At this stage, a variety of good policies has been conducted at this time and until the policy is adhered to various countries in the world. Then, the policy chosen is based on various advantages over other policy alternatives.

A policy should be able to achieve the targets of the problems encountered, and it becomes the purpose of selecting an alternative policy. The selection of policy alternatives needs to be studied in depth, so you can eventually touch the root of the problem. An alternative policy must be based on the aspiration or the demands of the community, whether it is a policy that has been implemented or to be implemented. Then, the authors analyze and examine policy alternatives, namely as follows:

1. Alternate I (empowerment village community)

Agricultural policy focuses on the construction of the village community. Poverty is high in Tabanan Regency then it is necessary to increase the empowerment of people, especially farmers. Later, the community empowerment also involves other community in supporting the development of the agricultural sector, for example in synergy with tourism and the economy.

Community empowerment in particular farmers and poor households in the village is to build the capacity of both individually and collectively. It is intended to provide training in managing agricultural impact to economically. Education is very important here because our farmer is very low in education mainly related to manage farmland and raise production. Any industry sectors need to be driven in the countryside; the industry here is the agro-industries. Agro-industries can attract many workers because industrial agriculture sector not only produces commodities of food but also processed products originating from these food commodities. Agro-industries are later developed into a business entity belonging to the Desa (BUMDes) so that it is added to the acceptance of the village in the future.

2. Alternate II (input-input agricultural Subsidies)

Policy against input-input agriculture in order to reduce production costs. This policy is very high but production costs were able to be overcome by the village Fund, then used through subsidies, namely:

a) The fertilizer Subsidy in the village.

The increase in fertilizer subsidies exists because farming in Tabanan especially rice is still very dependent on fertilizer. Fertilizer prices are unstable and tend to vary between areas with other areas, namely by providing conveniences for farmers in the village in getting fertilizer and price accordingly, for example through cooperation in the village.

b) Subsidies on pesticides

Food crops are often attacked by pest. Then, pesticides may not be separated from the agricultural

sector. Many farmers cannot afford to buy expensive pesticides and later have an impact on harvests.

c) Seed Subsidy

The seeds of superior are the answer to increasing agricultural production and resistance to pests and diseases. The government subsidizes Tabanan Regency so that later the seeds may be provided for farmers with cheap prices.

d) Protection of agricultural land and the opening of new agricultural land is aimed at creating food security and providing protection from the threat of agricultural land over the function of the land, e.g. through applicable local, the village rules and awig-awig indigenous villages (pakraman) in Tabanan Regency.

3. Alternate III (agricultural Outputs)

Policy against agricultural output where food prices are set by the market to intervene is intense. Agricultural policy is applied in Malaysia by setting the food prices in all regions in the country. If anyone is driving up food prices, local governments directly enforce the law vigorously. This pricing for example, sets a minimum price (basic price) of rice (paddy) during the harvest season (restoring the role of the Bulog when in new order). The need to control the market by intervention is to reduce food imports on an ongoing basis. One way is restoring the role or function of Bulog at the time of the new order, as food distribution and price stabilization. Then, it also gives special credit with interest rates light for farming activities in Tabanan Regency.

4. Alternative IV (Policy composite alternatives II and III)

It is the combination of Alternative II and Alternative III, and combining agricultural input subsidy policy and policy of agricultural output was expected to answer the problems of agriculture from upstream to downstream because this policy can help farmers start harvesting until the moment of the production of marketing their products.

3.3. Analysis of the positive and negative impacts of policy alternatives

A range of policy alternatives that exist needs to assess the advantages and disadvantages that can describe the policy in detail. Later, it gave separate views for the policy analyst in choosing an alternative policy. The advantages and disadvantages of each are as follows:

1. Alternate I (empowerment of village community)

The advantages of this policy:

a) Directly to the problem of poverty in the villages, namely empowering community especially poor

households so that later it creates prosperity in the village.

- b) Agro-industries in rural BUMDes-run, the countryside no longer just produces agricultural commodities but also processed products offer superior. It is able to attract tourists because of its rural farming agro tourism also becoming so grow the economy of rural areas.
- c) The government control of villages is synergized with the Tabanan regency government to further improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the development in the agricultural sector.

The weakness of this policy:

- a) Industrialization always has an impact on environmental pollution or damage. This should be really anticipated.
- b) Factors of agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, seeds, pesticides and more expensive if it is, then keep damning farmers against agricultural production.
- c) Import Policy if it still done will hinder the development of the rural sector policy k arena dinamikanya happens inequality far between food imports with local food including from side prices although the quality local food products could compete.
- d) The readiness of the government to carry out the policy of the village, and also the low level of education in the rural sector hinders the process of implementation. It needs socialization in the development planning of the village to village in order for performance of agriculture to be synergized to the area.

2. *Alternate II (input-input agricultural subsidies)*

The advantages of this policy:

- a) Able to increase production so that farmers are getting closer to the achievement of food self-sufficiency. All pest problems can be overcome so as to reduce the intensity of crop failures, creating the thickness of food in rural and also food security state.
- b) Reduce the burden of production of farmers so that the farmers' welfare increases. Later, the cost of farmers declines.

The weakness of this policy:

- a) The reliance of farmers against the higher fertilizer, pesticide and so on. It is also impacting on the vulnerable plant dependent on fertilizers and pesticide so that later crop failures occur due to scarcity of fertilizer.
- b) Environmental damage due to the use of fertilizer or pesticides is getting worse. Water pollution could kill other plants susceptible to pesticides. Also, polluted river water would interfere with your health.

3. *Alternate III (agricultural output Subsidies)*

The advantages of this policy:

- a) Farmers get a clear income of the price of food commodities they produce. Encouraging farmers to increase farm production could create food security.
- b) Agriculture continues to be the central role of development in Tabanan and attracts workers in order to maintain job opportunities and create prosperity.
- c) Bulog will have a central role or as the front wheels in the food distribution and price protection.

The weakness of this policy:

- a) Food scarcity due to accumulation is an issue that must be faced, in which the price has been set but the scarcity occurred can interfere with price stability.
- b) The need to convince the market especially the employers against the price which is set so as not to harm each other.
- c) There is a trend the banks are reluctant to provide cheap credit to farmers because of profits and credit problems. The cooperative role is less significant in the granting of credit and the need to control the local government and the village intensively.
- d) Returning the role of the Bulog as the new order will bring up the pros and cons which are mainly in the realm of politics because of the need to amend the rules on the duties and functions of the BULOG.

4. *Alternative IV (a combination of alternatives II and III)*

The advantages of this policy:

The advantages of this policy is similar to alternative II and alternative III, and this policy provides a solution for agriculture from upstream to downstream later bringing the welfare not only for farmers, but also the villagers. The improvement of food security is very significant in raising sustainable food self-sufficiency which starts from the village as the subject development and later will put agriculture as the pulse of the nation-building as what has been desired on the founder of the nation.

The weakness of this policy:

Almost the same overall weakness among alternative II and alternative III and the constraints related to implementation in the field are often a problem related to the education of farmers lacking for example in the face of changes especially climate change threatening agricultural production.

The measurement of policy alternatives

In the process of public policy in addition to designing alternatives appropriate policies, policy formulation is necessary to suit the problem. However, policy formulation has another approach that is a model of policy-orient-

ed purpose, or goal oriented (Nugroho, 2012:585). Indeed, conceptually, there is no difference in policy formulation-based problems and goals. The purpose of a public policy is to answer the demands of the community that become a part of the problem. Related to this, the formulation of agricultural policy has several objectives criteria. The purpose of the criteria is as follows:

1. The goal of reducing poverty in rural areas

The problem of poverty is more complex because it could not be seen from one cause alone but rather many factors influencing. Therefore, policy alternatives should be able to answer the problems of poverty which are increasingly dominating the surrounding countryside especially the agricultural sector, and also the selected policy must be able to be implemented in the future.

2. Economy

Policy taken is able to provide economic benefits. Economy benefits are intended to increase production of food commodity so that we are able to compete in the era of globalization and provide significant revenues.

3. Politics

This criterion gives an overview that the policy taken politically gains support from *stakeholders* and territorial as well as in line with the implementation of

the autonomy of villages.

4. Food security

A policy taken is able to create food security. Food security is in the sense of being able to create and meet food needs against 237 million population that starts from the villagers. This policy has a significant impact on addressing the problem of hunger and malnutrition because of the very indirect relation.

5. Price stability

This criterion regards a policy that would stabilize the price of products capable of taken our food because we tend to be volatile in food prices especially ahead of entering the holidays. Price stability is important because it affects the purchasing power as well as the effect on the income of farmers.

6. Social Resilience

This criterion means that the policy is later captured, strengthening the agricultural sector as a force development. The selected policy is taken in order to be able to encourage agriculture as a form of sustainable development (*sustainable development*).

The next stage of the criteria analyzes alternatives to existing policy using the method of May (feasible manipulations) to conduct the evaluation or assessment of policy alternatives in comparison with existing criteria.

Table 3.
The assessment of policy alternatives

Criteria	Policy alternatives			
	Alternative I (Empowerment of village community)	Alternative II (Input-input agricultural Subsidies)	Alternative III (Agricultural output Subsidies)	Alternative IV (Gab alternatives II and III)
Reducing poverty in rural areas	Good, straightforward but requires quite a long process and an intensive supervision	Well, the focus on poverty on farmers	Well, it involves all sectors (multi sectoral)	Very good, providing a significant impact in the agricultural sector
Economy	Well, when the implementation is appropriate	Good, able to suppress the cost of agricultural inputs so as to relieve the burden of farmers	Well, when you are able to market intervention	Very good, creating self-sufficiency
Politics	Currently, constraints on coordination and synergy between the village and the village office which tend to be dynamic	Well, when there is full control of local government and PARLIAMENT	Well, when there is full control of local government and PARLIAMENT	Very good, as per the aspirations of the farmers
Food security	Well, with the appropriate implementation	Well, able to increase production	Good, processed products that excel in support of tourism	Well, it must be sustainable
Price stability	Currently, needs synergy between government and businessmen in Tabanan Regency	Currently, the market is very dominant	Currently, the market is very dominant	Well, if it does happen the game distribution
Social Resilience	Very good, rural industrial wheels in realizing the village building	Well, able to attract workers or farmers to go back to work in the agricultural sector	Well, able to attract workers	Very good, to the region with industrial agriculture

Source: author's Analysis

Based on the results of the study of some policy alternatives, the author has the view that the policy alternatives IV is very relevant to be applied. It is based on the following criteria:

1. *The goal of reducing poverty in rural areas.* Poverty is problematic in this country that is never completed. Poverty is not just happening in rural areas but also in urban areas but the level of poverty in rural areas is higher than in urban areas. The possibility of poverty in urban areas is due to the influence of the rural poverty beginning to shift to urban areas because of urbanization. Through policy IV seeking to provide agricultural inputs input-subsidy with different portions, the subsidy is gradually expected to lighten the burden on farmers. It frequently complains about farmers, the expensive prices of agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, pesticides and others. High production costs lead farmers to often lose money especially if the price of their crop products falls. Prices of products such as staple ingredients need to be protected strictly so as not to bring disadvantages to farmers and consumers. Poverty occurs due to the costs that accrue to farmers being not worth the price gets. This makes many farmers sell their land or farm. This policy is applied to ensure the well-being of the agricultural sector especially the farmers.
2. *Economy.* The economic policies of the sector are clearly profitable but not instantly. Development of the agricultural sector needs quite a long process because of the large number of workers in the agricultural sector as well as a good stage. This favorable policy is simultaneously due to the strengthening of the rural sector. Economic growth does not just occur in urban areas, but it starts to be felt in the rural sector so that later it gives an impact on the government of Tabanan Regency. This policy fosters the competitiveness of our agriculture, as agriculture is increasingly attracting workers and keeps production in the State's agricultural sector revenue.
3. *Politic.* This policy of reaching out to the demands of the farmers had been forgotten. The autonomy of the village became an answer to the demands of the community particularly farmers. The village was given a great authority in the building, but political studies at the village level are of interest. In Bali, the village Office (rule village) and the indigenous villages (desa pakraman) tend to occur dualism associated tasks and those powers.
4. *Food Security.* It is because this policy will invigorate the agricultural wheel. Farmers are increasingly able to keep farming because the local authorities guarantee the agricultural sector from upstream to downstream through this policy. This policy is of achieving sustainable food self-sufficiency. Food distribution reaches throughout the area so that the dream of achieving food self-sufficiency and endurance are quickly achieved.

5. *Price Stability.* Price stability often threatens our agriculture. The price of the food products we often fluctuates even always goes up. Different prices are likely to be detrimental to farmers especially when massive peasant feast day or on other days. When the price of food products in the submit to private, this is a big problem because employers tend to play the price. Therefore, it is required to have the Village-owned enterprise village (BUMDes) to purchase agricultural and cooperatives in providing loans with low interest rates to farmers.
6. *Social Resilience.* This policy is expected to further make farms become the flagship sector compared with other sectors. Agriculture will embrace the growing problems associated with famine, unemployment, poverty of course and so on. Agriculture will also provide socio-cultural impacts, i.e. preserving the world heritage of subak.

4. CONCLUSION

Village autonomy through law No. 6 year 2014 is expected to provide benefits in addressing the problems that exist in the village. The farm became the focus of the village in a building associated with the autonomy of the village, but in the analysis it was concluded that agriculture began marginalized. It is caused by a few things, namely: the high price of agricultural inputs, the prices of agricultural products which are not stable, yet the presence of processed agricultural products industry, and over the function of farmland.

Therefore, the appropriate Policy is needed, namely subsidy against results of the input and output of agricultural products. As an alternative to the first policy, subsidies of agricultural input and output are expected to drive the economy in the village level so that they implicate against Tabanan. Next, the second policy alternative is the empowerment of village community that aims to improve the capacity of particularly poor households. The policy requires a long process when compared to the first policy alternative but it has implications for multi sectors.

Additionally, there are a few things that need to be improved in order to make room for the village in the context of the autonomy of villages. The first is the support of the Central Government and the regions in the companion policy formulation. The village authorities are carrying out national and regional policy, then the synergy is necessary in the process of policy formulation. The formulation of this policy also needs to involve stakeholders' role to farmers looking for aspirations or the demands of the farmers. The formulation policy should involve farmers so that the intended targets achieve later. There is also policy formulation in the government area of intensive coordination which is necessary.

The second is policies involving the target group. Target group here focuses more on farmers, not the possibility of the private sector to maintain price stability. Farmers should know the policies that need to be done as well as community support, whether the target group is able to re-

ceive policy having an impact on the continuity of the policy. Stakeholders such as NGOs have been involved even to the local governments as a form of their supervision. Socialization to the troupe takes quite a long time because creating a sustainable policy needs to strengthen the agricultural sector throughout Indonesia. Understanding the different farmers between the area becomes obstacles related to the low education of farmers. However, if done in the incentives, it will provide significant impact.

The third is the synergy between the actors implementing the policy. The key to the success of the implementation of policies on village level is to build good governance (good governance). All components in the government of the village, community, indigenous villages and the District Government must occur in order for the implementation process to be understood with synergy, transparently, efficiently, and effectively in achieving the target.

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The Impact of The Government-stated Objectives and Policies Changes for the State Owned Enterprises (SOEs): A study of Indonesian SOEs Structure and Objectives

Penyusun :

• **Andriati
Fitriningrum**

Sampoerna
University
Jakarta

Corresponding author:
Tel.: +62-21-811995045

E-mail address:
Andriati.fitriningrum@sampoernauniversity.ac.id

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Abstract

The purposes of this study is to examine the governance practice of Indonesian Badan Usaha Milik Negara (BUMN) or State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) focusing on their government-stated objectives. The study motivated by the important of SOEs in national economic and socio-political roles in developing countries like Indonesia, even after the SOEs have been privatized. Using interpretive, both historical and content, analysis this study focuses on the implication of policy changes on the government objectives for SOEs through two areas of study; the historical changes of government objectives and the implications of privatization policy for SOEs.

The focus of study derives that the important of SOEs in national economic and socio-political roles has two implications. First, SOEs have a tendency to carry multiple or mixed objectives both social welfare and economic or financial objectives. Next, these roles generate SOEs' sensibility to adjust with the changes of government policies and objectives or market economic situation. Multiple or mixed objectives between social welfare, economic and financial objectives as shown in numbers of prior studies, are potentially in conflict. The analysis of privatization in Indonesia reveals that the external pressure is a driving factor for government to privatize SOEs.

Three periods of privatization in Indonesia shows that privatization has become a controversial economic policy to resolve the national economic situation. Each period of privatization presents a fundamental change on the government objectives and policies for SOEs. Privatization in Indonesia also shows that privatization does not make any different for the government to control and access the production. Privatization in Indonesia still encounters with several policies barriers such as the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia regarding the control policy. Policies barriers are also a background for the introduction of new SOEs Act and Privatization Law. The rules mainly emphasize two important ar-

eas; balancing the party's interests which potentially hinder the success of privatization and the important of economic or commercial objectives-profit and efficiency objectives-which, later, indicate potential conflicting objectives with the government original objectives.

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This paper examines the governance practices of the Indonesian *Badan Usaha Milik Negara* (UUBUMN) or State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) focusing on their structure and objectives. The study focuses on the changes of the government-stated objectives and policies for the SOEs, and their implications on the SOEs objectives and structures in practice.

The paper motivated by the important of SOEs in national economic and socio-political roles in less developed countries like Indonesia, even after the firms have been privatized. Meanwhile, the SOEs' roles generate their sensibility to adjust with the changes of government policies and objectives or market economic situation.

The article mainly focuses on two main features of changes; the institutional environment and organizational structure which have both affected the government stated-objectives and policies for SOEs. For example, privatization has caused a number of governments to re-determine SOEs' objectives (Caporaso, 1982; De Castro et al., 1996; Guthrie, 1990). This change is mostly encouraged by the existence of new owners as part of the new structure of new privatized firm. This change may alter the company's orientation that will be analyzed in detail on Sections 4 and 5. Using interpretive, both history and content, analysis this study focuses on the impacts of government objectives and policies changes on SOEs' objectives and structures. There are two main areas of study; the evolution of government objectives and policies for SOEs, and the implications of privatization policy on SOEs objectives and structure in practice.

The paper is developed into six sections; the SOEs and privatization, the Indonesian SOEs, methods, the evolution of the Indonesian government-stated objective and policies for SOEs, and the implications of privatization policy. The last section is discussion and conclusion.

1. STATE OWNED ENTERPRISES AND PRIVATIZATION

SOEs often accomplish the requirement to meet both social welfare and commercial objectives. Socio-political objectives usually pertain to an SOE's specific product (Bai et al., 2000; Boardman et al., 1986; Boardman and Vining, 1989; Chang and Wong, 2009; Janet, 2006; Shirley, 1999; Shleifer, 1998; Shleifer and Vishny, 1994; Willner, 1999), while maximizing public welfare is related to the gov-

ernment's major roles in the provision of public utilities. The failure of market in developing countries to provide public utilities, reflecting economic development and political uncertainty are the major factors for the government to establish and control SOEs (Martin, 1996; Shleifer and Vishny, 1994; Yu, 2001). Besides the provision of public utilities, SOEs roles are often extended to improve national economic and social welfare service, act as subsidiaries of private or foreign investors (Sobhan, 1979) for the provision of public utilities or to facilitate national economic development.

To carry these government roles, SOEs require full support from the government. Monopoly and privileges from government distinguish SOEs from private. These supports are commonly a major cause of public and government pressure for SOEs to present their profit and efficiency performance. In practice, this requirement is not easy to achieve while the enterprises are still controlled by the government as the owner with the main purpose for enterprise is the provision of social and public services (Levy, 1987; Ramamurti, 1987). Many SOEs are created to fulfill the provision of public or community services that historically originated from government regulatory or legislative initiatives (Martin, 1996). In many instances, providing social and public services may decrease SOE profitability (Boardman et al., 1986; Boardman and Vining, 1989). This is because the cost decision and selection for SOEs are not the SOEs managers of main authority. SOEs are likely to operate as instruments of bureaucracy, based on connectedness with business groups and operating industries, which are strictly regulated. Martin (1990) also states that the government has not always directly or fully reimbursed the community service costs (Martin, 1996). Consequently, they tend to perform poorly and are also poorly managed (Abeng, 2001; De Castro et al., 1996; Gylfason et al., 2001; Mardjana, 1995). Government subsidies may potentially burden SOEs' financial performance when pressure for providing community service becomes a priority, but costs are not fully or directly reimbursed (Martin, 1996).

Besides their roles and function, SOEs are also different in terms of their relationship with their owners. SOEs commonly deal with bureaucrats who act as shareholders on behalf of government (Chang and Wong, 2009). Aharoni (cited in Levy 1978) argues that SOEs are potentially commanded by multiple principles and a variety of perspec-

tives (Levy, 1978: p. 77). Conflict between their political, public interest and commercial objectives may arise from a variety of commands from several different ministers, or the fact that they operate under specific constraints (Abeng, 2001; Bai et al., 2000; Lawson, 1994; Mardjana, 1995; McLellan, 2005; Shirley, 1999). The functions of regulator and owner potentially conflict when the SOE's economic purpose encounters regulation constraints, or when different agendas originate from different ministerial portfolios (Abeng, 2001; McLellan, 2005). McLellan (2005) concludes that when a company has unclear residual claimants, it will operate less efficiently (McLellan 2005: p. 116). The right to control and claim the benefits that are usually associated with ownership is irrelevant for SOEs. Since SOEs commonly deal with several ministries, there is no single entity that can clearly claim an SOE's benefits from its operational activities (Jim Brumby, 1997; Shirley, 1999). As government enterprises, their decisions are commonly predetermined by the influence of socio-political objectives, rather than the economic objectives of the current regime (Arens and Brouthers, 2001; Chang and Wong, 2009; Chen et al., 2009; Shleifer and Vishny, 1994; Yonnedi, 2010). As a consequence of these relationships and roles, SOEs potentially have mixed or multiple objectives.

Change in market economy conditions has altered government roles and functions regarding the provision of public utilities. Privatisation, for example, is most likely to break up SOE monopolies or to reduce government involvement. The study of privatization has shown many different results in regard to control, and ownership (Bös, 1987; Boycko et al., 1996; Shirley, 1999; Shleifer and Vishny, 1994; Yarrow, 1999). A theory of privatization, was developed based on the privatization case in Russia, shows that privatization can be a facility to reduce the politician and government involvement and control pressure on SOEs where these factors are considered as a main reason for inefficiency (Boycko et al., 1996; Shleifer and Vishny, 1994; Yarrow, 1999). Another study of changes in ownership of public enterprises like SOEs indicates that, to an increasing extent, privatization switches of firms' goal from social welfare maximizing to profit maximizing (Bös, 1987). The ownership structure as an impact of privatization is commonly the main factor whether SOEs are still able to meet the government expectations in regards to the social welfare duties. There is a gap of knowledge from this analysis, in the extent to what, the government will change its objectives for SOEs following the privatization, and what the impacts on the SOEs structure and objectives.

2. THE INDONESIAN STATE OWNED ENTERPRISES

The Indonesian SOEs show their crucial contribution to the national economic development and social welfare. The important roles of the Indonesian SOEs are largely affected by the historical roles in socio-economic spheres. The economic contribution shows their roles in Indonesian economic growth (Hill, 2007) even when the government implemented the market orientation policy where the

government roles were limited. For example is the role of SOEs to improve competition and market capitalization. The Jakarta Stock Exchange (JSX) reported that in March 2015, from 20 publicly listed SOEs, the market capitalization was around Rp 1.433 trillion, while in August 2016 was Rp 1.499,9 trillion (Nurfaizi and Gunarto, 2015; Sinaga, 2015). This contribution was equal to around 26.2 per cent of the total of JSX market capitalization. The Indonesian SOEs also played significant roles to support the state budget as shown their contribution around Rp. 220 trillion in 2015 and Rp. 177 trillion in 2015 from taxes and dividend (Sinaga, 2015).

Besides the economic roles, Indonesian SOEs play an important role in social welfare and safety net distribution. These social welfare roles of the Indonesian SOEs are the consequence of the Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia, which highlights the importance of controlling natural resource and production under the government authority (Abeng, 2001; Diah, 2003; Mardjana, 1995; Ruru, 2006). The Article 34 of the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia also emphasizes the requirement and importance for the state to provide and be responsible for the social security system and public utilities (Constitution 1945, 2002; Higgins, 1958). These statements indicate that the government should remain in the SOEs business for socio-economic purposes. In practice, the SOEs roles are not limited to the social welfare and safety net distribution. The roles are included the main investor of public infrastructure such as road, seaports, airport and telecommunication; as well as the operator of public utilities such as electricity, postal service, water and fuel (Abeng, 2001; Yonnedi, 2010). The Indonesian SOEs also play crucial roles to distribute staples, fertilizer and rice seed. Some Indonesian SOEs still carry these social welfare and provision of public utilities duties even though many of them do not carry a Public Service Obligation (PSO). These requirements to continuously carry the duties are part of the centralization of Indonesia economic policy. Up to now, the majority of Indonesian industries remain under the government control (PerPres Negatif List Investasi no 36/2010), through SOE roles. Later, these control policies become a major issue when the government has to privatize the SOEs.

Privatization has become the Indonesian government conventional economic policy to resolve the fiscal problems. The evolution of Indonesia as describe in detail on the next section shows that privatization has been locked as the Indonesian government economic policy whenever the government deal with fiscal problems. In practice, conflict between economic and regulatory constraints is the barrier for successful privatization in Indonesia. Numbers of Indonesian privatization has been postponed for this reason. For example is the privatization of PT Ankara Pure (Airport SOE). Planning for the privatization of PT Angkasa Pura II began in 1998 (DiBiasio, 1998; Sukardi, 2005) for efficiency and resolve fiscal problem purpose. The control policy issue had hindered the progress privatization since aeronautical activities are considered as public service facilities which should be controlled under the government authority (UU Penerbangan, 1992). As a result, the privatization of PT Angkasa Pura II was cancelled.

The pressure to carry privatization is stronger when the Indonesian government engaged with the International organization such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and Asian Development Bank (ADB). Conflict between profit and regulation constraint makes privatization limited to partial privatization. Most of privatization in Indonesia is undertaken for less than 49 per cent. As a result, the government remains the major control over the new privatized firms or publicly listed SOEs.¹ These issues leave knowledge gap to what extent the government objectives and policy changes particularly after the introduction of privatization policy affect the SOEs objectives and structure in practice.

3. METHOD

The research method for this article is developed in reference to the main research area issue. Qualitative method is used to examine the issue developed from the previous description on the previous section. For this article, historical path and content analyses are used to examine the extent to what the government compliance to its objectives and policies for SOEs particularly after the introduction of privatization policy. The historical path analysis is selected as the research mainly focuses on the history and path or sequence events. The important of changes and sequence events could be deeply investigated through historical analysis. Meanwhile, content analysis is used to examine the government policy and objectives for SOEs. As text is the main focus of this study where the content analysis mainly rationalizes it (Duriau et al., 2007), the interpretive analysis is used to support the historical method and path analysis. The interpretive analysis is in particular used to help understand the meaning and content of data.

The important of history and path or sequence events on this study is a main reason for the selection of historical path analysis. Historical path analysis is developed by combining path dependence and historical method. Path dependence from institutional change theory is used as it emphasized the important of the changes and sequence events in the past that affect the current economic performance. The path analysis from institutional change theory is used as a guide or framework to analyze the changes of organization or SOEs to the current situation or structure and objectives. Historical analysis provides procedure and rules that help the researchers to collect the evidence and facts based on connection amongst facts (Lucey, 1984). It also explains the complex causes of change demonstrate the persistence of phenomena and analyses the trends (Smith and Lux, 1993). Historical analysis also offers the possibilities to search and make deep consideration regarding temporary issues, including factors and conditioning factors that influence the issue (Parker, 1997, Rowlinson, 2004). For this study, historical analysis is used to reconstruct the government objectives and policy, and to identify

whether the changes have consequences for the current structure and situation. In addition, path analysis is combined to evaluate the events by developing a map of the periodization or sequence of events, as well as the crucial events that significantly affect the evolution. Interpretive analysis is also used to reduce the bias and vague during the process of analyzing the government's policy and objectives statement. The interpretive analysis is expected to bring sense of text or text analogues that are found in hermeneutic studies about interpretation (Myers, 1994).

4. THE EVOLUTION OF THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT-STATE OBJECTIVES AND POLICIES FOR SOES

This section aims to analyze the evolution of the Indonesian SOEs focusing on the government-stated objectives and policies for SOEs. The Indonesian government established numbers of SOEs, which aimed to take control of economic and political authority and achieve the national socio-economic stabilization. The evolution of Indonesian SOEs, in general, is divided into three periods those are Indonesianization, Nationalization and Corporatization. The period is determined based on the policy and political regimes that affect the Indonesian SOEs structure and objectives.

4.1. Indonesianization (1945-1958)

Indonesianization is the earliest period of the Indonesian SOEs evolution. The socio-political circumstance during the initial period of Indonesianization had significantly influences on the development of economic policy in Indonesia. Following the Indonesian Independence in 1945, taking control of economic and political authority from Dutch government under the *Pribumi*² became crucial and demanding. The continuance of Dutch domination in economic and political activities in Indonesia led to wide resentment from *Pribumi*. This situation encouraged the introduction of the Indonesianization program.

The Indonesianization of political control began when the *Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (PPKI/Committee for Indonesian Independence) was established. PPKI drafter the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia (Siahaan, 1996; Sutter, 1959) which emphasized the importance of the government in controlling the nation's socio-economic activities and resources, particularly the resources and production vital for the state (Constitution1945, 2002). In practice, control of economic activities did not work properly. Limited of *pribumi* participants and lack of skills and resources hindered the *Pribumi* to take part in economic activities (Adams and Davis, 1994; Kroef, 1954; Kroef, 1955). This is because during colonialism, *pribumi* has been restricted in participating in economic activities which led to restrictive culture that influence the growth and ambition of Indonesian entrepreneurs (Adams, 1996). However, the pressure to prevent the potential empowerment of former colonial power and outside nation partici-

¹ The term publicly listed SOE(s) is used based on the Indonesian SOEs rule that determined that SOE in the form of a limited liability company which capital is divided in shares that are wholly or minimally 51 per cent owned by the State of the Republic of Indonesia.

²Pribumi is official name for Indonesian indigenous.

pating in economic activities encouraged the *pribumi* and state to use the enterprises to create job and prevent this potential empowerment. The first state enterprise, *Bank Negara Indonesia* (BNI/State Bank Indonesia) was established in 1946, to replace the *Pusat Bank Indonesia*, which coordinated the government economic programs. BNI was established to facilitate the economic activities purely under the Indonesian authority, and to circulate the *Oeang Republic Indonesia* (ORI) as the official Indonesia currency (BNI, 2008b; BNI, 2008a). Later In 1949, the Dutch government transferred *De Javasche Bank* (DJB) to act as the central bank in Indonesia. In 1953, the government of Indonesia purchased the DJB's ownership, and commissioned it officially as the Indonesian central bank.

The centralization of economic policy became crucial, particularly to mobilize the *pribumi* economic activities. The Indonesian government also established two state trading enterprises; Bank and Trading Corporation (BTC) and Sumatra Banking and Trading, known as CTC to resolve the inter-island trading blockade. In regard to economic policy, the Indonesian government implemented a market orientation policy through the *Benteng* Program that focused on the roles of *pribumi* in national market activities. To achieve this goal, the government established *Bank Industri Negara* (BIN/Industry state bank). BIN played crucial role in economic activities and industrialization (Glassburner, 1962) particularly when the government introduced the *Rencana Urgency Perekonomian* (Economy Urgency Plan) and *Benteng* Program. Due to the socio-economic instability during this period, most the new state enterprises carried multiple objectives which dominated by socio-political objectives.

4.2. Nationalization Period (1958-1966)

The nationalization period began in 1958 when conflict between the New Indonesia Republic and the Dutch Federation led to economic and political catastrophes. The political catastrophes made the Indonesian government difficult to improve the national economic situation. As the consequences, the Indonesian government introduced the *Ekonomi Terpimpin* (Guided Economy) program that emphasized the importance of centralization of socio-political and economic policy and returned to the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia.³ The introduction of *Ekonomi Terpimpin* led to the end of market orientation policy.

Massive labor strike and economic blockade in 1965 drove the emergence of massive nationalization of the Dutch companies. The nationalization of Dutch companies followed the massive labor strike strengthened the requirement of the government to centralize the control policy ((UU Nasionalisasi 1958; The American 1960). The massive nationalization generated some problems for the government in managing the new nationalized companies. By the end of nationalization, the government controlled around 822 companies under the state enterprises structure. The majority of nationalized companies were classi-

fied under Dutch classifications: IBW (*Indonesische Bedrijvenwet*) and ICW (*Indische Comtabiliteitswet*). At the same time, the government took control several different structures of companies. To resolve this issue, the government established *Badan Nasionalisasi Perusahaan-Perusahaan Belanda* (BANAS/Nationalization Body for Dutch Companies), which main duty was to ensure that all nationalized assets were controlled by the state (UU Nasionalisasi 1958).

The Indonesian government did further action for these companies. The Indonesia government did mergers, acquisitions, transferring companies to a new status, and transferring control to regional government (Kanumoyoso, 2001; Nugroho R and Wrihatnolo, 2008). The government also established some new state enterprises to take over some the Dutch nationalized companies activities (Abeng, 2001; Diah, 2003; Kanumoyoso, 2001; Ruru, 2006)⁴, particularly, to provide public utilities and distribute staples to Indonesians (Kanumoyoso, 2001). This centralization of control of new nationalized companies led to financial problems. The financial problems occurred as most the IBW and ICW structures were non-profit oriented due to their roles in the provision of social and public services for communities (Research, 1998). Meanwhile, some new state enterprises had to deal with financial problems as the consequence of supervising the new nationalized companies. The Indonesian government, later, separated the control authority of these companies between central and regional governments. The companies or state enterprises with the public utilities provision function were controlled by central government, while the rest companies which were without public utilities provision function were under the supervision of regional government. This situation shows that social welfare maximizing was strongly presented as the role of these new state enterprises.

Diversity of companies' structures followed the nationalization encouraged the Indonesian government to introduce new structure. In 1960, the Indonesian government introduced the new structure of *Perusahaan Negara* (State Company) which was supervised under the respective sector's ministries (MSOEs, 2008). *Perusahaan Negara* was expected to become the state production and economic power. Thus, the objectives of *Perusahaan Negara* were categorized into: the provision of services, handling of public interest, and obtaining revenue (*Perusahaan Negara* Rule, 1960; MSOEs, 2008). Further, the management function of *Perusahaan Negara* was run by *Badan Pimpinan Umum* (BPU/General Management Board) who also the state representative and/or coordinator of several *Perusahaan Negara* (*Perusahaan Negara* Rule 1960). In practice, this new structure still dealt with some managing issues such as overlapping between the management duty

³ During the parliamentary period, the government implemented the 1950 Provisional Constitution of Indonesia.

⁴ Most of the Dutch nationalized companies were trading companies. The takeover occurred as the government established new companies under *Badan Urusan Dagang* (the government body to manage the trading nationalized companies). The takeovers were: PT Budi Bahkti to continue NV Boorsumij, PT Aneka Bahkti to continue NV Internatio, PT Judo Bahkti to continue NV Jacobson van de berg, PT Tulus Bahkti to takeover NV Lindeteves, and PT Marga Bahkti to takeover NV Geowehry.

and BPU, and inconsistency of the government to implement the new structure. The new structure of *Perusahaan Negara*, in practice, did not apply to all state enterprises. State banking and Pertamina remained under the government control with separate legal agreement (MSOEs, 2008). The establishment of BPU and government inconsistent to implement the new structure caused to *Perusahaan Negara* aligned with bureaucratization that led to poor performance, inefficiency and state financial burden.

4.3. Corporatization

Corporatization of Indonesian SOEs has started since 1966 when the government introduced the new structure of *Perusahaan Negara*. In practice, this corporatization was limited to management scope. The full implementation of corporatization principles was started in 2003 when the government introduced the new SOEs Act no 19/2003. The implementation of corporatization has significant impacts on the Indonesian SOEs structure as analyzed in detail in this section. There were two sub-periods of the corporatization within the Indonesia SOEs; under the *Perusahaan Negara* structure from 1966 to 1983, and under the *Badan Usaha Milik Negara* (BUMN/SOEs) from 1983 to present.

4.3.1. Under *Perusahaan Negara* Structure

The roles of *Perusahaan Negara* were crucial when the government introduced the new market orientation policy in 1966. Massive labour strike and economic blockade in 1965 led the transfer of political power in Indonesia. The new regime focused on the implementation new market orientation policy as to replace the former centralization of economic policy. This new economic policy made *Perusahaan Negara* roles crucial particularly to develop the Indonesian market. The implementation of market orientation policy encouraged *Perusahaan Negara* to fairly compete with private and foreign participants. In contrast, the introduction of market orientation policy caused the government involvement in *Perusahaan Negara* activities limited to advisory role only (Consultative Assembly Rule no 23/1966/TAP MPR 1966; MSOEs, 2008; Nugroho & Wrihatnolo, 2008). This meant the roles of state were limited to social welfare development (Arndt, 1975; Dick, 2002; Nugroho R and Wrihatnolo, 2008).

The introduction of market orientation policy in 1966 had some implications on the *Perusahaan Negara*'s roles and functions. The government began to diversify the *Perusahaan Negara* structures based on their roles and functions; and introduced three forms of *Perusahaan Negara*:

- *Perjan* (*Perusahaan Jawatan*/Bureau Enterprises) where the main duties were to operate in public service areas that provides vital and strategic utilities, without any profit-making duty. *Perjan* were transferred from IBW status.
- *Perum* (*Perusahaan Umum*/Public Company) where the main duties were to operate in public utility spheres, and also charged with making a profit and were managed based on the corporation system.

Perum were transferred from state enterprises status.

- *Persero* (*Perseroan Terbatas*/Limited Incorporation) where shares were wholly or partly owned by the government and it operates selected business activities on a commercial basis. *Persero* were transferred from ICW, which referred to commercial law (Wetboek van Koophandel voor Indonesie) Staablad 1847.23 (INPRES Perusahaan Negara 1967; UU Badan Usaha Negara 1969; Abeng, 2001; Anoraga, 1995; MSOEs, 2008; Nugroho & Wrihatnolo, 2008; Research, 1998).

From these new forms of *Perusahaan Negara*, it was seen that the economic objectives started to be part of the *Perusahaan Negara*'s objectives and it was in line with the provision of public utilities.

The introduction of new *Perusahaan Negara* structure drove the emergence of economic objectives. Economic efficiency, reducing financial burden and performance improvement became the main focus of new *Perusahaan Negara* structure. The economic objectives were strongly shown on the *Persero* structure. Through the *Persero* law no 12/1969 the government emphasized that *Persero* structure was commercial entity under supervised of the Ministry of Finance as the state shareholders. The new structure of *Perusahaan Negara* places *Persero* as the Indonesian economic backbone with equal treatment to private and foreign investors (Anoraga, 1995) and the government industrialization vehicles. In practice, *Persero* structure still dealt with several issues; performance, regulation and management. For example, the obligation to become the government industrialization vehicles required privileges and protection from the government. These monopoly and privilege became a barrier for *Persero* to operate effectively and fairly (Nugroho R and Wrihatnolo, 2008; Siahaan, 1996). The obligation to become the government industrialization vehicles made the profit objective less important.

4.3.2. Under *Badan Usaha Milik Negara* Structure

The rapid increase of oil price in the early 1980s drove the Indonesian government to re-implement the centralization of economic policy. The motivation was the government ability to provide budget for *Perusahaan Negara* operation from oil revenue. Numbers of industries were restricted for foreign investors; and monopolized by *Perusahaan Negara* only. The government also established new SOEs as Pertamina's (Petroleum SOE) subsidiaries that had some financial implications to the company (Robison and Rosser, 1998). At the same time, the government deregulated the banking system by imposing a ceiling on bank assets, leading to a large number of private banks (Fane, 1999; McLeod, 2002a; Pangestu, 1990). These new private banks mostly were established by relying on the state bank expenses, which later worsened the Indonesian economic situation (Fane, 1999; McLeod, 2002b). Since *Perusahaan Negara* were controlled and supervised by their technical ministries, this situation allowed the ministries to accelerate the social welfare maximizing ex-

pectations. Yet, when the oil price went down, the fiscal problems emerged (Fane, 1999). Massive infrastructure investment by government and SOEs contributed to fiscal problems in Indonesia. These fiscal problems followed the declining of oil price encouraged the Indonesian government to re-implement the intensive market orientation policy. The government re-opened number of industries that previously monopolized by *Perusahaan Negara* for private participants unless the industries were affected by the need to provide community livelihoods (Panglaykim and Thomas, 1967).

The implementation of market orientation policy required the government to refine the *Perusahaan Negara* roles and objectives particularly in relations to economic or commercial objectives. The economic and commercial objectives become part of the *Perum* and *Persero* objectives, while the role of social welfare maximizing was separated between *Perum* and *Perjan* structures. During this period, the government also did evaluation for the *Perusahaan Negara* performance. The government evaluation revealed that the majority of *Perusahaan Negara* showed their poor performance (Pangestu and Habir, 1989). Therefore, in 1983, the government introduced a new structure to replace *Perusahaan Negara*; Badan Usaha Milik Negara (BUMN/State Owned Enterprises). BUMN or SOE was introduced to implement the corporate principles, particularly for the *Persero* structure. The government also encouraged the *Persero* to comply with the Indonesian Corporate Act, and transferred the authority to supervise them under the Ministry of Finance. In contrast, these requirements were not applied for *Perum* and *Perjan*, as *Perum* and *Perjan* remained under the supervisor of the related sectorial ministries where social welfare objectives were crucial.

In 2003, the Indonesian government introduced new SOEs Act that emphasizes the importance for all SOEs to implement the full corporatization principles. The new UU BUMN (SOEs Act) in 2003 also emphasized the important of commercial objectives-profit and efficiency- in addition to the implementation of full corporatization principles for all the SOEs structures. The Indonesian government also did restructuring of the Indonesian SOEs by eliminating *Perjan* structure. *Perjan* structure was considered to hinder the implementation of economic or commercial objectives and the corporatization principles. The implementation of full corporatization principles makes the financial or commercial objectives such as profit and efficiency are intensively in line with the provision of public utilities (UU BUMN 2003).

5. THE IMPLICATIONS OF PRIVATIZATION POLICIES IN INDONESIA

Re-privatization was the first privatization in Indonesia that occurred in 1966. Re-privatization happened following the nationalization of the Dutch and other foreign companies and transfer of political power in Indonesia. As mentioned previously under Section 4.6.1, the new regime brought up the market orientation policy again which became a driving factor for re-privatization. The external

pressure for the Indonesian government to pay nationalization compensation made the national economic situation even worse (James, 1996). Re-privatization was aimed to reduce the compensation payment as well as to attract foreign investors to Indonesia (Oei, 1968; Oei, 1969). Full transfer ownership did to former owners through this re-privatization for the nationalized companies such as Goodyear (USA), Unilever (USA), Bata (Canada), and Philips (Oei, 1969; Pangestu, 1990). The Indonesian government also offered the full transfer of ownership for several plantation companies owned by British and Malaysian. However, the former owners were likely to take compensation (Oei, 1968). Some of these companies remain controlled by the government to this day.

Privatization was used by the Indonesian government to resolve the fiscal problems. The involvement of private participants in Indonesian market economic activities encouraged transfer ownership of PT Intirub in 1971 when the government did direct sale to private owners, PT Bimantara Citra.⁵ While the ownership transfer of PT Intirub helped the company avoid financial difficulty (Pangestu, 1990), the process of the transfer raised a number of critiques due to transparency issues (Schwarz, 1990).⁶ Privatization of PT Intirub was the first partial privatization in Indonesia. In 1991, the Indonesian government undertook the privatization of custom operation to a Swiss private surveillance company, *Société Générale de Surveillance* (SGS) which aimed to reduce the heavy cost of surveillance activities through private/foreign investor involvement (Pangestu, 1990). The surveillance activities in Indonesia, later, were undertaken by PT Surveyor Indonesia as the joint venture between SGS and PT Sucofindo (surveillance SOE). The privatization of PT Intirub and custom operation had no policy or objectives implication on the government-stated objectives for SOEs.

The first Initial Public Offering occurred in 1991 when the government privatized PT Semen Gresik (Cement SOE). The government sold 35 per cent of stocks of PT Semen Gresik to the market. Privatization of PT Semen Gresik was aimed to develop domestic capital markets and to obtain fresh funds for its expansion. The privatization of PT Semen Gresik was followed by the privatization of PT Indosat in 1992. Privatization of PT Indosat was driven by external pressure to repay the private sector external debt bond (Daily, 1995; James, 1996), and company financial problem due to the consortium to establish PT Satelindo (Borsuk, 1993).⁷ The privatization of PT Indosat was also driven by the issuance of Telecommunication

⁵ PT Bimantara Citra is owned by President Suharto's son, Bambang Trihatmodjo.

⁶ The transfer of ownership of PT Intirub was alleged to have been affected by corruption and transparency issues, as the state suffered a loss of Rp 6 billion (SCHWARZ, A. 1990. Retread for Tyre Maker. Far Easter Economic Review). Since 2006, the company has not operated due to financial difficulties. The government had planned to sell the whole of PT Intirub in 2003; however, the privatization of PT Intirub was not finalized until 2011.

⁷ PT Satelindo was established as the consortium of PT Telkom (Telecommunication SOE), PT Bimantara Citra and PT Indosat.

Act no 3/1989 where the telecommunication SOEs, PT Indosat and PT Telekomunikasi Indonesia (PT Telkom), had to compete with private entities in the telecommunication industry. Later, the government privatized PT Telkom and PT Timah which mainly aimed to earn fresh investment fund and improve the company's services (Pangestu, 1990). These privatizations were the beginning of the partial privatization implementation in Indonesia.

The Asia financial crisis in 1997 caused instability the Indonesian national economic situation. The Indonesian government engaged with the IMF to have financial assistance to resolve the fiscal problems. The IMF required the Indonesian government to privatize number of SOEs as part of the economic reforms program through the fast track privatization program. The establishment of the Ministry of State Owned Enterprises (MSOEs) and implementation of fast track privatization became the main agenda of the Indonesia government during this period. The IMF emphasized the importance for the government to reduce its control and involvement. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government goal for privatization is to extend the community participation in SOEs ownership. To speed up the fast track privatization, the government issued new laws, the UU BUMN no 19/2003 and Privatization Law no 33/2005. Both new laws emphasize the importance for SOEs to fully apply corporatization principles and implement the profit and efficiency objectives. These analyses show that privatization in Indonesia promoted the new SOEs objectives and structures.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This section analyses the implications of government-stated objectives and policy changes for the SOEs. There are three main areas of analysis; the changes, current objectives and objectives in practice. First, the changes are mainly focused on the historical path analysis. Historical analysis refers to path dependence is used to examine the theory-path of institutional changes as compared with findings from the Indonesian SOEs case. The path dependence emphasizes three major areas of analysis; the early period of sequence, the early event and the causal events (Mahoney, 2000); while the prior study of institutional changes emphasizes the importance of change as the consequences of the interaction between organization and institution. Second area of analyses is the current objectives after the introduction of privatization policy. The study of ownership structure by Estrin and Perotin (1991) reveals that the influence of market and socio-political environment at a time when the objectives are set also has significant effects on a company's objectives (Estrin and Pérotin, 1991). These indicators are the main elements to analyze the government-stated objectives for SOEs. The last part is the objectives in practices. This part analyzes whether they are in conflict or harmony following the introduction of privatization. There are two main areas of analyses, the government-stated objectives and the SOEs constitution objectives.

6.1. The Changes

The historical analysis on Section 4 shows that the see-sawing economic policies between centralization and market orientation policies have caused some fundamental changes of the Indonesian SOEs objectives. Referring to the historical path analysis, the early period or event as the unforeseen event which could not be analyzed based on the prior event will set the possible outcomes at the end of sequence (Mahoney, 2005). In contrast, the Indonesian SOEs evolution case shows that some conceptual frameworks of path dependence cannot be applied. This is because the first and early event of Indonesian SOEs sequence is analyzable. The conflict between the Indonesian and Dutch government encouraged the emergence of Indonesianization. The Indonesianization developed as a result from the resentment against Dutch colonialism, which, later, flourishes the nationalization for pribumi. The failure of market orientation policy at the early of Indonesian nation encouraged the government to implement the centralization of socio-economic policy. These Indonesianization and centralization of socio-economic control became the crucial early events that set the Indonesian SOEs sequence. Both the Indonesianization and centralization of socio-economic control set the objectives framework of the future Indonesian nation that highlight that the better community socio-economic situation can be achieved under the government's hands (Constitution 1945, 2002). For this case, these earlier events determined the future Indonesian SOEs structure and objectives that were dominated by the government's state welfare orientation.

The centralization of socio-economic policy under the government's hand has been locked-in and developed as the pattern solution or tradition for the Indonesian government to reach socio-economic stabilization. The institutional change analysis points out that one the resolving situation is concluded, it is locked-in and integrated into the evolution (North, 1990). The evolution of Indonesian SOEs revealed that the failure of market orientation policy in several political periods ensuring that centralization of economic policy was crucial to obtain the socio-political stability (Anderson, 1983). This is a reason that centralization of economic policy and the social welfare objectives are more dominant factor for determining the Indonesian SOEs objectives.

Several causal or spontaneous events also appear during the evolution of Indonesian SOEs that shapes the current Indonesian SOEs structure and objectives. Two metaphors of path dependence from Ebbinghaus (2005), the trodden trail and road juncture respectively distinguish the persistent diffusion path and branching pathways. This situation is more likely to apply to the evolution of Indonesian SOEs. Privatization is considered to be the causal or contingent event which later disrupts the SOEs objectives and structure from the original framework. The privatization analyses on Section 5 reveal that the implementation of privatization policy causes fundamental changes in the objectives of government for SOEs. The profit and efficiency become part of the government and SOEs objectives. These financial objectives cause the elimination of the *Perjan* structure, since this could not conform to the

new expectation.

Privatization becomes an irreversible event or pattern for the Indonesian government to resolve the fiscal or financial problems. In practice, privatization in Indonesia is still confronted with the constitutional obligations underlining the requirement for government to hold and centralize the control of natural resources and production, as well as to provide public utilities. The conflict is stronger when the Indonesian government engaged with the IMF agreement when the government was required to conduct numbers of SOEs privatizations. The Indonesian government did several partial privatizations to meet these expectations. The implementation of partial privatization is considered as a coercive action as a respond to the external pressure in relations to economic assistance. Partial privatization is also considered as the way of the Indonesian government to accommodate the conflict between the IMF requirements and policy constraint. The conflict between economic expectation, external pressure and policy constraint in regard to privatization were also a motivation for the government to introduce the UU BUMN no 19/2003 and PP Privatization no 33/2005. The laws aimed to facilitate the privatization process and to accommodate some prior potential conflicts between policies that hindered the success of privatization.

Despite the introduction of new objectives, both UU BUMN no 19/2003 and PP Privatization no 33/2005 highlighted the existence of social welfare objectives which must not constitute a burden or barrier for SOEs to achieve good performance. The Privatization Rule re-emphasized the social function of SOEs. Both laws underline the possibility for SOEs to conduct particular duty as a requirement from the government (UU BUMN 2003; PP Privatization 2005). This situation still causes several SOEs were experiences with the government requirement that might be different from their original objectives. Meanwhile, the law facilitated a mechanism for SOEs to invest in social functions, or PSOs, by separating the SOEs' PSO function from their core business (UU BUMN 2003; PP Privatization 2005).

The implication of social welfare obligation and economic constraint cause difference treatment whether the SOE allow to be privatized or not. Through this law, the issues of privatization restrictions were accommodated by categorizing the SOEs based on their function and criteria (PP Privatization 2005). Where SOEs had PSO duties, privatization occurred after the SOEs separated their PSO assets and activities. These also made some SOEs are restricted to be privatized because of this socio-political reason. As a result, the current Indonesian SOEs can be classified into three groups; the publicly listed SOEs, the non-privatized SOEs with privatization restriction, and the non-privatized SOEs without privatization restriction. This situation gives indication the government inconsistency to implement new objectives and policies.

The change of SOEs market economy environment through privatization should alter the government and SOEs objectives. Privatization policy in Indonesia does not seem to make any different regarding the government objectives and policy for SOEs. Limited changes in regard

to government control over the production and decision making process are also found through limited changes in context of government objectives for SOEs. Social welfare expectation is still the government main concern, even though the government encourages SOEs to meet profit and efficiency objectives as shown through the implementation of UU BUMN no 19/2003 and PP Privatization no 33/2005. The laws provide a "space" for SOEs to attain the social welfare expectation. Consequently, conflict of interests and constraints between state welfare orientations and market pressure influence the government decisions. In addition to partial privatization, the government did continue privatization through selling a portion of its share ownership, or by issuing new shares. This can be seen that the privatization in Indonesia is only a pattern or constant event taken by the Indonesian government in order to resolve the financial or national economic problems.

6.2. Current Objectives

The evolution analysis shows that privatization has sharpened the SOEs objectives and structure where economic or commercial objectives become part of the SOEs objectives. Privatization generates the change of market activities. Some industries were opened following the privatization in Indonesia. New privatized firms were encouraged to be more competitive, while the market may force the firms to operate in fairer system. The government may withdraw from the production unit; while in practice, the government provides the fees and charges for the privatized firms to keep its control over certain goods and services (Baijal, 2002). This situation applies within the Indonesian publicly listed SOEs. Some industries that used to be highly regulated were opened following the privatization. The examples of this case were telecommunication and toll road industries. The Indonesian government removed the PT Telkom Tbk⁸ and PT Jasa Marga Tbk's control right prior to privatization. In practice, both industries still find difficult to attract private or foreign investors since the Indonesian government keeps its control of the fees and tariffs. A similar case is also found within PT Perusahaan Gas Negara (PT PGN) Tbk. These publicly listed SOEs still operate in unfair and less competitive market. Imbalance competition occurred as for entrants have to provide huge investment funds, while the government holds the residual control of fees and tariffs for their products.

The changes of firm's structure following the privatization encourage the changes of the objectives. The new owners may bring new perspective for the company which affecting its culture, objectives and profit maximizing expectations (Boardman et al. 1986; Guthrie, 1990). For the Indonesian publicly listed SOEs, privatization is expected to bring professionalism, reduce corruption and improve the performance (UU BUMN 2003; Abeng 2001, 2002; Tjager 2000). The transfer of ownership from the government to private hands has not fully taken place within Indonesian publicly listed SOEs. The government still holds majority control in numbers of publicly listed SOEs. This

⁸Tbk is term for the publicly listed company in Indonesia.

control makes the changes in the government-stated objectives were very limited. Twenty SOEs have been privatized since 1991. However, the changes in government-stated objectives only applied to PT Telkom Tbk, PT PGN Tbk and PT Bank Mandiri Tbk only. The changes of government-stated objectives for PT Telkom Tbk and PT PGN Tbk occurred when they changed the scope of business. The Indonesian government changed its stated objectives for PT Telkom Tbk when the company structure was changed to become Persero status (PP Persero Telkom 1991; PP Perum Telkom 1974). The government changed its stated objective for PT PGN Tbk when the company was separated from the national electricity company in 1965 (PP PLN and PGN 1965). The government set new objectives for PT Bank Mandiri Tbk when the bank was established through merger of four state banks in 1998. These cases show that the government is less likely to change its stated objectives for SOEs even after the company is privatized.

The government shows inconsistent in regard to the introduction of the profit and efficiency objectives. Following the introduction of new SOEs and privatization policies, the government-stated economic or financial objectives were still limited for the publicly listed SOEs. Table 1 shows that only four publicly listed SOEs have the government profit stated objectives. Limited of the government profit stated objective is considered to eliminate the overlapping with the stock market regulations. In contrast, the social welfare or non-economic objectives were still often to be found as part of the government-stated objectives for the Indonesian publicly listed SOEs. Table 1 shows that the national economic development is the most often government non-economic stated objectives for the Indonesian publicly listed SOEs, followed by the provision of public goods and services. The crucial roles of SOEs as the government industrialization vehicles are strongly presented through these non-economic objectives.

For non-privatized SOEs, the domination of non-economic objectives is stronger. While the government requires all Indonesian SOEs to implement profit and efficiency objectives through the new SOEs and privatization rules, the government is less likely to change the objectives for each SOE since the companies were established in 1960s. Some of the SOEs were experiences with the changes of their structure from Perum or Perjan to Persero structure. In practice, this change did not affect the government-stated objectives for the each company. Following the introduction of new rules, the government changed its objectives for only ten SOEs including the SOEs with Perum status. The changes are:

1. Two SOEs were experienced with the change of government-stated objectives when the government emphasized the national economic development as part of its objectives. The SOEs were Perum Perhutani (forestry SOEs) and Perum BULOG (stapler distributor SOE).
2. Four SOEs were experienced a change of government-stated objectives when the government reviewed these companies' duties regarding the provision of goods and services. The SOEs were Perum

Jasa Tirta I and Perum Jasa Tirta II (water and irrigation SOEs), PT Perusahaan Pengelola Aset (PT PPA/asset management SOE) and Perum Perumnas (housing SOE for middle and lower class families).

3. Two SOEs, Perum Peruri and Perum PNRI, were experienced with the changes of the government-stated objectives when the government emphasized the importance of the national economy and the provision of goods and services. For these SOEs, the changes were likely motivated by the requirement to reduce competition because their products were very specific.⁹
4. The government changed its objectives for PT Jamkrindo Indonesia (PT Jamkrindo/credit insurance SOE) and PT Pertamina when the companies were changed to Persero structure. The government-stated objectives for PT Jamkrindo were focused on the national economy and provision of goods and services. For PT Pertamina, the government-introduced profit objectives meshed with the company's other objectives.

It is seen that the changes of government-stated objectives are still dominated by the changes of non-economic objectives. Only PT Pertamina was experience with the introduction of profit objective meshed with the company's other objectives.

In contrast to government-stated objective, the companies' constitution objectives show more dominant economic or financial objectives. The influence of market economics activities makes the company constitution more diversity than from the government-stated objectives. Table 1 shows that besides profit and efficiency, the companies develop other economic objectives such as performance, competitive, market domination and quality. These extended economic objectives are more often found as part of the company constitution objectives. Quality is the most often economic objective found as part of the companies' constitution objectives for publicly listed and non-privatized SOEs without privatization restriction, while competitive is the most often economic objective for non-privatized SOEs with privatization restriction. Meanwhile, the non-economic or social welfare objectives are more dominant in all types of SOEs. The provision of public goods and services are the most frequent non-economic or social welfare objectives for all SOEs types. This situation refers to previous study where SOEs were often established in relations with their specific products (Bai et al., 2000; Boardman et al., 1986; Boardman and Vining, 1989; Chang and Wong, 2009; Janet, 2006; Shirley and Xu, 1998; Shleifer, 1998; Shleifer and Vishny, 1994; Willner, 1999). National economic and development are the second most often non-economic or social welfare objectives for most of the Indonesian SOEs. This shows that economic or financial objectives are still not the SOEs management main goals.

⁹ Most of the SOEs that experienced a change of objectives were SOEs with monopoly rights. Their products are very specific or are categorized as vital for the state and communities.

Table 1: Current Government and SOEs Objectives

No	Objectives indicated	Publicly Listed SOEs		Non-Privatized SOEs			
		Government - Stated objectives	SOE objectives	Government - Stated objectives		SOE objective	
		No. of SOEs holding the objectives	No. of SOEs holding the objectives	No. of SOEs holding the objectives		No. of SOEs holding the objectives	
				Restricted for Privatisation	Non-restricted for Privatisation	Restricted for Privatisation	Non-restricted for Privatisation
Number of SOEs in total = 140							
Economic of Financial Objectives							
1	Profit	4	2	3	4	11	26
2	Performance		7			10	23
3	Quality		12	3	2	21	42
4	Competitive		11			17	58
5	Market domination		10	1		12	31
6	Customer satisfaction		5			7	12
7	Corporate principles ¹⁰		7	4	3	11	24
8	Efficiency		3	1	4	11	14
9	Growth		3			5	22
10	Resources utilization			1	2	7	9
11	Company value		11		1	6	15
12	Meeting shareholders' expectation		8			7	19
13	Meeting stakeholders expectations		8			13	12
14	Productivity		7			3	6
15	Reputation		3	1		13	
16	Technology		3	1		2	15
17	Research					1	
18	Environmental		3		1	9	23
Social Welfare or Non-Economic Objectives							
1	The provision of goods & services	7	9	29	45	19	49
2	Employee skills		8			14	40
3	Employee welfare		3			2	
4	OHS	5	3	4	16		7
5	Community development		4	2	4	7	16
6	Community prosperity	6	2	7	18	8	8
7	Community needs	5	1	11	21	11	1
8	Market supply		1		1	7	4
9	Supply & price stabilization				1	1	2
10	Pioneer				1	1	3
11	National economy	9	4	15	28	20	40
12	National development	3	4	10	5	20	39
13	National security	1		2	1	2	3
14	Industrialization	1	3	1	12	3	18
15	Government assignment/policy		2	2	5	6	6
16	Government needs			1	4	3	2
17	State income	2			3	7	14
18	Synergy		2			2	

¹⁰ The corporate principles objectives are collected based on the government-stated objective for compliance to corporate governance or corporate principles was stated in the rules when the company was established, including all the amendments to this rule.

6.3. Objectives in Practice

The privatization has encouraged the emergence of profit and efficiency objectives that led to the government limited the SOEs structure for Perum and Persero structure only. Profit and efficiency becomes the government main concerns for all SOEs; Persero and Perum (UU BUMN 2003; PP Privatisation 2005). In contrast, both new rules still provide space for the government to require the SOEs to carry social welfare duties. The laws also emphasize the requirement for SOEs to meet the social welfare and provision of public utilities in addition to profit and efficiency objectives. The government interest regarding the provision of public utilities has discouraged the changes. Further, the new laws classified SOEs whether the company is allowed to be privatized or not due to socio-political reasons. This shows that the government inconsistent to implement the new rules and objectives. As the consequences, potential conflicting objectives appear when the SOEs have to accommodate both market and government requirement. Profitable, fairly competition and efficient objectives are in line with the requirement to the provision of public utilities and social welfare maximizing.

The relationship between the government and SOEs has some implications on the implementation of new objectives. The relations between the government and SOEs require the SOEs to comply with the constitution and government policies. As the government is still the main shareholders even for the publicly listed SOEs make the government involvement and control remain strong. As a result, there are no significant changes in regard to the political objectives of the government for the companies (Bel and Trillas, 2005). The government support and privileges have hindered the SOEs not to follow and meet its expectations. The analysis above shows that SOEs are likely to extend or develop the government-stated objectives by developing several new objectives. This situation presents a process of acknowledgement of the government's objectives as well as accommodates the market pressure. The obligation to carry the government duty and to become the public vehicles for the government is represented through

this acknowledgment. This acknowledgement presents that the objectives are likely to be in harmony.

6.4. Conclusion

From the historical analysis, it is shown that the see-sawing economic policies between centralization and market orientation policies have significant impacts on the SOEs structure and objectives. The introduction of privatization has disrupted the original government objectives for SOEs. The government objectives for SOEs developed from social welfare maximizing to the economic or financial objectives. In practice, privatization has been used as the government conventional economic policy to resolve fiscal problems. The introduction of privatization in Indonesia generated the emergence of the conflict. Conflict of political interest has banned some full transfer of ownership. The Indonesian government is likely to conduct partial privatization. Partial privatization becomes an option to accommodate these political interests and the requirement to resolve the fiscal issues. As the consequence, privatization in Indonesia has limited implications on the economic production of the SOEs.

In regards to the government-stated objectives, the analysis shows that the government is reluctant to make change for each individual SOE. The government interest in the provision of public utilities makes the social welfare maximizing more dominant than the economic or financial objectives. The potential conflicting objectives for the Indonesian SOEs appears as the consequences of the government inconsistent in implementing the new policies and objectives. This inconsistency is followed by the SOEs as shown through the SOEs' constitution objectives. This inconsistency and potential conflicting objectives appears which potentially disrupts the SOEs' business and financial performance. Even though the relationship between the objectives and SOEs financial performance is still further analysis, the importance of national economic and social welfare stability is reason for the Indonesian government reluctance to change its objectives for SOEs.

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Women And Political Contestation: Learning From The 2014 Legislative Elections In Indonesia

Penyusun :

• **Dr. Dwi Windyastuti
Budi Hendrarti**

Lecturer in the Department
of Politics

Faculty of Social Science
and Political Science

Airlangga University,
Indonesia

dwiwindyastuti@yahoo.com

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Abstract

This paper will explore the representation of women in legislative elections in Indonesia in 2014. Of the 12 parties involved in the election, they, at least in each electoral district had 30% of women in the list of candidates. This means that political parties have met the quota of 30% women. However, from the results of the vote count, nationally, the number of women qualified to be legislative members was only about 14%, a decline compared to 2009. There are several causes of the low representation of women in the elections of 2014. First, voter attitudes towards gender attribution. Second, the low gender sensitivity of political parties and election management bodies. Third, the lack of social capital for women to promote themselves. Learning from the results of legislative elections, there is a little place for femininity in political contest. This means that the barriers and challenges for women in the parliamentary elections are not automatically resolved by the issuance of formal technical regulations that are intended to force the nomination of women. So, there are some things that need to be addressed to the internal policies of the party, including: determining seats, lack of social capital for women when they are recruited by a political party as candidates for the legislature, not enough female cadres prepared by political parties to meet the quota, the legislative election is a political arena for persons - not just a contest between parties, and the capitalization of the elections contributed to the decline of women in the legislative elections. Therefore, it is necessary to increase the presence of women in a political contest.

BACKGROUND

This paper seeks to evaluate the contestation of women in legislative elections in Indonesia in 2014. The contestation of women in legislative elections is interesting to study for several reasons. First, the reform gives an opportunity for the emergence of political parties in Indo-

nesia; that has implications for the availability of the arena of political competition for politicians, including the new political arena for women. Second, the imposition of 30% quota for women provides the opportunity and encouragement for women to be more involved in the political contest in legislative and even greater political competition. Third, the imposition of an electoral system of proportion-

al-district provides greater opportunities for women to enter the arena of political contestation.

Inclusivity is the central issue in the election and the most significant since the reformation era, especially in the group of women who have been marginalized in the political process. Women began to be encouraged to be integrated into the election. The state sought to facilitate and provide access for women through some regulations that force political institutions to provide space enabling women to contribute in the political process that was overlooked in the past. As a citizen, a woman requires public recognition and acceptance of the rights and obligations of political as equal as man does.

According to Janoski and Gran, (Isin 2002: 13-14), the citizenship is based on the legal and political guarantees which protect from coercive power so that all rights of citizen are legally and politically legislated by government decree that are approved by the legislature. There are at least four important points here. First, citizenship begins with determining membership in a nation-state that so far includes the excluded women who are very slow in getting the rights to obtain citizenship. Second, active citizenship involves the capacity to influence politics and the passive rights to be recognized legally. Thirdly, the rights of citizens universalistic enacted into law for all citizens. Fourth, citizenship as a statement of equality between rights and obligations within certain limits.

Based on the four basic elements, the political recognition of women as part of the citizens is a challenge for the state. The country provides and facilitates through various regulations for women to include them in political spaces, such as affirmative action. There are interests of women to obtain political recognition from the state as the building for the recognition of citizenship of women, which, in turn, provides support for women to effectively manage and occupy the political space. This recognition is reflected in the willingness of the state to increase the presence of women in political spaces, e.g. through affirmative policies and mainstreaming gender policy, which guarantee full support of the state and society for women. The regulation is expected to help the woman to gain public space and to get into the political area, so that the political arena can be very inclusive.

One of the fulfillments of the rights of citizens by the state is the provision of opportunities for women in public offices and political bodies where many women are still being ignored. The state facilitation for women in order to gain recognition for their political rights is reflected in women's chances in political contestation, both at local and national levels, as the candidates for important positions in government. The political contestation at the local level includes the legislative and local elections, while at the national level, it includes legislative elections and the presidential election. There is increasing number of women in legislative body descriptively since the reformation era when compared to previous era; but, the increase is not as significant when compared to the voice of women voters. The highest number of women as members of the legislature was at 2009 election, i.e. 17.7%. Below is the table that presents women in the legislature (table 1).

Table 1.
Number of Women in the legislature

Periode	Number	Percentage
1950-1955 (The House of Representatives)	8	3.8
1955-1960	17	6.3
1966-1969 (Constituency)	25	5.1
1971-1977	36	7.8
1977-1982	29	6.3
1987-1992	39	8.5
1992-1997	66	13
1997-1999	54	10.8
1999-2004	46	9
2004-2009	65	11.6
2009-2014	99	17.7
2014-2019	97	17.3

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics. Statistik Politik Indonesia, 2014

During 2014 legislative elections, there were 12 national parties registered as participants for the election; there was an increase in the number of votes for the most significant female candidates in the United Development Party (PPP) that was up to 22.33%; PDIP: 15.89%; PKS: 13.20%. At the parliamentary level, the nomination of women as the candidates also increased during the 2009 election that reached up to 33.6%; it increased again at 2014 elections to 37%. However, the number of women candidates elected at 2014 elections was 14% or about 79 people. This indicated that, despite an increase in the vote for women, the number of the elected women decreased significantly compared to the results of 2009 elections, where the female representation in the Parliament were 103 people or 18 percent.

At the simultaneous election in 2015, a total of 115 women participated in the political contest in which as many as 54 women ran for local offices and 61 ran as candidates for regional heads. Although the number of women who ran for office was quite high, the percentage of all contestants who were able to occupy the positions for heads/deputy head of regions was only 7.3 percent at the simultaneous election that year.

The existence of women experiences ups and downs in every phase of the cabinet when viewed from the number aspect. From Sutan Sjahrir administration under parliamentary cabinet to Jokowi administration, there are 9 women in the cabinet.

The phenomenon of open access and opportunities for women in the political arena provides interpretation that women in politics are eligible as citizens and there has been a shift in society perspective that women have been categorized as citizens as equal as men. The problem is: is it true that women have earned the recognition of the rights of citizenship in political spaces? Are there political inclusions for women provided by the state to realize the

rights of citizenship?

The studies about women and their positions as citizens are still few. The theorists who argued conception of citizenship of women include Ruth Lister (Isin, 2002); Nanci Fraser and Judith Squires (2006), who tried starting the perspective of the conception of rights and obligations as stated by T. H. Marshall (1950; Turner, 1990) with the theory of nationality (citizenship). Marshall's theory is the oldest theory of citizenship. He defined citizenship as full membership of the community. The citizens as members of a political community are defined by a set of rights and obligations. Therefore, citizenship illustrates the relationship between an individual and the state in which both are bound by reciprocal rights and obligations (Heywood 1994: 155).

T.H. Marshall who focused on the individual rights guarantees granted by the state, categorized rights into 3 different groups, namely: civil rights (freedom of person, freedom of thought and belief, the right to justice); political rights (the right to participate in the running of political power); and social rights (the right to economic prosperity and security, the right to live a civilized life according to the standards contained in the community) (Rainer, 2001; Rainer, 1996; Janoski and Gran, 2002; Turner, 2000)

The citizenship as a concept has a long and complex history that is not always conceived as a legal relationship with the state. The citizenship is about 'membership of groups or communities that provide rights and responsibilities as a result of its membership. Citizenship concerns both the status (or identities) and practice or process related to the social world through the exercise of rights/protection and fulfillment of obligations (Meer and Sever, 2004: 6). If people adopt a conception of citizenship then they will involve "a struggle for membership and participation in the community", someone capable of using nationality as a mean to test the nature and composition of the community and using inclusion as a term. Nation-states clearly is a form of community, while legal inclusion is one of the forms of membership.

Thus, it is clear that citizenship should be inclusive to interests and needs of all citizens. The gender perspectives on citizenship begins with the assertion of the right of all women and men to get same treatment. This needs to be included in the constitution, the law and the legal process. Women and men may have different needs, and, women of any age, class or ethnicity also may have different needs that require special attention. It is necessary to focus on the rights difference between formal and substantive equalities, outcomes for different groups of women, and to construct rights for the needs of women who most often face a lack of rights to specific reform targets (Mukhopadhyay, 2007).

Most feminists focus on the role of dichotomy in political theory: public versus private, reason versus emotion, equality versus difference, and justice versus protection. Public, reason, equality, justice are the area for men and women have the least opportunity to become full members of the political world. There is a common pattern in feminist theory that is moving from the inclusions to invert (reversal) for losses (displacement): from efforts to

increase women into the existing structure of citizenship; to the rejection of conception of citizenship domination; and to study the extent to which the discourse of citizens working in the construction of gender identity itself. Citizenship tends to focus on areas of social citizenship that abandons civic political considerations. The politics of exclusion for women lead to political aspects of citizenship that becomes somewhat retarded. (Squires, 1996)

Feminist theorists are now beginning to consider this deficiency. One of them is Anne Phillips (1992) who emphasized citizenship-centered view of social responsibility. She found that the 'useful and meaningful citizenship when citizenship is considered as a major aspect of politics'. Phillips tried changing the debate about gender and citizenship, which in the past tended to use the personal as political conception, to a conception of a side-step political and focused on the transformation and democratization of socio-economic field. Conversely, the feminist is now moving specifically to affirm political citizenship, which is done to make reaffirmation significance of boundaries in the field of public policy.

Meanwhile, Ruth Lister (Isin, 2002: 196-199) distinguished two conceptions of citizenship, namely the conceptions of gender and sex. In the conception of gender, she tried to analyze various feminist theoretical conceptions seeking to debate the gender nature of various components of citizenship and to debate the traditional values of citizenship of women. The feminist discourse is around the struggle for civic equality of women and men in the social and political fields. In this conception, it is important to fight for social rights of women by weakening private power and for patriarchy by strengthening the position of women as political citizens. This conception recognizes the essence of law as well as the oppression of emancipation agent that plays an important role in guaranteeing citizenship rights of women. In fact, this struggle is not just a struggle for rights but more as a movement for woman's participation. On the sexual conception, citizenship is pointed more in terms of sexual subjectivity, such as the right to choose what we do with the body, feelings or our identity.

ELECTION: AN ARENA OF POLITICS INCLUSIVELY

One reflection of the political rights of the citizens of the state, such as mentioned in the conception of Marshall, is giving citizens the right to vote. Suffrage is universal. It means that every citizen has equal rights, regardless of gender, religion, race, ethnicity, social status - except for those losing their rights by law. Even though there are regulations guaranteeing the citizens' rights, the most important part is how the political rights are guaranteed and respected in the election. The guarantee of universal suffrage in the regulation and implementation is the earliest stage of realization of the integrity of the election (electoral integrity).

In legislative election in 2014, there were 545,647 polling stations provided throughout the electoral administration in Indonesia, followed by 186,575,617 voters where

male constituents were at 50.07% and there were 49.93% female constituents. From all provinces in Indonesia, the most women voters were in West Nusa Tenggara (51.56%) and the least were in the province of Papua (46.36%). With

the amount almost equal among male and female voters, then, the potential for women's votes cannot be ignored by the candidates. Below is the table showing the proportion of voters in Indonesia (table 2).

Table 2.
Number of polling stations and list of fixed voter on 2014 Election

Province	Number of Polling Stations	Number of Voter				Total
		Male	%	Female	%	
Aceh	10,843	1,642,721	49.34	1,686,617	50.66	3,329,338
Sumatera Utara	30,273	4,849,935	49.51	4,945,786	50.49	9,795,721
Sumatera Barat	12,548	1,809,705	49.66	1,834,195	50.34	3,643,900
R i a u	12,469	2,104,106	51.44	1,986,102	48.56	4,090,208
J a m b i	8,220	1,251,987	50.90	1,207,719	49.10	2,459,706
Sumatera Selatan	17,783	2,902,609	50.55	2,839,434	49.45	5,742,043
Bengkulu	4,285	697,417	51.02	669,590	48.98	1,367,007
Lampung	16,492	3,029,737	51.30	2,875,790	48.70	5,905,527
Kepulauan Riau	3,745	657,158	51.23	625,714	48.77	1,282,872
Bangka Belitung	2,741	474,259	51.34	449,551	48.66	923,810
DKI Jakarta	17,045	3,557,320	50.66	3,464,194	49.34	7,021,514
Jawa Barat	90,917	16,441,071	50.26	16,270,661	49.74	32,711,732
Jawa Tengah	77,693	13,532,804	49.72	13,687,348	50.28	27,220,152
D I Yogyakarta	8,523	1,324,452	48.48	1,407,668	51.52	2,732,120
Jawa Timur	86,385	15,013,794	49.21	15,498,034	50.79	30,511,828
Banten	20,638	4,005,263	50.78	3,881,582	49.22	7,886,845
B a l i 2.941.157	8,094	1,458,033	49.57	1,483,124	50.43	2,941,157
Nusa Tenggara Barat	12,020	1,688,202	48.44	1,796,637	51.56	3,484,839
Nusa Tenggara Timur	11,027	1,512,399	48.56	1,602,273	51.44	3,114,672
Kalimantan Barat	12,189	1,794,343	51.15	1,713,465	48.85	3,507,808
Kalimantan Tengah	5,947	940,720	52.56	849,045	47.44	1,789,765
Kalimantan Selatan	8,933	1,408,806	50.24	1,395,405	49.76	2,804,211
Kalimantan Timur	8,651	1,522,851	53.21	1,338,992	46.79	2,861,843
Sulawesi Utara	5,301	946,392	50.74	918,646	49.26	1,865,038
Sulawesi Tengah	6,009	973,031	50.95	936,862	49.05	1,909,893
Sulawesi Selatan	18,035	3,045,080	48.47	3,237,259	51.53	6,282,339
Sulawesi Tenggara	5,421 89	895,049	50.22	887,375	49.78	1,782,424
Gorontalo	2,322	400,112	49.83	402,793	50.17	802,905
Sulawesi Barat	2,820	441,585	50.14	439,036	49.86	880,621
M a l u k u	3,805	586,526	49.44	599,874	50.56	1,186,400
Maluku Utara	2,396	418,635	50.79	405,546	49.21	824,181
Papua Barat	2,707	377,259	53.15	332,566	46.85	709,825
P a p u a	9,370	1,718,292	53.64	1,485,050	46.36	3,203,373
Total	545,647	93,421,653	50.07	93,153,933	49.93	186,575,617

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics. Statistik Politik Indonesia, 2014, prepared in 2016

The voice of women voters in the legislative elections are potential to grab by men and women candidates. It means that the candidate must be able to utilize the voice of women to win in the elections. However, attribution of gender, on one hand, will benefit women when female voters identify themselves with women candidates. On the

other hand, gender attribution can be debilitating for women candidates themselves when the society is still dominated by a patriarchal culture.

According to Danny Hayes (2011) in his writings "When Gender and Party Collide: Stereotyping in Candidate Trait Attribution", women who seek power through elections of-

ten face gender stereotype. Voters tend to view that women are less able to handle security and foreign issues, but more capable of handling the issues of welfare, health and education. In another word, gender attributions can assess the characteristics of the candidate. Attribution and stereotype of gender roles show that female candidates assessed differently by voters from male candidates. Although there are information on women candidates, the gender stereotype continues to play a significant role for voters in the initial assessment of female candidates. In addition, voters who tend to give gender-specific attributes associated with the nature of politics and power are likely seen as a residential type of male than female.

POLITICAL CONTESTABILITY OF WOMEN CANDIDATES

In the conception of democracy, the elections become one of parameters (among other parameters, such as representation, political parties, interest groups, and community participation). There are two important things in the elections that show democratic political system. First, elections allow political competition between political parties and candidates either as a candidate of political party or an independent candidate. Secondly, constituents have free choice on information about various policy options offered by political parties and candidates to determine directly the representatives who are entitled to represent them. Constituent vote of political parties and candidates in the election confirms that there are transfers of trust as a political contract to formulate the will and interests of constituents.

If the interests of women will be formulated into a pol-

icy. It is very important for women to run for office themselves on election. Arguments about the inclusion of women as equal citizens as men are considered as the initial correction in the history of women exclusion. In another word, the form of full citizenship recognition for women is presented by the form of female inclusion in the political process – it is Phillip's conception as a synthesis of descriptive and substantive representations.

On the recruitment of political candidates, party leaders play an important role, in addition to district-proportional electoral system with the calculation of the acquisition of a majority vote used to elect members of the legislature. Many variations appear to the level of political contestability across the province, such as, variations in the history, ideology, experience, and gender. Local elections rest on the idea that the election at the lower level can be used by politicians to build high reputation, and by voters to choose the politicians or political leaders.

Opportunities for women to be recruited and nominated in the elections are quite big when seen geographically because the district system allows access for women to compete. From the data presented above, they show that geographical contestability (constituency) for female candidates is quite high when seen in the comparison between the legislative candidates and legislators. Geographical contestability of the most powerful women in legislative elections is in Bengkulu and Maluku - women who participated in the contestation were over 48% compared to other regions. Meanwhile, NTB is the province which had the lowest number for political contestability for women, i.e. only 28.1%. Below is the table of the gender of candidates based on province (table 3).

Table 3.
Gender Candidates by Province

Province	Sex				Total
	Male	%	Female	%	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Aceh	95	60.90	61	39.10	156
Sumatera Utara	239	68.29	111	31.71	350
Sumatera Barat	108	65.06	58	34.94	166
Riau	83	62.88	49	37.12	132
Jambi	47	58.02	34	41.98	81
Sumatera Selatan	120	61.86	74	38.14	194
Bengkulu	24	51.06	23	48.94	47
Lampung	138	65.09	74	34.91	212
Kep. Bangka Belitung	24	66.67	12	33.33	36
Kepulauan Riau	21	58.33	15	41.67	36
Dki Jakarta	153	61.20	97	38.80	250
Jawa Barat	687	65.87	356	34.13	1043
Jawa Tengah	552	60.46	361	39.54	913
D I Yogyakarta	57	59.38	39	40.63	96
Jawa Timur	588	62.55	352	37.45	940
Banten	173	66.28	88	33.72	261
Bali	65	64.36	36	35.64	101

Nusa Tenggara Barat	85	71.43	34	28.57	119
Nusa Tenggara Timur	89	61.38	56	38.62	145
Kalimantan Barat	81	68.07	38	31.93	119
Kalimantan Tengah	48	66.67	24	33.33	72
Kalimantan Selatan	82	63.08	48	36.92	130
Kalimantan Timur	59	61.46	37	38.54	96
Sulawesi Utara	44	60.27	29	39.73	73
Sulawesi Tengah	48	66.67	24	33.33	72
Sulawesi Selatan	119	61.98	73	38.02	192
Sulawesi Tenggara	35	58.33	25	41.67	60
Gorontalo	21	58.33	15	41.67	36
Maluku	24	51.06	23	48.94	47
Maluku Utara	22	61.11	14	38.89	36
Papua Barat	79	69.30	35	30.70	114
Papua	22	61.11	14	38.89	36
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Total	4,057	63.42	2,340	36.58	6,397

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics. Statistik Politik Indonesia, 2014, prepared in 2016

Although citizens have been guaranteed for their political rights through legislation by setting a quota system for women, the representation of women remains low. The state has to intervene to resolve the exclusivity of women in political institutions with the inclusion of the article on the representation of women. In Act 10 of 2003, article 53 states that the list must contain at least 30% (thirty percent) of women's representation, and Article 55 (2) states that in the list of candidates, for every 3 (three) candidates, there must be at least 1 (one) female candidate. Similarly, in the Law No. 8 of 2012 on article 55 regulates that the list of candidates must contain at least 30% (thirty percent) of women's representations; Article 56 (2) states the list of candidates referred to in paragraph (1) is that for every 3 (three) candidates, there must be at least 1 (one) female candidate.

Elections in Indonesia used an open-list system at the first legislative election in 2009 and the obligations for the quota of female representations. The system could, at least, force political parties to include women in their lists of candidates. At the legislative elections of 2014, there were 6,409 candidates in Indonesia, almost 36.58%, followed by the women. This means that female's political contestability in the elections was quite large that it even exceeded the 30% quota obligation. Below is the table of the House of Representatives candidates by gender (table 4).

Of the 12 political parties that participated in the legislative elections of 2014, they all met the obligation to nominate at least 30% women. When compared to male candidates in the parties, Hanura was the party that put more women as its legislative candidates (45.63%), while the PDIP put fewest women as its candidates (35.15%).

As a part of democratization, the recognition should be given to women as citizens, so that the single political access and opportunities are on par with the other gender; women have the rights to vote and to be elected in a leg-

Table 4.
Gender Candidate at 2014 Legislative Election
Based on Political Parties

Political Party	Gender				Total
	Male	%	Female	%	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Nasdem	327	59.78	220	40.22	547
PKB	340	62.62	203	37.38	543
PKS	301	62.84	178	37.16	479
PDI-P	354	64.84	192	35.16	546
Golkar	343	63.99	193	36.01	536
Gerindra	341	63.74	194	36.26	535
PKPI	329	63.39	190	36.61	519
Demokrat	350	64.34	194	35.66	544
PAN	345	63.19	201	36.81	546
PPP	323	62.12	197	37.88	520
PBB	345	64.37	191	35.63	536
Hanura	357	64.37	201	45.63	558
Total	4,055	63.42	2,354	36.58	6,409

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics. Statistik Politik Indonesia, 2014, prepared in 2016

islative election. Although female candidates have been boosted by the quota, the number of women who become legislators is still low when compared to the number of female voters. Of all of the parties participated in the contestation, in terms of the number of turns, PDIP is the party that won more women as its legislative member, while Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) is the party which won the least female candidates (2.5%). Below is the table of legislative member based on the political party (table 5).

Table 5.

Legislative Chosen by Sex and Political Parties

Political Parties	Number of seats	Gender			
		Male	%	female	%
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Nasdem	35	31	85.7	4	11.43
PKB	47	37	78.72	10	21.28
PKS	40	39	97.50	1	2.50
PDIP	109	88	80.73	21	19.27
Golkar	91	75	82.42	16	17.58
Gerindra	73	62	84.93	11	15.07
Demokrat	61	48	78.69	13	21.31
PAN	49	40	81.63	9	18.37
PPP	39	29	74.36	10	25.64
Hanura	16	14	87.50	2	12.50
Total	560	463	82.68	97	17.32

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics. Statistik Politik Indonesia, 2014, prepared in 2016

Political contestation is the election for the members of the House of Representatives and the Regional Representative Council. Although it provided an opportunity for women for contestation in both institutions, the results of 2014 legislative elections showed that of the 11 political parties that won seats in parliament, seen from compari-

THE ELECTABILITY OF WOMEN CANDIDATES

At 2014 elections, women who were elected as members of Parliament was at 11.32%, down from the legislative elections in 2009 which was at 11.7%. Although

Table 7.
Female Electability

Political Party	Women as...		
	Candidate of legislative	Member of Legislative	Percentage
1	2	3	4
PKB	203	10	4.93
PKS	178	1	0.56
PDI-P	192	21	10.94
Golkar	193	16	8.29
Gerindra	194	11	5.67
PKPI	190	0	0.00
Demokrat	194	13	6.70
PAN	201	9	4.48
PPP	197	10	.08
Hanura	201	2	1.00
PBB	191	0	0
Total	1,943	93	4.79

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics. Statistik Politik Indonesia, 2014, prepared in 2016

Table 6.

Comparison Between the Total of Women as Candidates and Legislative Members

Political Party	Candidate of Legislative				Total	Member of Legislative				Total
	Male	%	Female	%		Male	%	Female	%	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Nasdem	327	59.78	220	40.22	547	31	85.7	4	11.43	35
PKB	340	62.62	203	37.38	543	37	78.72	10	21.28	47
PKS	301	62.84	178	37.16	479	39	97.50	1	2.50	40
PDI-P	354	64.84	192	35.16	546	88	80.73	21	19.27	109
Golkar	343	63.99	193	36.01	536	75	82.42	16	17.58	91
Gerindra	341	63.74	194	36.26	535	62	84.93	11	15.07	73
PKPI	329	63.39	190	36.61	519	0	0	0	0	0
Demokrat	350	64.34	194	35.66	544	48	78.69	13	21.31	61
PAN	345	63.19	201	36.81	546	40	81.63	9	18.37	49
PPP	323	62.12	197	37.88	520	29	74.36	10	25.64	39
PBB	345	62.12	191	37.88	536	0	0	0	0	0
Hanura	357	64.37	201	35.63	558	14	87.50	2	12.50	16
Total	4,055	63.27	2,354	36.73	6,409	463	82.68	97	17.32	560

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics. Statistik Politik Indonesia, 2014, prepared in 2016

son of sexes in political parties, the PPP was the political party that had more women elected (25.64%); meanwhile, the political party that had fewest elected women was the PKS. Almost no political party succeeded in exceeding 30% women elected in the legislature.

women in any political party got high contestability (above 30%), women as members of legislative had low electability. Below is the table on comparison between the number of female candidates and legislative members (table 6).

The electability of women in legislative elections is

very low - at 11%. Only PDIP as the party that had female electability level quite high compared to other political parties, i.e. 10.9%. If seen from the composition of the political party's seats in the House of Representatives, PKS was the political party which put very low electability of women (0.56%). Below is the table that presents electability of female candidates in 2014 legislative elections (table 7).

Thus, despite of high contestability for women, both in political parties as well as geographically, the level of electability is still low. There are several reasons why that happened. First, politics remains a masculine, rather than female, battle arena; second, it is very difficult for women to break through the glass ceiling in the arena of political

contestation; Third, political contestability of women remains low in a patriarchal culture; Fourth, the financial, social and political capitals of women are still low.

In addition to selecting members of the legislature, the election elects members of regional Representatives Councils. Candidates represent their province, where each province has 4 representatives. In 2014 elections in all provinces, contestability of women was fairly low at 12.20% during candidate registration. After the administration verification, the number of women who competed as the candidates was around 12.59%. Below is the table that presents the Gender of the Candidates for the Regional Representatives Council (table 8).

From the data above, it can be concluded that contest-

Table 8.
Members of the Regional Representative Council in 2009 and 2014 elections

Constituency	Candidate Sign-Up					List of Temporary Candidate	Candidate				
	Male	%	Female	%	Total		Male	%	Female	%	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Aceh	36	90.00	4	10.00	40	40	36	90.00	4	10.00	40
Sumatera Utara	25	92.59	2	7.41	27	24	25	92.59	2	7.41	27
Sumatera Barat	29	93.55	2	6.45	31	25	29	93.55	2	6.45	31
Kepulauan Riau	15	93.75	1	6.25	16	16	15	93.75	1	6.25	16
Riau	24	85.71	4	14.29	28	25	21	84.00	4	16.00	25
Kep Bangka Belitung	21	91.30	2	8.70	23	21	19	90.48	2	9.52	21
Jambi	29	85.29	5	14.71	34	32	27	84.38	5	15.63	32
Sumatera Selatan	26	76.47	8	23.53	34	29	21	75.00	7	25.00	28
Bengkulu	20	86.96	3	13.04	23	19	17	89.47	2	10.53	19
Lampung	27	87.10	4	12.90	31	26	23	88.46	3	11.54	26
Dki Jakarta	41	91.11	4	8.89	45	35	32	91.43	3	8.57	35
Jawa Barat	35	89.74	4	10.26	39	36	31	86.11	5	13.89	36
Jawa Tengah	27	77.14	8	22.86	35	32	24	75.00	8	25.00	32
D.i Yogyakarta	14	87.50	2	12.50	16	13	11	84.62	2	15.38	13
Jawa Timur	30	75.00	10	25.00	40	40	31	77.50	9	22.50	40
Banten	26	92.86	2	7.14	28	26	24	92.31	2	7.69	26
Bali	42	95.45	2	4.55	44	41	39	95.12	2	4.88	41
Kalimantan Selatan	14	82.35	3	17.65	17	17	14	82.35	3	17.65	17
Kalimantan Timur	20	90.91	2	9.09	22	20	19	95.00	1	5.00	20
Kalimantan Barat	31	88.57	4	11.43	35	35	30	88.24	4	11.76	34
Kalimantan Tengah	18	94.74	1	5.26	19	18	17	94.44	1	5.56	18
Sulawesi Utara	28	93.33	2	6.67	30	29	26	89.66	3	10.34	29
Sulawesi Tengah	28	90.32	3	9.68	31	31	28	90.32	3	9.68	31
Sulawesi Selatan	30	83.33	6	16.67	36	34	27	81.82	6	18.18	33
Sulawesi Tenggara	61	99.93	4	0.07	61,04	63	59	93.65	4	6.35	63
Sulawesi Barat	24	88.89	3	11.11	27	25	22	88.00	3	12.00	25
Gorontalo	15	78.95	4	21.05	19	18	14	77.78	4	22.22	18
Maluku	20	80.00	5	20.00	25	24	20	80.00	5	20.00	25
Maluku Utara	36	97.30	1	2.70	37	32	31	96.88	1	3.13	32
Papua	25	86.21	4	13.79	29	25	22	88.00	3	12.00	25
Papua Barat	12	75.00	4	25.00	16	15	12	80.00	3	20.00	15
Jumlah	907	87.80	126	12.20	1,033	947	826	87.41	119	12.59	945

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics. Statistik Politik Indonesia, 2014, prepared in 2016

ability of women as members of the Regional Representatives Council was much smaller than the male, even when compared to legislative candidates. There are several reasons for the lack of women involved to compete in the Regional Representatives Council. First, because of contestation to become member of DPD (Regional Representative Council) is individual (without the mechanism of political parties) so that political competition in DPD is more indicative of the contest for persons or candidates rather than political parties. Those who have the popularity and reputation as well as a mass base will struggle in the DPD. Secondly, the Council's role is not as strong and as popular

as the House of Representatives in the eyes of the citizens so that DPD is considered to be not that important. Thirdly, the interest of women to become candidates is low because of the absence of socio-political capital and financial account. The low of contestability for women has implications on the number of women elected as members of the DPD. The number of women in the DPD in 2014 elections was at 25.76%; there is a decrease when compared to 2009 election where the figure was at 26.52%. Below is the illustration (table 9).

Although women in the DPD had low contestability, the level of electability was much higher than that of the

Table 9.
Comparison Between the Total of Women as Candidates and Legislative Members

Constituency	Candidate of Regional Representatives Council					Regional Representatives Council				
	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Aceh	36	90.00	4	10.00	40	4	100	0	0.00	4
Sumatera Utara	25	92.59	2	7.41	27	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Sumatera Barat	29	93.55	2	6.45	31	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Kepulauan Riau	15	93.75	1	6.25	16	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Riau	21	84.00	4	16.00	25	2	50.00	2	50.00	4
Kep Bangka Belitung	19	90.48	2	9.52	21	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Jambi	27	84.38	5	15.63	32	2	50.00	2	50.00	4
Sumatera Selatan	21	75.00	7	25.00	28	2	50.00	2	50.00	4
Bengkulu	17	89.47	2	10.53	19	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Lampung	23	88.46	3	11.54	26	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Dki Jakarta	32	91.43	3	8.57	35	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Jawa Barat	31	86.11	5	13.89	36	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Jawa Tengah	24	75.00	8	25.00	32	1	25.00	3	75.00	4
D.I Yogyakarta	11	84.62	2	15.38	13	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Jawa Timur	31	77.50	9	22.50	40	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Banten	24	92.31	2	7.69	26	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Bali	39	95.12	2	4.88	41	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Kalimantan Selatan	14	82.35	3	17.65	17	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Kalimantan Timur	19	95.00	1	5.00	20	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Kalimantan Barat	30	88.24	4	11.76	34	0	0.00	4	100.00	4
Kalimantan Tengah	17	94.44	1	5.56	18	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Sulawesi Utara	26	89.66	3	10.34	29	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Sulawesi Tengah	28	90.32	3	9.68	31	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Sulawesi Selatan	27	81.82	6	18.18	33	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Sulawesi Tenggara	59	93.65	4	6.35	63	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Sulawesi Barat	22	88.00	3	12.00	25	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Gorontalo	14	77.78	4	22.22	18	2	50.00	2	50.00	4
Maluku	20	80.00	5	20.00	25	2	50.00	2	50.00	4
Maluku Utara	31	96.88	1	3.13	32	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Papua	22	88.00	3	12.00	25	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Papua Barat	12	80.00	3	20.00	15	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Jumlah	826	87.41	119	12.59	945	97	73.48	35	26.52	132

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics. Statistik Politik Indonesia, 2014, prepared in 2016

Table 10.
 Electability of Female Candidates at Regional Representatives Council in 2014 Election

Constituency	Candidate of Regional Representatives Council					Regional Representatives Council				
	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Aceh	36	90.00	4	10.00	40	4	100	0	0.00	4
Sumatera Utara	25	92.59	2	7.41	27	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Sumatera Barat	29	93.55	2	6.45	31	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Kepulauan Riau	15	93.75	1	6.25	16	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Riau	21	84.00	4	16.00	25	2	50.00	2	50.00	4
Kep Bangka Belitung	19	90.48	2	9.52	21	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Jambi	27	84.38	5	15.63	32	2	50.00	2	50.00	4
Sumatera Selatan	21	75.00	7	25.00	28	2	50.00	2	50.00	4
Bengkulu	17	89.47	2	10.53	19	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Lampung	23	88.46	3	11.54	26	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Dki Jakarta	32	91.43	3	8.57	35	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Jawa Barat	31	86.11	5	13.89	36	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Jawa Tengah	24	75.00	8	25.00	32	1	25.00	3	75.00	4
D.I Yogyakarta	11	84.62	2	15.38	13	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Jawa Timur	31	77.50	9	22.50	40	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Banten	24	92.31	2	7.69	26	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Bali	39	95.12	2	4.88	41	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Kalimantan Selatan	14	82.35	3	17.65	17	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Kalimantan Timur	19	95.00	1	5.00	20	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Kalimantan Barat	30	88.24	4	11.76	34	0	0.00	4	100.00	4
Kalimantan Tengah	17	94.44	1	5.56	18	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Sulawesi Utara	26	89.66	3	10.34	29	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Sulawesi Tengah	28	90.32	3	9.68	31	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Sulawesi Selatan	27	81.82	6	18.18	33	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Sulawesi Tenggara	59	93.65	4	6.35	63	4	100.00	0	0.00	4
Sulawesi Barat	22	88.00	3	12.00	25	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Gorontalo	14	77.78	4	22.22	18	2	50.00	2	50.00	4
Maluku	20	80.00	5	20.00	25	2	50.00	2	50.00	4
Maluku Utara	31	96.88	1	3.13	32	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Papua	22	88.00	3	12.00	25	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Papua Barat	12	80.00	3	20.00	15	3	75.00	1	25.00	4
Jumlah	826	87.41	119	12.59	945	97	73.48	35	26.52	132

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics. Statistik Politik Indonesia, 2014, prepared in 2016

legislative candidate (29.41%). For details, see the table below (table 10).

Election delivered many innovations in politics for political parties and even candidates. Therefore, choosing a good politician is very important. The politicians recruitment, training and selection become typical work for leaders of political parties and, of course, for the voters. Thus, it is necessary to understand the choices weighed by party leaders; for example, either to choose party loyalists or outsourced resource (expert). Loyalist of a political party is directly controlled by the leadership of the political party. The loyalists usually grow in the party organization, tend to choose the party line, and have been trained to con-

duct political rent-seeking activities. Loyalists of political party are preferred by leaders and supporters of the party, but far less appealing to voters. Meanwhile, experts are more close to ideology; however, party leaders have less control over their political decisions. Therefore, the party leaders face a trade-off between choosing a loyalist or outsourced resource.

CONCLUSION

Learning from the results of legislative elections, there is a small place for femininity in a political contest. Contestability of women does not always produce electability-

for women in legislative elections. This means that the barriers and challenges for women in parliamentary elections can not automatically be resolved by the issuance of formal technical regulations intended to force the women nomination. There are several things to consider in the election rules aimed at the internal policies of the parties, including seats determination, lack of social capital for women when they are recruited by a political party as a candidate for

the legislature, unavailability of female cadres prepared by political parties to meet quotas, election legislative as the political arena for persons and not just parties competition, and the capitalization of the elections contributed to the decline of women in the legislative elections. Therefore, it is necessary to increase the presence of women in political contests.

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Primordial Conflict And The Role Of Community Policing

Penyusun :

• **Bambang
Budiono**

FISIP UNAIR
Teaching Staff

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Abstract

Rights of Freedom of Religion and belief is a basic human right. Therefore its implementation must be guaranteed by the state. The adherents to ascertain that in carrying out the teachings of religion and belief and freedom from threat -free of fear. The right to freedom of religion guaranteed by normatively human rights declaration, the declaration of Cairo, as well as by the Act of 1945. In the 1945 CONSTITUTION mentioned that every person free to follow their religion or belief. But in this era of reform exercise of the right religion and belief in Indonesia under threat , particularly from community groups who want to monopolize the truth. This threat occurs because of weak leadership role of the state and the country at all levels. The absence of this country into the empty space is then filled by the ruling regime that monopolize the moral world the truth through their own laws. This paper emphasizes the importance of assertiveness leaders in upholding state laws.

INTRODUCTION

Religion, Faith, Tribe, and Race usually become primordial attribute that becomes the integral part of one's identity since they are born until they are dead. This identity is given, and the said person (can) not choose it. It is given physical-biologically, as well as socially. This primordial gift becomes one's identity which is carried to heir grave.

Although religion and faith can change in the course of one's life, the change of religion and faith still be considered bad by the environment in which they live. That is why, although not as strong as tribe, nationality and race, religion and faith generally become one's primordial identity.

The problem of religion freedom is in one category with the problems suffered by minorities anywhere in this world.

The problems of minority groups especially is discrimination they received. Generally, minority group is defined as individual group which is not dominant with the characteristic of a nation, religion, language which are different with the majority of the community. Minority as a 'group' is seen from its smaller amount compared to the amount of other community from sad country in a position which is not dominant. The membership has different ethnical, religion or language characteristics with other population and shows at least implicit solidarity that is shown in the form of preserving their culture, tradition, religion and language (www.lfip.org).

Parsudi defined minority group as people that because of their physical characteristics or their ancestry or culture are separated from other people and treated inequally or unjustly in their residency state. Therefore, they feel collective discrimination action. Those who belong to minority groups, in social sociology perspective, also treated as outsiders from the nation in which they live. They also have unprofitable position in social life of their nation because they are limited in several social, economic and political opportunities. According to Parsudi Suparlan, minority groups anywhere in the world always suffer from discrimination (Suparlan, 2004)

Talking about minority groups in Indonesia, in particular period it is more of a economic jealousy towards chinese ethnic groups. While outside Java, it involves social jealousy towards the domination of Javanese people. Recently, the discourse arise mostly leans toward the freedom of religion and faith.

These symptoms seem to be a consequence of the dynamics of plural Indonesian socio-culture. Plural in terms of tribe, language, groups, race as well as religion and faith.

FACTS ABOUT LACK OF FREEDOM IN RELIGION AND FAITH

Indonesia is a plural country, from geographical aspect, ethnical aspect as well as cultural aspect. From the ethnicity aspect, Indonesia is Multi-ethnics, of course with the multicultural condition. It is caused by each ethnic group always have their particular culture, which is different with other ethnicity. If each ethnic group has universal aspect of their own culture, definitely there are many religions and faiths developed in Indonesia, that have difference with one another. The differences of religion embraced by an ethnic group will be shown in the difference of doctrines, ritual, as well as the requirements for religious ceremonies. Plurality in fact become the destiny of Indonesia.

From ethnicity term, in Pakkarakaisa Research (1974), stated that Java ethnic group reach 45,8 % from the total of Indonesian population in 1974 from approximately 120.000.000 people, (now Indonesian population is approximately 236 million people). Various Indonesian population distribution based on ethnicity is Sundanese (14,1%), Madurese (7,1 %), Minangkabau (3,3 %), Bugis (2,5 %), Batak (2,0 %), Bali (1,8 %), 24 other ethnicities (20,3 %) and chinese (2,7 %). (Ahmad Nurullah Masykuri Abdillah <http://www.jurnas.com/halaman/6/2013-05-24/247925>)

Seen from the perspective of religion, Abdillah noted that there are several religions (recognized by the government) and embraced by Indonesian people, such as: Islam 88,1%, Christian and Catholic 7,89%, Hindu 2,5%, Bud-dha 1% and others 1%.

The number of worship place owned by religious minority groups in Indonesia is very big. BPS data in 2010 showed that religious minority group is 30.165.547 people (12,69 percent), but they have 78.755 (23,5 percent) of worship place number from total worship place which 333.866.

The number of Christian and Catholic churches in Indonesia is 61.756, the third biggest after Us and Brazil, while

the ratio of the number of churches and Christians in Indonesia is the highest (the best) in the world, which is 1:327 compared to US (around 1:745), England (around 1:850), and Italy (around 1:2,047) (Ahmad Nurullah Masykuri Abdillah. *ibid*)

Religious difference as stated by Abdillah above is based on the official religions recognized by the government. If we consider the local religions and faith that are not recognized by the state as religion, the plurality of Indonesia will be much more complex.

The difference as shown in the above data not only become the cultural richness, but also have potential for conflict. The motivation is that these differences create socio-psychological limitations among the ethnicities, and the faiths as stated above. Meanwhile, this socio-psychological distance held potential prejudice, which in particular condition will appear, strengthened and can develop to become conflict.

The history of Indonesia noted that discrimination and violence a not only happen in the scope of religion, but in economic life that lingers with race and group problems. Discrimination and violence in the past, especially in big cities, mostly dominated by the jealousy of the nation towards chinese ethnicity. In the case of Sampit, the dominant problem is the jealousy of local people towards Madurese ethnics. In the past, in Aceh and other areas, the jealousy is shown to Javanese, especially because "Javanese" are considered to be dominating the assets and political and economical access through National Facility. But now, the problem moves to the religion and faith.

Freedom of religion and faith actually has appeared in Old Order and New Order Era. Only in this reformation period, the religion problem increase the intensity as well as the acceleration.

The fact of conflict and violence based on religion in this reformation era shows increasing trend. Since January 1, 2004-December 1, 200, there are 108 churches throughout Indonesia which are damaged, although the requirements for its establishment has followed the rule. The case of the attack and destruction of church happened again in Temanggung-Central Java in February 2011.

In 2011, there are 63 cases. Meanwhile, CRCS noted that there are 20 violent acts, 7 cases of accusation for blasphemy, and 36 cases of the establishment of worship house in the same year. These phenomena happen most commonly in West Java, DKI Jakarta, Banten. Central Java, North Sumatera and Riau. The rest is spread throughout Indonesia. (<http://indonesia.ucanews.com/2012/03/22/tahun-2011-63-kasus-kekerasan-terkait-agama/>).

The current report of SETARA Institute Laporan SETARA Institute stated that in 2011 there are 244 cases of violation towards freedom of religion with 299 of them in the form of violence. (<http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/indonesian/radio/onairhighlights/marak-kasus-kekerasan-atas-nama-agama-indonesia-dilaporkan-ke-pbb/944098>).

Cases that happen in Cikeusik, Sampang, Temanggung, Bogor, Ambon, Solo, Lamongan, etc are the most current cases we face. Those cases are moving and getting bigger. Starting from the case of Eden Community (Lia Eden),

Al-Qiyadah (Ahmad Mushadeeq), the case of attack to the office of Liberal Islamic Office, Fahmina Institute office in Cirebon, the attack of Aliansi Kebangsaan untuk Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan (AKKBB) group, to the cases of attack, assault, even murder of the followers of Ahmadiyah. Violence cases on Ahmadiyah is the biggest case and seem to have long term impact, with the climax in Cikeusik, Banten. Besides, we witnessed the attack on Syi'ah Schol in Bangil-Pasuruan, East Java.

WHY CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE IN THE NAME OF RELIGION KEEP HAPPENING?

Ethnicity and religion is one's primordial identity. They are attached to someone since they are born. Although religion can become choice, but only few people choose to change religion. As primordial identity, religion and its doctrine and values embraced by someone is used to become a standard to judge what is good and what is bad, what should be and what should not be, what future must be achieved and what must be avoided.

In the context of plural society in multi-ethnic Indonesia, ethnic and religion prejudice towards one group and another seems to develop uncontrollably. This ethnical prejudice (Alo Liliweri, 2009) and religion is like an ember that one time can explode and become conflict of ethnics or religion, if there is an incident triggering it.

The weakness of state policy and some of them the weakness of state leadership in various levels become one of the cases of the development of prejudice among ethnicities, conflict among ethnicities and conflict among religious groups.

The absence of the government to regulate the national and community live causes polarization of power distribution to many sources. Initiatives and actions of the people are varied, starting from the positive ones to the negative ones, from the constructive ones to the destructive ones. This democratic community situation is filled by anarchic powers that the actions caused the uncertainty of norms. In anomie situation, the strong will control the life of the community. The strong groups will be dominant because has mass basis or has courage or the combination of both. In the middle of the absence of the government, this dominant group decide the norm and value of the community. Problems become complicated, because in the middle of plural population, dominant group will impose their own values, regulations and norms as the "law" that must be obeyed by all members of society. Beside delegitimizing the role of government, the act of coercion done by dominant group in the face of the public left a question, because they do not have democratic legitimacy for their actions to demand the obedience of the people.

In the context of the protection of freedom of religion and faith, the absence of government role is followed by the arise and strengthening of the "moral world regime dictator" that claim themselves as the representatives of God, have their own faith and righteousness, and through terror and violence, coercing their faith to other groups. Those who are different and refusing to obey to the righteousness brought by this dictator will be forced, attacked

or even killed. According to Foucault, the dictator of this moral world regime have their own apparatus. The duties of the apparatus of the moral world regime are to build righteousness claims, performing control, building discourse about right and wrong, as well as giving punishment for those who are considered to deviate. Heathen, infidel, blasphemy, misguided stigma are the keywords to get rid of the people or group that have different faith and with this way, they stated that the attack, assault, murder and vandalizing other people properties are justified.

The question is, why does religion-based violence only popular in this reformation era? In New Order era, the tendency of violence of the nation is strictly controlled by the government, in this term is military. In the era of freedom, in the name of democracy, the government does not ban or perform preventative actions. The accusation always happen after the case. Therefore, only those who violate the law who are caught and prosecuted. But, this method becomes very conservative and improper. It does not solve the root of the problem because the crime conducted is actually and organized crime.

The absence of strict action for the root of the problem causes the same cases happen over and over again in various places, and causing the conclusion that the government (seem) to let the religion-based violence cases happen currently.

NORMATIVE REQUIREMENTS ABOUT THE PROTECTION OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND FAITH

United Nations (UN) in 1948 stated that every individual has the right to embrace religion (Article 18). International Convention on Civil and Political Rights recognizing the rights of religion and faith freedom (article 18).

Freedom of religion right definition formally stated in DUHAM, precisely in Article 18 that stated

"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."

This article explained about the freedom of religion that consists; the right to freedom of religion, the right to freedom to change his religion, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

In 1993, UN Human Rights committee and an independent board that consists of 18 experts explain religion or belief as: *"Theistic, non-theistic and atheistic belief, as well as the right not to profess any religion or belief."*

This definition has explained that religion or belief can be in the form of theistic, non-theistic and atheistic belief, and the right to not to profess any religion or belief. In the US, the understanding about the freedom of religion, both in positive and negative aspect as stated by Sir Alfred Denning that freedom of religion means the freedom to

perform worship or not to perform worship, believing the existence of God or denying it, Christian or other religions or even without religion (Azahary, 2004, in Triyanto, 2008).

The definition of religion as stated in UN general declaration of course very liberal, and seem to be dominated by western culture. It is different with the concept of freedom of religion and faith in Indonesia that contains positive connotation. It means that there is no place for atheism or anti-religion propaganda in Indonesia.

It also become the cause that if there is a decision about DUHAM, especially the article about freedom of religion, the representative of Saudi Arabia in UN is abstain. Because according to Islam Law, people who are change religion out of Islam is infidel or heathen.

As a reaction towards General Declaration of DUHAM which is considered not in compliance with Islamic Law, Islamic Conference Organization (ICO) in 1990, establish human rights declaration that goes along with Islamic Law. This declaration is known as Cairo Declaration (CD). CD has 30 articles that regulate about human rights, in terms of civil rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights. One of the rights regulated by CD is the freedom of religion.

The introduction of Cairo Declaration is as follow:

“In contribution to the efforts of mankind to assert human rights, to protect man from exploitation and persecution, and to affirm his freedom and right to a dignified life in accordance with Islamic Shari’ah”

Believing that fundamental rights and freedom according to Islam are integral part of the Islamic Religion and that no one shall have the right as a matter of principle to abolish them either in whole or in part or to violate or ignore them in as much as they are binding divine commands, which are contained in the Revealed Books of Allah and which were sent through the last of His Prophets.”

Article 10 of Cairo Declaration regulates the following:

“Islam is the religion of true unspoiled nature. It is prohibited to exercise any form of pressure on man or to exploit his poverty or ignorance in order to force him to change his religion to another religion or to atheism.” (see Eka A. Aqimuddin, 2009).

In Indonesia, the freedom of religion and belief is guaranteed by the Basic Law (UUD) 1945, that stated the government guarantee the freedom of religion and belief (Article 28E jo Article 29 point 1). Even further in Article 28I of the UUD 1945 stated that freedom of religion cannot be subtracted in any form whatsoever.

This law is further strengthen in Article 22 Law No 39/1999 about Basic Human Rights. Every individual has the right to freedom of thinking, faith and religion. This right includes the freedom to embrace or decide the religion as their own choice. Every individual has the freedom, whether individually or integral to the nation, publicly or individually to manifest their religion or belief in teachings and worships.

The question is, if in DUHAM, Cairo Declaration as well as in the Law about Human Rights, the freedom of

religion and belief has been guaranteed, why there are still many cases of violence in the name of religion? Of course there is something wrong about the community and the government, if the law has mandated, but in practice, the law enforcer seems to let the “moral world dictator” brutally judging other groups that have different religions and beliefs.

ALTERNATIVE SOLUTION: THE IMPORTANCE OF GOVERNMENT ROLE

In Old Order era (1945-1966), the government issued Presidential Regulation (Penpres) of Republic of Indonesia No. 1 of 1965 that stated: “Religions embraced by Indonesians are Islam, Christian, Catholic, Hindu, Buddha and Konghuchu”. This regulation does not limit the religion. It is stated in the explanation of this regulation that: “It does not mean that other religions such as Jew, Zarathustranian, Shinto, Taoism are forbidden in Indonesia. They have full guarantee as given by Article 29 point 2 of UUD ’45, and they are allowed to be.” Word *such* as means that the specification of those religions are only examples. There are many other religions and beliefs admitted in Indonesia, such as Kaharingan in Dayak ethnicity (Central Kalimantan), Pangestu in Javanese, or Parmalim (North Sumatera), Wiwitan (Baduy-Banten). All religions and beliefs are allowed, although it they are not really known the existence. (See Gaus AF, 2008).

In New order era, the limitation is done for Konghuchu (which in Old Order was recognized). The motivation is political, because there was a supposition of the involvement of Chinese Republic in the incident of 1965. Therefore, through Presidential Instruction No.14/1967 about Religion, Belief and Culture of Chinese ethnicity, all worship activities of Konghucu, including the celebration of Chinese new year, is forbidden (ibid.).

During new order era, the official religions recognized by the government were only five religions of the above. The local religions must be blended with the religions similar to those local beliefs. For example, people who embrace Kaharingan must embrace Hindu, although essentially those two religions are different. For those who embraced Konghucu must change religion to Catholic or Buddha.

In the series of religion-based violence cases in Indonesia recently, we can analyze based on the normative rules, both in the DUHAM, CD, 1945 CONSTITUTION, Law, Basic Human Rights or Criminal Code. Those cases show that various regulations about basic human rights as well as law have been violated.

The question is, who should guarantee that these minority religious believers can perform their religions and beliefs peacefully and without any threats? 1945 CONSTITUTION article 28i point (4) has stated that the state, especially the government must respect, protect and fulfilling the basic human rights. Similarly Law No.39/1999 articles 71 and 72 emphasizing that this guarantee becomes the duty of the state to fulfill.

The complete text of Law no. 39/1999 on Basic Human Rights (article 71) is as follow: “The government shall re-

spect, protect, uphold and promote human rights as laid down in this Act, other legislation, and international law concerning human rights ratified by the Republic of Indonesia.”. The duties and responsibilities of the government as referred to in Article 71, include measures towards effective implementation in law, politics, economics, social and cultural aspects, state security, and other areas.. (Article 72)

On the other hand, against various tendencies of the expression of freedom rights that have the potential to violate other people’s rights, 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia article 28J stated:

- (1) Each person has the obligation to respect the fundamental human rights of others while partaking in the life of the community, the nation, and the state. (**)
- (2) In exercising his rights and liberties, each person has the duty to accept the limitations determined by law for the sole purposes of guaranteeing the recognition and respect of the rights and liberties of other people and of satisfying a democratic society's just demands based on considerations of morality, religious values, security, and public order.**)

In this case it is clear that in exercising the duties to respect, protect, enforce and fulfilling the fundamental human rights, the state, especially the government can perform the limitations on one’s human right expression, if this expression clearly violates other people’s rights. This limitation can only be performed through law, in this context is the existence of law substance, law structure and just law culture become essential.

Normative stipulation that regulates the freedom of religion and belief is very clear, as well as normative regulation about the limitation of rights and liberties related to religion and beliefs. All those regulations mandated the state, especially the government to guarantee the exercise of freedom of religion and belief, peacefully and safely. When the mandate of constitution and law is very clear, but the conflict and violence in the name of religion still happen in the broad daylight, the core problem is definitely in the state leadership and government. People of Indonesia is plural, multi-ethnic, and multicultural, with a situation that has the tendency to be chaotic, need a clear and firm polic of the government. This policy line has been shown in various theories as well as empirical experiences: firm law enforcement, education and development of tolerance and in the end strengthening multiculturalism.

COMMUNITY POLICING ROLE

Community Policing is one of the democratic policies and strategies of Indonesian Republic Police Department. Democratization and democratization developed in Indonesia is strengthening the expression of plurality on one side, but on the other side weaken the control of the state towards the tendency of conflict in the society. The cause is that in democratic community, the role of the government in civil and politic area is cut down. It means that the government is forced by the law and political ethics to hold itself and

does not allowed to intervene too far in the private lives of individuals or community groups. The state apparatus only take actions if someone or a group is proven to violate the law. Aside from that, the state, through state apparatus only perform preemptive or preventative actions. In this context, community policing is one of the strategies of the Indonesian Police Department to build social order an guarantee the safety through preemptive and preventive actions.

Facing the strengthening of the tendency of conflict and violence among groups/community in the name of ethnicity and race, a question rises, is community policing effective enough to prevent, hold or solve this?

COMMUNITY POLICING PRACTICE

Based on the regulation of the Head of Indonesian Police Department (hereinafter referred to as Perkap) No. 7 of 2008, amended with Perkap No. 3 of 2016, the implementation of Community policing is exercised through three models of policing, the first is traditional policing, which is the security control model through the involvement of local security systems such as Pecalang in Bali, Ronda Kampung in Java, or Siskamling etc. This pattern is maintained, but as the spearhead of the community policing, the Police Department apparatus utilize this community security institutions as a part of policing system. With the involvement of this community security model to the mechanism of policing, it is expected that the performance of police department in identifying, mapping and solving security disturbance and order can be more down to earth.

In the context of implementation of community policing with traditional model, police department is not only encouraging the participation of the civil society—especially the controlling actors of traditional security—in police department works, but also with this method, it preserves the local security system based on the local culture. In this first model, interaction between police department apparatus with the controlling actors of traditional security (Pecalang in Bali, Jogoboyo or Pak Bayan in Java in various chances can be very important. Because through this intensive interaction, police can quickly identify potential or actual disturbance of security and order. From here, the police can exercise required actions, preemptive, preventive or repressive actions. Through this traditional policing model, the role and steps of the police department can get the support from local people, as well as supported by cultural legitimization.

Second, community policing implementation through the improvement of police department functions. The forms of SMS service, online complain service, quick Quin, children-friendly police, police’s cooperation with civil community, safety riding, police’s smile, to volunteer service of police for pedestrians, pushing broke-down cars and many more. The improvement and widening of the social function of police department in turn attracting the sympathy of the community for the police, improving the image of the police. Therefore, police department are not scary anymore, instead the police department can get ungrudging support from the society. In the context of se-

curit and order, this support can be in the form of incident report, information, or community's involvement in mitigating disruptions in their area.

Third, Police-Community cooperation forum model (FKPM). In this model, the implementation of community policing is exercised through social institution that have lived and instituted in the community. FKPM implementation mechanism is formulated in a Community Forum (Habermas, 2010), in which the stakeholders related to particular community security and order gather to discuss. While the goal of this discussion is to identify, analyze and create alternative solution of this problem. Each different issue will present different stakeholders. Therefore, if this security and order problem discussed is conflict based on ethnic or religion, the stakeholders involved are people or institutions related to this issue. Of course Religion Department, Religion Community, academics that focus on particular field of religion, religious figures, traditional leaders, etc. are involved in this discussion.

Social institutions such as RT/RW/village discussion forum meeting, teaching forum and the like can held the discussin forum in resolving the sosial security and order problems. But the resolution is only in the field of social resolution. This social insititutions cannot be called as FPM is there are no Police department apparatus involved. Why so? Because the police department has discession authority to stop or follow up a case categorized as social security and order disturbance. Therefore, through its discession authority, the presence of Police in the discussion forum has changed this forum from resolving the problems socially to be the forum to resolve the problem lawfully.

In the context of implementation of community policing through these three models, the third community policing model is much more effective to identify, analyze and resolving varios problems of social disturbances, including religion-based conflict, both potential or actual.

In the implementation of the third model of community policing, it is clear that what is prioritized is the democratic policing model, in which (the member) of police department together with the community, in their position as equal partners, performing authentic dialogue without any fear or threat, exchanging ideas, suggestion as well as performing collective action based on mutual understanding, in resolving social disturbances, including ethnic or religion-based conflict.

But, in terms of really fast and vast conflict escalation, community policing mechanism cannot be depended as

much. Wide-scaled and fast-growing conflict need more repressive action, and only in particular cases the community policing mechanism can be implemented. But it can be assured that the community policing mechanism is not designed to handle big-scaled conflict with quick escalation. In democratization era with conflict between groups, ethnicity and religion recently in various places in Indonesia, police department need to consider the implementation of community policing mechanism to prevent the conflict that is caused by primordialism of ethnicity, race or groups. For this, police department need the support of social science, especially sociology, politic and anthropology.

CONCLUSIONS

Democratic Indonesian society opens for many possibilities. One of the causes is that in an open society, there are many parties compete to define what is the meaning of democracation. There are parties that uses political identity, there are parties that uses ethnic identities, there are parties using religion identities to define what is good for the society, now or in the future. This competition for democratic public place of course can cause political or socio-cultural conflict. Religion based conflict as commonly found in Indonesia in the last decade basically is the conflict to compete for the definition about what is good and what is not for Indonesian community for today and the future. While the object that will be defined is various systems, including social-cultural sstem (education, health, lifestyle values, etc). economic system (banking, food/drink industry, etc) political system (leadership, republic, or khalifa, etc) system of law (culture-based or religion-based, western or Islam).

In the context of competition for democratic public room, a democratic conflict and social disturbance mitigation is needed. Excessive repressive action will only cause new conflict around the issue of human rights violation. In its reformation, Police department through community policing actually has provide democratic mechanism to resolve conflicts—including religion conflict—and simultaneously transform the religion conflict to be citizen conflict that can be resolved without bringing religion identity. It can be done because the resolution through community policing mechanism, especially the third model/FKPM, enable each conflicting party to present in the discussion forum, resolving each prejudice, identity and in the end lowering the intensity of the conflict.

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Deklarasi Umum Hak Asasi Manusia

UUD '45 hasil amandemen ke 4

Undang-Undang No.39/1999 mengenai Hak Asasi Manusia



Elite Personalism Reinforcement in the Open List System Era

Penyusun :

• **Kris Nugroho**

Doctor of Political Science

Political Science Department

Faculty of Social Science and
Political Science Airlangga
University

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Abstract

This article comes from the result of the author's study on the tendency of the local elite personalism enforcement as the result of the open list system application in the 2014 General Election. Open list system was applied to the 2009 and 2014 legislative elections that the number of legislative seats was set based on the acquisition of a majority vote obtained by the candidate in an electoral district. This system encouraged candidates to maximally use the personal political networks in order to raise the political electability in their electoral district. The symptoms are carrying two implications for the role of party organization: electoral party networks did not work effectively in the elections and the transformation of elite leadership was dominated by the power of candidates' personal networks.

INTRODUCTION

Empirically, the open list system allows voters to choose preferred candidates from the list proposed by the party. Some countries, e.g. Netherlands, Indonesia in 2009 and 2014 elections, Norway and Finland, use open list system (Norris, 1997). Some political scientists claim that open list system encourages legislative candidates to conduct political mobilizations in more personal to maximize the candidates's victory (Surbakti et al, 2008; Karvonen, 2010). In the context of legislative candidacy in Indonesia, an open list system also acts reinforcing the candidacy's links based on the political actors (Zuhro, 2009).

The theoretical arguments mentioned in the previous paragraph become the framework for the author to reveal that the adoption of the open list system encourages can-

didates to conduct political mobilizations in more personal way. Personal political mobilizations are marked by the dominance of the personal political network usage on the network electoral candidates of the party. The implication of personal political mobilization shows that the party's role in the candidacy's activities declines due to the party's electoral network that is replaced by the network of political candidates. To reinforce this thesis, the author holds onto the research results of the cases of Democratic Party or PD and Nation Awakening Party or PKB in East Java, Indonesia on the candidacy of the 2014 legislative election.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A considerable number of studies show that the political mobilizations for the sake of candidacy do not always use a political party. The studies conducted by Agu-

iar (1997), Gray and Caul (2000), Nuno (2007), Pierce (2010), Blaydes and Tarouty (2009) show that political parties can use the network of unions, interest groups, religions (churches and mosques), gender, race or ethnicity as the instruments of political mobilization candidacy. The example is Nuno that has conducted a research on the instrumentalization of Latino network to increase voters' support in the 2000 election in the US.

The use of non-party networks is different from a number of previous literatures which place political mobilizations as a part of the routine functions of the political parties' functions (Rodee et al, 1967: 491; Bibby, 1992: 5; Heywood, 2002: 254; Roskin et al, 2006: 196). These theoretical studies are not empirically enough in exposing models of political mobilization that occur in the field.

The use of non-party networks for political mobilization instrument has been found from Pierce's study (2010: 93) on the role of Catholic Church's networks as the political mobilization instrument for women voters in the 1930's Spain. These church networks were used by the Accion Popular Party to obtain the women's votes to win the election. The same issue was also examined by Blaydes and Tarouty revealing the role of social network instruments which are built through the religious legitimacy used by the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) in Egypt is an effective instrument to mobilize lower-middle-class women voters. In the frame of electoral competition dominated by government party, the MB is able to utilize and build relationships among lower-class women voters and get them to win the MB. The political network used by the MB to gain the women's support is focused on what Blaydes and Tarouty called parallel Islamic sectors such as mosques, Islamic enterprisers and volunteers who are members of Islamic group networks.

Meanwhile, Nuno reveals the use of ethnic networks as a means of political mobilization among the Latinos at the presidential election in the United States in 2000. Nuno stated that ethnic networks are quite effective to be used to convince other voters who have ethnic equality. In this case, the Latino voters will be more easily persuaded if the party that convinces them is the Latinos. These Ethnic networks are used by the Republican Party to influence the Latino voters whose political stance is still floating. The same issue was also used in Hawaii. The use of ethnic networks as a means of political mobilization is also strengthened by Aguiar findings in the case of political mobilization for the candidacy in Hawaii from 1930 to 1964. In the case of Hawaii, the candidacy's political mobilization process is done through the issues of ethnicities, classes and demographics. These issues are used by both Republicans and Democrats to seize potential voters from the native Hawaiian, Japanese and workers.

In the classic study of the 1955 elections in Indonesia, Feith (1999) analyzes how parties build a social base through various non-party networks for electoral interests. NU, Masyumi, PNI and PKI are able to effectively strengthen their roots through non-party mass organizations they create. Feith's findings illustrate that the instruments of party's political mobilization vary due to the utilization of ideology and social cleavage-divisions as a

source of electoral strength.

The concern about political mobilizations also comes from Liddle (1992). Liddle shows a deterioration process of the parties' roles which remain from the previous era as the establishment of Golkar influence sponsored by the government. Golkar's superiorities in every election focused on the aspects of Golkar's strong political resources because of the New Order's political and structural supports. One of the supports is the support for Golkar to utilize the bureaucracy of civil servants from the national to the local level as the supporting engine and political mobilization in every election (Liddle: 29, 37, 65).

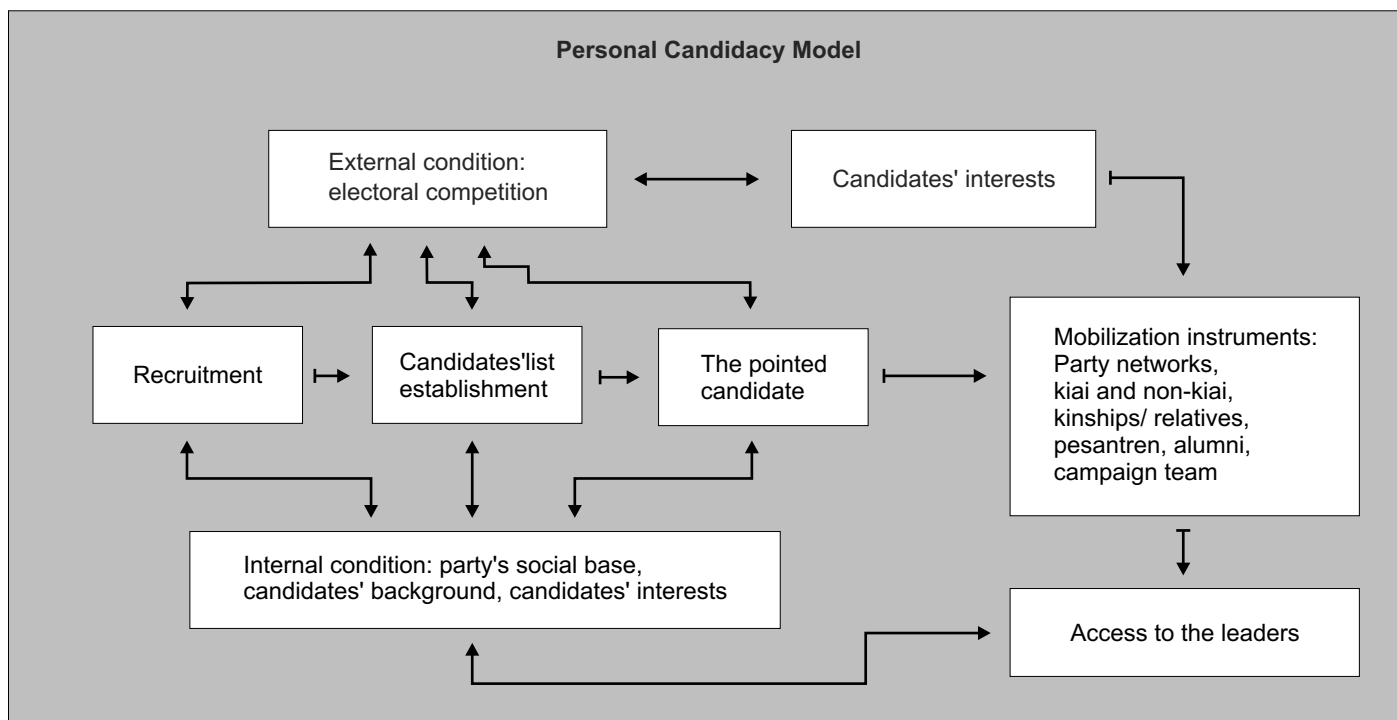
The same thing is also stated by Gaffar (2006). One of several ways used by Golkar to gain the votes is using the power of bureaucracy through the mobilization of civil servants to support Golkar. According to Gaffar, there are three common ways to strengthen Golkar; the mobilization of civil servants, the bureaucracy involved either directly or indirectly in Golkar's political structure and the funding provided by bureaucratic for Golkar (2006: 235-237).

The substance of the literatures above shows that a political party has an instrumentalization pattern of political mobilization which is appropriate with its social base that becomes the foundation whether by utilizing the networks of religious, gender or ethnic/race. In Indonesia, parties are also strong in utilizing the social or cultural networks that are appropriate with the social base of each party, such as a kiai network (NU) for PPP in the New Order era (Irsyam, 1984: 57-59).

The parties in the Reformation Era try seeking network relationships and their social politic base. Islamic parties also reorganize their political network relationships with their old social base, e.g. through religious leaders (kiai) and students (santri) and Islamic schools (pesantren) networks. PPP has an open opportunity to re-establish relationships with NU, ulama / kiai (religious leaders) and NU members. PPP is not the only one party fighting over the NU members' votes. PKB also utilizes the same socio-political community (Nahrawi, 2005). The political mobilization Instruments done by political parties are sucked into the instrumentalization of religious leaders / kiai as the vote getters at the level of electoral (Patoni, 2007).

The function of religious leaders is originally envisioned as a socio-religious figure with an influence towards the pesantren's entity, it has moved beyond religious leaders, and pesantren (Dhofier, 1983) has become one of the instruments utilized by parties and candidates in the electoral political mobilization activities. Similarly, the function of kinship is beyond the power of socio-cultural solidarity as being studied by Mansurnoor (Mansurnoor, 1990) or Wiyata (Wiyata, 2002) that it might have moved into deeper political functions when it is used as an instrument of political mobilization by parties and candidates.

Based on the arguments, it then has developed a hypothesis that the open list system of the candidacy further strengthens the transformation of elite leadership in more personal. The elites have actively used the instruments of non-party political mobilization to increase the candidates' electability. The following chart shows candidacy in more personal:



CASE DISCUSSION

The results of the Focus Group Discussion with the officials and candidates of PKB and the PD administrators of East Java Province indicates that the candidates' ability to project themselves using the party instruments as an instrument of mass mobilization tends to be weak. This finding is in contrast with the Panebianco's concept (Ware, 1999) that a party is an electoral machine in the candidacy. According to Ware, the candidates and the party are in interdependence. The candidates need the party to get formal supports while the party needs the candidates who are expected to win the legislative seats to represent the party.

Along with the application of the candidacy's open list system at the 2009 and 2014 elections, legislative candidates from PKB and PD are getting stronger by using the instruments of non-party mobilization to improve the electability in their electoral district. For example, PKB's candidates at the district level (regent) in Madura tend to use the instruments of non-party mobilization with the basis of kiai (religious leaders) and kinship networks rather than to utilize the party machine. Candidates in Madura generally have prepared themselves by building socio-cultural networks based on religious leader or kinship networks as the instrument to mobilize the villages' voters.

The above symptoms describe a detachment between the party relationship and the candidates. There are two reasons why the detachment occurs. First, the candidates actively build political supports based on personal political networks centered on leaderships or kinships rather than using party networks. Second, the party capacity to develop its influences to the candidates is less maximum that resulting the party's failure to routinize the electoral functions. The process of candidates-party's detachment further confirms the potential degradation of PKB's institutionalization because the instrumentalization of non-party network done by the candidates is minimizing the party's

role in the electoral activities.

The enforcement of the candidates' personalization indicates the presence of structural problem which is the party has failed to perform rooting on the voter's level. The candidates expropriate this failure by strengthening the political electability through private networks. The candidates' instant political survival strategies and the way they rely on non-party networks indicate the party's weak institutionalization. In a state where candidates are not rooted then the candidates intensively use the non party networks as an alternative to strengthen their electability.

The application of the candidacy's open list system also increasingly encourages the candidates to act more autonomous and free from the influence of the party. In this case, the process of creating various candidates' figures is considered more important than exposing the candidates' work programs. This symptom confirms that the routinization of party's machines in the campaign runs down. There are two factors causing this occurs.

First, the candidates enter a political uncertainty phase relating to their electability. It further encourages the candidates to maximize utilizing the non party networks ahead of the campaign to get votes. The political implication shows that the dominance of non party networks increasingly sets aside the role of the party to routinize procedures that organize the campaign issues.

The second factor is electoral regulations. The structural failure potentials further routinize the party campaign as the emergence of candidates' personal centrism in both parties on the candidates' open list system era. The electoral regulations encourage the candidates to more actively build personal electability through personal links and business and socio-cultural networks. I have found that the candidates in both parties prefer to do a personal extension political networks rather than arranging campaign programs as a political magnet to get voters.

In the case of PKB and PD, the candidates' ability to

routinize the role of the party in their campaign activities is not optimal since the campaign activities that should be filled with work programs are degraded by the dominance of the candidates' stability and their private political networks.

The 2009 election experience shows that PKB's legislative candidates in Sampang tend to perceive the campaign not as an activity to expose their work programs but to visit leaders and citizens. Even, one of the candidates named Bus (not the real name) from Sampang, Madura, was afraid to promote the program because he considered it as a promise that, if not realized, will destroy his reputable image. This candidates' individualization is found to be accepted by the party even, in this case, PKB party gives candidates a flexibility to hold personal campaigns for the sake of the political party's survival. The logic of this political survival is based on a consideration that quantity is more important than quality; no matter which candidate being elected as long as it affects the political party's survival.

The analysis actually reinforces a proposition that the candidacy's open list system makes the party difficult to control the party candidates' behavior. The system also pushes cannibalism among candidates because they will compete hard in order to fight over voters. Similarly, the candidates' tendencies to disconnect with party institutions are also getting bigger as the candidates are free to use non party links such as leadership and kinship networks or personal campaign teams rather than using the organization's networks as the instrument supporting the candidacy.

The potential of PD and PKB candidates' tendencies to disconnect with their party institution clearly shows that the relation of the party, candidates and voters are more artificial. The artificial relationship indicates that their relations are more instrumental where the candidacy processes are responded individually which makes the party cannot fully maximize developing its electoral machines.

The next issue that shows challenges for the party institutionalization of PKB and PD is the access to the candidates' funding. Both parties are only able to mobilize the candidacy's fund-raising from the candidates but weak in mobilizing other new funding sources. They are also weak in controlling the candidates' funding that increasingly becomes individualized. The weakness of the party in controlling the candidates' funding is in contrast with Tomsa's opinion (2010) that the party institutionalization can be measured from its capacity in mobilizing the political funding sources to support the party's programs. However, Tomsa's opinion does not occur in PD and PKB. In this case, the active candidates rely on their personal sources of funding that do not need to be controlled by the parties. Thus, the parties do not have access to the candidates' funding sources.

It is widely known that the ability of the party in Indonesia to explore funding sources for the candidacy is very low. It happens since the party is less doing funding sources extensification through membership dues. In the case of PD and PKB, there are no specific innovations made to mobilize the party's funding sources for the sake of candidacy in addition to the fund-raising drawn from the candi-

dates. Conventionally, the candidacy's funding sources are obtained from the candidates' contributions which vary in accordance with the party's provision.

The ineffectiveness of party access to the candidacy's funding obstructs the routinization development. The party's weak access in controlling the candidacy's funding also shows the degradation of party influence in the open list system era. It shows the party's authority failure in the middle of the candidates' personalism reinforcement. This failure will also make the party more dependent to the candidates.

The fund-raising dependence on the candidates illustrates the weakness of the party's institutionalization at the level of networks and sympathizers. Being seen from the systemness perspective, the parties which only success raising the candidacy's funding sources from the candidates clearly shows that the party's influence to create new funding sources from the cadres, sympathizers or organizations affiliated to the parties is very weak. The fund-raising dependence further confirms that the party's innovative ability to design the fund-raising is still spontaneous ahead of the candidacy.

Although PD and PKB have rules regarding to the candidates' contribution to the candidacy, it is only formalization. It illustrates that the PD and PKB authorities give them right to make decisions on the candidacy's fund-raising. However, the candidacy's fund-raising regulation does not straight off illustrate the institutionalization of the party.

At the party level, the procedures governing the candidacy's funding, the success of mobilizing fund-raising from the candidates and the campaign commitments of the parties and candidates show that both parties are only able to reach a formal Institutionalization but weak in the dimensions of routinization. The ability of PD and CLA in organizing fund-raising does not straight off describe any substantive Institutionalization. The substantive institutionalization indicates that the party is able to expand wider range of its influence to successfully routinize the policy on the campaign that has been made as a reference for the candidates' actions.

The main challenge faced by PD and PKB in achieving substantive institutionalization lies in their ability to create cohesiveness between the candidates and the party. The other challenge is the candidates' personal reinforcement potential that is increasingly autonomous and cannot be controlled by the party. In this case, the candidates' private funding is vital used to finance the operation of the candidate's personal political network machine like leaderships, relatives and candidates' campaign team in each polling station in the villages of candidates' networks.

What happens to PD and PKB in the open list system era confirms the transformation to candidates' autonomous personalization from the party institutions. This is in contrast with the concept of party institutionalization (Ware, 1999; Randall and Svasand, 2002) postulating that the party activities run regularly and are established. In other words, the cases of PD and PKB reflect and imply the failure symptoms of the party institutionalization since the legislative candidates are increasingly autonomous, per-

sonalized and fragmented in consolidating political networks for the sake of the candidacy.

This analysis further strengthens the proposition that the application of the open list system encourages candidates to actively utilize non-party networks rather than the party networks. The use of non-party networks implicitly reflects the candidates' resistance patterns to the party institutions that are considered to be ineffective and uncompetitive as the candidacy supporting machine compared to the links of socio-cultural based on leaderships, kinships or relatives, business networks or the candidates' campaign team networks.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion that can be drawn from the discussion is that the intersection between structural, cultural, and pragmatism aspects both internal and external obstructs the process of party institutionalization. The intersection between structural and socio-cultural aspects produces dualistic party institutional character. At one side, the party remains relevant to be considered as an authoritative institution, but on the other side, the party can also be considered as a cultural-based institution where the networks rely on socio-cultural expansion. Such patterns occur in PKB.

The first pattern illustrates the party as a final institution while the second pattern illustrates the party as a patronage networks institution.

The cultural aspect comes from the internal of the party that could potentially obstruct the achievement of the party institutionalization is the elites party dependencies on leaderships. The party which grows up in a patronage cultural context (PKB) gives opportunities for the elites to be more dependent on the leadership. This confirms that the challenges of the party systemness will be greater if the tradition forces represented through the figure of both religious and non-religious leaders have dominant influences over the party institutions.

The leadership dominance causes the party movement to routinize agreements both formal and non-formal as the elites' behavior manual confronts with degradations. At the electoral level, governing routinization of prospective can be countered by personal interests of the candidates who trust more leadership's closeness factor as a source of candidacy's legitimacy rather than party political mechanism (PD and PKB). If power and influence of the leadership's tradition highly develop and the candidates rely heavily on their electoral expansion from leadership's networks rather than party networks, then the crisis of the party institutionalization is more open.

The Urgency of Villagers' Social Capital in Implementing Village Acts (UU Desa) No. 6/2014

Penyusun :

• **Raudlatul Jannah**

Sociology Department

FISIP Jember University
JI Kalimantan No 37 Jember,
68121 Indonesia

Corresponding author.
Tel : 081318024171

E-mail address :

raudlatuljannah.fisip@unej.ac.id
raudlatuljannah2012@gmail.com

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Abstract

Requirement to build a village and make the village as the locus of national development is getting intensive. Village government is commanded to realize strong, independent, advanced, prosperous and democratic village. This requires a strong social capital of the communities. There are several things that can be identified as the social capital such as trust, norm, and network. Additionally, since the adoption of the Acts No. 6 of 2014 on Village, most of the villages in Jember Regency continue to improve. To realize a strong, autonomous, prosperous, and democratic village as it is mandated by Village Acts No. 6/2014, the community's social capital plays a significant role. This research was conducted in Sidomulyo Village in Silo, a sub district of Jember. The findings show that strong social capital of Sidomulyo village strongly supports the creation of so conducive village that the implementation of the Acts No. 6/2014 village is executed well. Along with the government demand to improve the professionalism, the head of the village and village staffs continue to increase their ability by frequently joining training and socialization of the Village Law. Some strategies the village government assigned are as follows. First is improving leadership of the head of village as it is very important in maintaining social capital in the village. Second is maintaining social capital (trust) to develop a good exemplary and being open to complaints / suggestions / aspirations of rural communities so that people have confidence in the government in the implementation of the village law. In maintaining social capital in Sidomulyo Village, one of the strategies to maintain the public confidence is to be open to the public. The role of the head of the village in maintaining social capital is vital. On the basis of the experience of Sidomulyo village, a good leadership of the head of the village head is very influential on the public confidence. Some forms of togetherness such as residents' voluntary work, drain building are frequently carried

out to build confidence / trust between village government staffs with villagers. Third is upholding the principles of justice and kinship in the application of norms in the society. The village government takes action immediately and is involved in any solutions made toward the problems in the village. Enforcement of norms by the government of Sidomulyo village was also very influential in maintaining the social capital of rural communities for example in the case of theft. When this happens, theft is reported to the chief police of the residents. Then the police precinct contacts the village. From there the village chief had to intervene. Justice maintained by the village head then eventually reinforces confidence to the village head. With the enforcement of the norms, the community becomes conducive. Informal approach is considered more effective in maintaining the social capital of rural communities. Fourth is maintaining a network of rural communities with good communication. This is done either by face-to-face such as by gatherings, recitals and activities conducted by the village community work, or online such as by creating a Blog village, the village's official website as well as networking in the "Sidomulyo community". In Sidomulyo, there are two ethnic groups namely ethnic Madurese and Javanese. Both ethnic groups require different approaches. For Javanese community, the way to approach is to come and to chat directly without an initial meeting up with a figure / public figures. While for Madura community, the way to approach is to establish good relations with community leaders. Support community leaders of the village government could mean public support for the village government. With the maintenance of social capital of Sidomulyo village, the implementation of the Acts No. 6/2014 can be optimally executed so that the future goals of building a strong, independent, prosperous and democratic village can be realized.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Sidomulyo village is located in the district of Jember. Sidomulyo, Silo District is one of the main coffee production centers in Jember. It is the farthest village located in Jember and Banyuwangi. The village is surrounded by Sumberjati village in the north; and Pace village in the South; Garahan Village in the West and Curahleduk Kalibaru Banyuwangi District in the East. Sidomulyo village has 973,902.8 hectares wide. The population density reaches 10,335 permanent inhabitants, the number of registered voters were 7,021 people in 2014. The population consists of *Java, Madura and Osing* ethnic. The majority of population is not only Islamic, but also Catholic and Protestant. There is a high tolerance among the population. This is indicated by the religious harmony and the only church that stands in Sidomulyo village.

As mentioned at the beginning, villages are often de-

finied as the locus of the farmers who have a certain moral inclination, such as safety first moral, as defined by Scott (1989):

"... farmers, especially in rural areas basically wanted peace and paternalistic patron-client relationships that guarantee and social security (social security). Farmers rarely appeared took a risky decision, because farmers will think about safety first (safety first). This condition cannot be maintained with the market entry and commercialization that has replaced the patron-client relationship into an economic relationship (wage / employers-workers).

In addition, people are characterized by typical social mechanism that is mutual cooperation (gotong royong). Gotong royong is subsistence ethic that brings moral norms. Prevailing moral norms are norms of mutual relations in the enjoyment of social assistance. Life charac-

teristics are relatively homogeneous with a pattern of relationships characterized by horizontal and kinship. Conflict is avoided as well as possible. The thing that makes people united is the similarities they have, for example, working in common, common purpose and experience.

Daldjoeni (2003: 60), traits rural areas, among others; Comparison with human land large enough (more village land area of the population, low density); The dominant employment is agriculture (agriculture); Community relations in a very familiar; The old tradition is still valid.

Until now, Sidomulyo people still maintain the tradition of the local community, such as recitation, tradition of commemoration birth, marriage, and death. It can be the nurture social capital in society. This is in line with the opinion explaining that the village is “as a community in the past has always been associated with simplicity, backwardness, traditionalism, subsistence, and isolation (Rahardjo, 1999)”.

Although the Sidomulyo village is in the Kunitir foothills but the spirit of the local community comes forward and becomes a high prosperous village. Sidomulyo's youth have a high motivation to continue their education despite the far school's distance.

In general, the potential of conflict is low and relative be a favorable condition of the community. This is supported by the state of society today that still preserves the social activities of religious-based. The relationship among the members of rural communities and intergovernmental village (village government with BPD) is in harmony. This strongly supports the creation of a peace society that is the social capital maintained.

By the increasing of the professionalism demand of the village administration, the village head and staff are demanded to develop their capacity and human resources to address implementation of the legal village's problem. In response to these, Head of Sidomulyo Village Silo Sub district Jember is engaged in training activities in order to develop his leadership capacity. Training activities are organized by the Provincial Government of East Java. They were perceived benefits not only increasing the knowledge but also the network. By meeting other village leaders in East Java, they learn how to be a good leader from the experience of other village heads. Village heads have enthusiasm to improve professionalism of the village government. The increasing of the head village's capacity makes the community feel optimistic about the implementation of village governance in accordance with the mandate of the Village Acts No. 6/2014.

2. OVERVIEW VILLAGE ACTS NO. 6/2014 ON IMPLEMENTATION

2.1. The Village Government Structure Identification

One of the Village law mandates is the presence of village governance structure that includes the village head who is assisted by the staff. The staff consists of the vil-

lage secretary; regional staff and technical staff (Village Acts No. 6/2014 of Article 48), although since three years ago there were no village secretary and one regional staff especially in Curahmanis district.

Since the legalization of Village Acts No. 6/2014, the village administration continues to improve. Not only by head village as a leader but also the village staff. An understanding of the legal village becomes better. Village administration is enthusiastic to build and develop professionalism of the village administration increase.

In order to increase or place a replacement position directly, Sidomulyo village government is always trying to do so in accordance with procedures and regulations, and always coordinates with the districts. This is done in order to violate the procedure and in accordance with the legal village. Although since three years ago there were no village secretary, Sidomulyo is trying to run all the tasks of the village administration so well up to now all the village activities can still run well and conducive.

2.2. Village Consultation

One important thing in the mandate of the Village Acts No. 6/2014 is the village council as stipulated in Article 1. Village Council or called by any other name as a consultation between the BPD, the village government and community elements are organized by the BPD to agree on terms of a strategic nature. Based on that rule, Sidomulyo village also always holds a village meeting every six months, in which in the meetings of community leaders, the village officials of BPD is always present. In addition to holding regular village meeting, the government also holds a consultation of Sidomulyo village among the hamlets on a regular basis. Deliberation of this village is done for the community before entering the village meeting. This is done so that the aspirations of the lower level can also be absorbed by the village.

Based on Article 54 to the Acts No. 6/2014, Village Council is held to discuss the things that are strategic. These things include the arrangement of the village, village planning, rural cooperation, investment plan into the village, BUMD formation, additions and disposals of assets villages and extraordinary events. Likewise, the administration of Sidomulyo, the holding of village meeting in practice is not easy. It could be technically established but the quality should be increased. It is very closely related to the determination of development priorities in the village. Based on the experience of Sidomulyo Village ability argued in the village, deliberation forum will determine the outcome / decision deliberation. But the Sidomulyo village government then applied another strategy that continued to approach the community in order to avoid misunderstandings in the community itself. In addition, the quality of village meetings also needs to be enhanced where a sense of togetherness village should take the precedence and eliminate the ego sector and interests of each hamlet. By holding a village meeting frequently, the villagers feel the ownership of the village and the construction carried out in the village, so that people have the same understanding in an effort to improve the life of the village.

Village Consultative Institution (BPD) as an important element in organizing village meetings has also a very important role. Based on the experience, Sidomulyo BPD is an important element that determines the success of the Village Council. With the inclusion of BPD and society as a whole, then all stakeholders have a village feeling of the village development and contribute to feel responsible for the success of the village builders. In this case, a good relationship with all the stakeholders of the village needs to be maintained.

2.3. Village Information System

Village Pursuant to Article 68 of the Acts No. 6 of 2014, first is the rights of the villagers to ask for and get the information from the village government and oversees about the activities of village governance, implementation of rural development, rural community development, and community empowerment. Then the dissemination of public information is quite important for the village government. In addition, for having a special blog, Sidomulyo government also uses media such as community meetings to disseminate information related to study development in Sidomulyo.

In addition to the dissemination of information on the development in Sidomulyo village, dissemination of information is also associated with APBDES (budget village). With the dissemination of this information in addition to the rights of rural communities, it also meets the village heads that is mentioned in Article 26, paragraph 4. It is also carried out in Sidomulyo village.

The importance of information to the village community is also felt by the Sidomulyo's head of village. Based on the experience of Sidomulyo's head of village, the villagers feel as the owner and take responsibility of the development in the village when they were informed. It is by disseminating information on the village government more reliable so that there is no unrest among the people. Though it tries to organize the dissemination of information to rural communities, it does not necessarily have a challenge. It must be realized that not all of the information are disseminated by the village government but it could be accessed by the whole village or bottom layer. Finally, strategic approach to continue to nurture social capital should be done.

In the Village Acts No. 6/2014 it is also mandated the Rural Development Information System and Rural Area. Article 86 paragraph 4 states that the information system covering the rural village data, the data is rural development, rural areas, as well as other information related to rural development and the development of rural areas. Village information system is managed by the village government and village communities and all stakeholders (paragraph 5). Along with that, the government began to realize the mandate of Sidomulyo Village Acts. Starting with the official website of the village (<http://sidomulyo.desa.id/>) and blog Sidomulyo Village (sidomulyo-silo.blogspot.co.id), The government even Sidomulyo have specialized staff for it. It is still not easy to be able to maximize the information system for the Village Sidomulyo village, which is located at the foot of the Kunitir Mountain that is

relatively difficult to signal. It is perceived to be quite an obstacle for people Sidomulyo.

3. IDENTIFICATION OF THE VILLAGER'S SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE IMPLEMENTATION VILLAGE ACTS NO. 6/2014

As has been the issuance of the Acts No. 6 of 2014, the rural demanded to build a village and make the village as the locus of national development intensified, the village government demanded to realize that the village is strong, independent, advanced, prosperous and democratic. On one side, the village social capital is often inflate and deflate, as stated by Sutoro Eko who quoted as saying

First, villages in Indonesia are very rich in social capital but also socially vulnerable. On one side, the village community has had a long variety of social cohesion and social solidarity is strong, as an important buffer of government activities, and community development.

..... but Behind the social cohesion and social solidarity joyful, rural communities often face a variety of social vulnerability (social vulnerability) sad, it can even paralyze their social security (social security). Social resilience of rural communities are often very vulnerable when facing onslaught from outside, ranging from regulation and government policies, development projects ...

Even help from the government such as the BLT, the fuel compensation also led to social unrest in society, for example in the form of dispute between citizens and local authorities.

Eko, (2014: 49) second, the village is rich in social capital but not rich economic capital. In other words, social capital is not transformed into economic capital.

If we refer back to the concept of social capital, it should have been gained when social capital in the community organizations within the community will work effectively. Upheld by Lesser (2000), social capital is very important for the community because it (1) provides ease of access to information for community members; (2) is into a media *power sharing* or division of power in the community; (3) develops solidarity; (4) allows the mobilization of community resources; (5) allows the achievement of joint; and (6) establishes and organizes a togetherness community behavior. Social capital is a commitment of each individual to open with each other, mutual trust, and authority for any person who chooses to act in accordance with its responsibilities. This tool generates a sense of togetherness, solidarity, and at the same time, responsibility will progress together.

Building social capital in society is not easy, especially during the transition period when the village head is newly elected. The first thing done by the village head is to establish a good communication with all stakeholders of the village. The village head visits various hamlets regularly such as in Friday prayers and recitation while listening to the aspirations of citizens. Building a good communication emerges confidence in the community to the village head. The village head must provide the best service to the

citizens. This is shown by the ease of meeting the village head.

3.1. Maintaining Trust / Faith through Modeling

Fukuyama (1995: 26) defined trust as *“the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of that community”*. Mutual trust is seen as a form of expectation that was born in the community of regularity; cooperation and honesty are based on the shared norms and is believed to be part of the community.

The concept of trust theory, mutual trust is a concept that is easy to say but difficult in practice. One strategy to keep the public trust is being open to the public. The role of the village head in maintaining social capital in the village is very important. Based on the experience Sidomulyo village to form a good leadership of a village head can greatly affect the social capital of rural communities.

As an effort to maintain public confidence, the village head as an example in the village should be able to protect the society. Forms such as voluntary work together with residents, building drains are often done in order to build solidarity with the villagers. The forms of togetherness like this can build confidence / trust among governments villages with villagers.

As defined above, trust is as a willingness to take risks in social relationships based on the feeling of assurance that others will do something as expected and will always act in a pattern of actions that support each other and will not do harm himself and his group. Trust or confidence is expected to emerge from the whole community with no exception of younger generation. Building relationships with these young people can be said to be *“easy but difficult”* and needs a special strategy. Trust is arising from the action pattern of mutual support and does not harm the group. Sidomulyo government then tries to embrace the younger generation to build a good relationship with the activities carried out by the youth Sidomulyo village.

With the involvement of youth in the committee activities in the village, then the relationship can give birth of trust. It is then evoke a sense of belonging to the villages within the youth so that they feel co-responsible in building the village. Likewise, the youth skills development activities in Sidomulyo are involved.

3.2. Maintaining Social Capital through Enforcing Norms

According to Coleman (1990: 242), a norm is always *“specify what actions are regarded by a set of persons as proper or correct, or improper or incorrect”*. It can be understood that the norms determine what is good and what is bad. Then Woolcock (1998) defined social capital as the information, trust, and norms of reciprocity inherent in social networks with the aim of creating a favorable collective action. What is interesting from the Woolcock is when defining norms, Woolcock mention the norms of action

reciprocal / reciprocity.

This shows that the norms set out in the structure of society is not just about what you can do and cannot do, but also on the obligation of relationships that lead behind. The higher the individuals adhere to the norm of reciprocal action then the individual should be trusted in the community. Norm in *“shared”* when individuals are interacting with other individuals in the community. One of the norms upheld in reciprocal relationship is a leadership practice fair and according to law. If the leadership is executed in accordance with the Village Acts No. 6/2014, then it is in line with the efforts to build social capital of rural communities.

Enforcement of norms by the government of Sidomulyo village was also very influent in maintaining the social capital of rural communities. For example in case of theft. Occasional thefts reported to police chief resident. Parties contacted the village police station. From there the village chief had to intervene. Justice maintained by the village head brings believing attitude to the village head. With the enforcement of the norms, the community becomes conducive. Family approach is considered more effective in maintaining social capital of rural communities.

One of the norms enforced in the Sidomulyo village is obedience in fulfilling the agreement. One example is the conflict resolution. Despite using the principle of the family, the villagers are to obey the agreement that has been made. When there is a conflict between the villagers, the village head participates to resolve conflict. In addition to solve the problem of the theft in the village, the village head makes regulations that must be obeyed by all villagers. Usually for the first time of caught stealing, the village head will immediately impose the sanctions and when caught for the second time, the village head will directly hand to the police. Parties are often involved in resolving the conflict, chairman of RT/RW, local community leaders, village head.

3.3. Maintain Good Communication through Network

Putnam (2000: 18-19) stated that

“Thoughts and theories of social capital are based on the fact that” the human network “is the most important part of a community. This network is as important as working tool (also called physical capital or physical capital) or education (also called human capital). Taken together, the various capitals will improve the productivity and effectiveness of collective action.

Networking is an issue of considerable importance today. Individuals will not be able to even be said to be in any competition if it does not have a network. Castells even expressed about the strength of the network, wherein between the points (nodes) that interweave will always form a network. Today's society is a network society. Those who do not have a network will not be able to survive in today's society.

Maintaining the network can be done by keeping the trust in the network while trust is treated by obeying the

norms of reciprocity. Thus, we cannot release *trust*, *norms of reciprocity* and *networks* to ensure that social capital is always present in our society. The interesting thing in Sidomulyo village is there are two ethnic namely ethnic Madurese and Javanese. Both ethnic groups require a different approach. If the Javanese way approach comes directly and without having to go through figures a vote voice, the Madurese ethnic approach was taken by the village government to stay in touch with the leader of Madurese ethnic community.

The village government structure also includes two ethnic groups. Although not specifically, but it is very strategic for the village government, so there were no divisions. Besides maintaining networks through to face meeting, the *Sidomulyo community* also build online networks through internet "Sidomulyo Community group". In this network, there is an access to information about what is happening in the village Sidomulyo as well as media for interaction between Sidomulyo fellow citizens. Many ideas, which build Sidomulyo village, are also often expressed in these networks. This is particularly significant in maintaining the social capital of rural communities.

5. CONCLUSION

The implementation of Village Acts No. 6/2014 requires strong social capital of the communities based on research that has been done to the conclusion, including;

1. An Overview of the Sidomulyo Village Community. Sidomulyo Village Community Jember district until today still maintain a good tradition of the local community. For example, the routine recitation, a familiar pattern of relations between citizens, the tradition of birth and death continues to be maintained as well as the form of inter-religious tolerance. It is then deemed able to nurture social capital in society.
2. Understanding Sidomulyo village Government against the village Acts No. 6/2014. Understanding Sidomulyo Government village to the village Acts No. 6/2014 and its implementation are relatively good. Increasing the capacity of the Village Head and his staff in the implementation of the legal village No. 6/2014 very significant. This is because they often attend training both held by the Province government and Jember regency government.
3. The implementation of the Acts No. 6/2014 on Sidomulyo Village can be described in several ways as follows:
 - a. The village government can run the government of Sidomulyo village well and relatively favorable although the structure of the village is just the village secretary and the head of the hamlet. In terms of turnover village head and village secretary, village government waits for instructions from Silo districts. This is done to avoid the wrong procedure in implementation the Village Acts No. 6/2014.
 - b. Village meeting is conducted regularly and attended by BPD, village government and the public. This village meeting is organized by BPD. Before holding village meeting, the government held consultation hamlet. The result of the deliberations of the meeting of hamlet is then taken to the village meeting. So the proposal of the hamlet can be accommodated by the village government.
 - c. In practice, holding village meeting is not easy. It could be technically established but the quality should be increased. It is very closely related to the determination of development priorities in the village. Based on the Sidomulyo Village experience, the ability to argue in the village Deliberation will determine the outcome / decision deliberation. However, the Sidomulyo village government then applies another strategy to approach the community in order to avoid misunderstandings in the community itself.
 - d. To establish communication with the villagers, Sidomulyo government use two ways, first by using online and second by face meeting such as recitals, community service and community meetings. Online communication is done with the official website of the village (<http://sidomulyo.desa.id/>) and blog Sidomulyo Village (sidomulyo-silo.blogspot.co.id). The Sidomulyo government even have specialized staff for IT.
4. Identification of the Social Capital in the implementation of the Village Acts No. 6/2014. This of course requires a strong social capital of the communities. There are several things that can identify social capital (trust, norms and the network) in Sidomulyo villagers.
 - a. In maintaining social capital in Sidomulyo Village, one of the strategies to maintain public confidence is to be open to the public. The Role of village head in maintaining social capital is very important. Based on the experience, Sidomulyo village forms a good leadership of a village head can greatly affect the public confidence in the village. Forms of togetherness as voluntary work with residents, building drains is often done in order to build togetherness with villagers. The forms of togetherness can build confidence / trust among governments villages with villagers.
 - b. Trust or confidence is expected to emerge from the whole community is no exception of younger generation. Maintaining a relationship with this young generation can be said to be "easy but difficult" then needs a special strategy. Trust arises from the action pattern of mutual support and does not harm the group. Sidomulyo government then tried to embrace the younger generation to build a good relationship with the activities carried out by the youth Sidomulyo village.

- c. The higher the individuals adhere to the norm of reciprocal action then it is the individual should be trusted in the community. Norm in “shared” when individuals are interacting with other individuals in the community. One of the norms upheld in reciprocal relationship is a leadership practice fair and according to legal village. If the leadership is executed in accordance with legal village No. 6/2014 then it is in line with efforts to build social capital of rural communities. Enforcement of norms by the government Sidomulyo village was also very influential in maintaining the social capital of rural communities.
- d. Caring for the network also can only be done by keeping the trust in the network. While trust can only be treated by obeying the norms of reciprocity. Thus, we cannot release his trust, norms of reciprocity and network to ensure that there is always the social capital in the community of Sidomulyo, there are two ethnic namely ethnic Madurese and Javanese. Both ethnic groups require a different approach.
- e. In addition to maintaining networks, not only through face to face community but also build online networks “Sidomulyo Community. There is an access to inform about what is happening in the village Sidomulyo, as well as media for interaction between fellow citizens Sidomulyo village. This is particularly significant in maintaining the social capital of rural communities.

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The Development of Village Consultative Agency as the Attempt to Create a Development on the Strength of Family as the Implementation of the Village Act

Penyusun :

- **Dr. Santi Isnaini,
S Sos., MM**
- **Prof. Dr. Laurentius
Dyson P**

Faculty of Social and Political
Study of Airlangga University
Surabaya, Indonesia

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Abstract

In creating the development of the strength of family, we need to dig the potential of the social, culture, economy and politic of the village especially in digging the prominent human resources. The integration between the UU No. 6 of 2014 about the Village and Permen of PPPA No. 06/2013 about the Application of the Development of the Strength of Village says that it needs the development of the Communication Forum that is a mediation process as the forms of dialogue in handling the different views, believes, importance and policy. Although it is true that there are contradictions in different view, belief, importance, and policy between the UU No. 6 of 2014 with the Permen PPPA No. 06/2013, the Village Consultative Agency as the institution that implement the function of the government can create the development of the strength in family. This research has the attempt to discover the social, culture, economy and politic of the village society recently in Probolinggo Regency in handling AKI, AKB and about the malnutrition issue to meet the target of MDGs. It is also to observe the local wisdom in preserving and advancing the culture, tradition, and the culture of villagers, as well as to find the opportunity for UU of Village and the rules under its umbrella in supporting the development upon the existing Family and Institution to creat gender equality, female empowerment, protection and the children's growth.

In order to gain the empirical data and information, this research uses qualitative approach. The determination of location is done using purposive approach in Probolinggo Regency. It was assumed that in terms of AKI, AKB, and malnutrition issue, Probolinggo regency has the highest rank in East Java. Besides, it has a low level of education if compared to other regencies. Second, there is still a belief upon pregnancy and shaman to help delivering the baby. Third, the limited access for the poor people on the health sector that is qualified so that the health status is left behind. Fourth, it is difficult to make use of the facility and the health facilitator that are qualified and affordable for

the poor women. Fifth, the number of midwives is limited compared to the number of the people. Sixth, the public facility of society's health to provide health for reproduction of women is still so limited. The data collection covers observation, and deep interview.

The result of this research is expected to be able to give an input for the Village Consultative Agency to give the chance for the females and its organization in local level to work in political sector, social and culture, and economical sector. So that, through their struggle, there will be facilities to develop the values of gender equality, female empowerment, children growth and protection in creating the development of family strength.

INTRODUCTION

The number of Died Mother (AKI) in Indonesia ranks the highest in Southeast Asia which is 307 per 1,000,000 of successful birth. Indonesia set the target of AKI 125/1,000,000 in 2015 (Millennium Target of Development Goals/MDGs). Five provinces here contribute to almost 50% of the total number of the death of mother and child, since these provinces have a large number of society. For the number of Baby's death, the provinces that contribute the most are West Java, Central Java, East Java, Northern Sumatra and Banten. For the highest contributors for the Mother's death are West Java, Central Java, East Java, Northern Sumatra and NTT. Statistically, the prevalence might be small, but since there are so many civils, the total seems to be bigger.

The number of Death of the Mother in East Java tend to decrease in the last three years. This can be understood since recently there are supports from the province to the city/regency in the form of facility in the managerial of the Mother and Child program (KIA) as well as the system of recording and reporting, the development of clinical skill of the health workers in fields is also involving multi parties in applying the KIA program. In 2014, AKI number of East Java reaching 93,52 per 1.000.000 of successful birth. This number decreased if compared to the one in 2013 which reached 97,39 per 1.000.000 of successful birth.

The number of regency/city that have number of Baby's Death (AKB) above the average of the province are 20 cities/regencies (52,63%). The highest AKB is in Probolinggo which is in 61,48 per 1.000 of successful birth while the lowest is in Blitar which is 17,99 per 1000 successful birth.

The rate of Life Expectancy (AHH/UHH) is the prediction of the length of life that will be achieved by a group of people from the moment they were born. AHH can be one of the tools to evaluate the Family Strength in supporting the success of the developing of the health as well as the social economy in one region, including the grade of health in it.

In 2014, cities/regencies with highest AHH was Blitar city (73,28 years old), followed by Trenggalek Regency (72,55 years old), and Mojokerto city (72,35 years old).

The lowest AHH is Probolinggo Regency (62,16 years old) followed by Jember Regency (63,58 years old) and Situbondo Regency (63,81 years old).

Giving proper nutrition for mother and children is still lacking, it is also added with the minimum knowledge of the mothers upon the danger in the baby delivering process. Based on the data of Health Profile of East Java (2014: 48), the balanced nutrition supply in East Java, most of the city/regency can fulfill above the 60% of it except for the city/regency of Probolinggo. This regency is a place with most of the people working as workers in industry, so that most parents are busy at earning the money and lack in taking care of the children including in joining the kids in Posyandu. Apart from that,, in this region there are a lot of PAUD (Early Age Kid Education Center) that is not yet integrated with the activity of Posyandu.

Based on the observation result of the people of East Java in 2014, it is known that the mistakes on the parenting pattern contributes as much as 40.7% upon the issue of malnutrition, carried disease contribute as much as 28.8%, poverty contributes as much as 25.1% and other factor contribute for 5.4% (<http://humasprotokol.probolinggokota.go.id/index.php/id/kesehatan/170-128-persen-balita-kena-gizi-buruk.html>, accessed on 20 July 2014). The wrong parenting describe how low the knowledge of the individual especially the parents for the underage children. The low knowledge here is related to the nutrition habit of them which is not suitable and the level of participation in Elementary school and Senior Highschool that is still low here.

The decline of the rate of AKI and AKB is one of the targets from the Millennium Development Goal or MDGs. There are 8 goals on MDGs, two of them are related to the increase of the health for mother and the decrease of number of Death on Baby. In term of health of mother, the goals focus on handling the death of mother due to the delivering baby.

Indonesia still cannot reach the target of MDGs in term of health of mother. In Indonesia, the implementation of Development of Family like the one shown in The Verdict of Ministry of Female Empowerment and Children Protection (PPPA) No, 06/2013 was done as the attempt on

controlling the number of birth and the decrease of death of mother and children, increasing the nutrition supply as well as the education level, developing quality of the people on all layer, increasing strength and the prosperity of family, preparation and the control upon marriage as well pregnancy. They are all done so that people can be strong human resources for the development and the strength of the family so that they are able to compete with other nations and able to enjoy the result of the development fairly and evenly.

The high rate of AKI in Indonesia is due to some things, which are the complication that happens at the baby delivering moment and after the labor, unintended pregnancy that happen among the teenagers, cultural values about marriage that cause the women bear the baby in a young age, the lacking of knowledge on the mothers about the system and the health of the reproduction system and the pregnancy process, the strong prohibition as well as the lacking of knowledge upon the pregnancy that impacted towards the pregnant woman, the cultural rules that “allow” pregnant women on the final months or even the newly pregnant to do their daily chores as well as economical works, the limited facility of health and the medical workers, the strong position of the shaman at helping in giving birth, also the lacking of males involvement in the process of pregnancy and baby delivering. While, the high rate of Death of Baby (AKB) is caused by the asphyxia, low weight at born (BBLR), premature, pneumonia, and congenital deviation. The high rate of AKB obviously cannot be separated from the condition of the pregnant women.

Cultural factor is related to underage marriage that allows them to have their first pregnancy in such an early age, it still be one of the determinant factors of the cause of the high rate of Death of Mother. Underage marriage is begun by the premarital pregnancy that causes lots of parents eventually make their children marry soon. In many cases, the underage marriage is done by faking the data, especially by adding the age of the children so that they can legally marry. Even in many cases, the underage children are married without the registration of the government so that they do not have marriage certificate that will close the access upon health service as well as any other civil rights. On the other side, the underage marriage becomes the factor that boost the high number of the women to quit from the school, since the married women commonly drop out of the school. With that fact, there is a double trouble for the daughter. The underage children impacts many sectors, especially creating an attempt to make female become poor.

Reducing the number of AKI and AKB in Indonesia obviously needs a synergy between the government, through various policy in health sector, and the community. The understanding that AKI and AKB are also related to the matter of cultural is also needed to be improved more.

Village plays a major role in helping the reducing of the number of AKI, AKB, improving the balanced nutrition supply, life expectancy and reducing the poverty. The spirit of the UU No. 6/2014 put the village head not as the extended arm of the government, but as the leader of the people. It means that village head must get real close to the people, accommodate and provide the service for

the people. To keep the accountability, then it is better to establish Village Consultative Agency (BPD) as the forum of communication in building and developing the potential of its region especially related to the building of the family to create gender equality, female empowerment, protection and children growth and development. The increasing role of the BPD as the forum of communication and mediation in creating the strength on the family has two benefits. First, BPD as the mean of communication and information in the policy making in village level. So that through BPD a village can create various programs that aim to reduce the AKI and AKB, increase the balanced nutrition supply, life expectancy and decrease poverty. Second, BPD acts as the place to develop the capacity of the institution of community base to create the strength of the family in the village.

The importance of building the critical awareness of women in making and strengthening the base of the women group in various regions is to push the improvement of function and role of women as well as the fulfillment of females' right. In the context of UU of the village, the strengthening position of women in the BPD is definitely needed, especially since the rule (UU) requires the presence of women participation in BPD. In this case, the involvement of women in BPD as well as in the agenda of Musrenbangdes (Discussion on the Plan of Village Development) becomes crucial to bring the aspiration and needs of women in the planning of Village Development. So far, the position of women in Musrenbangdes is only the “spectators” so that their voice is never heard. Partnership becomes the crucial keyword in reducing AKB and AKI, improving balanced nutrition supply, life expectancy and decreasing the poverty. This partnership can be in the form of attempt of cooperation between communities, governmental institution, NGO, and other civil organization to reach the goal together. Some of the cooperation of partnership between stakeholders here are quite successful in some regions.

The presence of shaman is closely related to the context of culture in society, it is also because of the lacking of number of health workers distribution in villages. Various researches indicate that the choice of going to the shaman is often done because the pregnant women feel safer when they see the shaman, or because of the financial factor since delivering the baby with the help of a shaman is more affordable.

Although there is a rule that prohibit the women to deliver the baby at home, since the distribution of the facility of health and the health workers that are not enough, it pushes the high rate of pregnant women to give birth to their children through the help of non-medical workers, in this case is the shaman. Apart from that, the strong position of the shaman is also caused by the work of the shaman that is willing to assist the pregnancy before the labor, when delivering the baby, even post-labor period (even 40 days after the labor). Different from the midwife or other medical workers who commonly only help before the labor and when the labor happen. In many places, midwives commonly only have the medical check-up once in post-labor period, and the mother does not get any other

medical support.

To achieve the target of decreasing AKB and AKI, the improvement of balanced nutrition supply, life expectancy and decreasing the poverty, then the approach of creating the discipline and multi-stakeholder must focus on attention. The partial health policy will never be sufficient without the involvement of community and the understanding upon the context of cultural society. Then the target of reducing AKB and AKI, the improvement of balanced nutrition supply, life expectancy and decreasing the poverty will never be achieved, especially that now Indonesia will face the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The hope is with the involvement of community and understanding how the cultural context works, Indonesia can reduce AKB and AKI, the improvement of balanced nutrition supply, life expectancy and decreasing the poverty significantly.

The problem on AKB and AKI, the improvement of balanced nutrition supply, life expectancy and decreasing the poverty never happen in Tengger Tribe although Tengger Tribe is the part of Probolinggo Regency. Tengger tribe frequently has traditional ritual such as the eceremony of Kasada, Karo, Unan-unan, Entas-entas, PujanMubeng, Tugelkunceng or Tugel Gombak, Barikan, Liliwet, even ceremony on birth, death, and marriage. In fact, there are still many other rituals done in Tengger Tribe.

The tradition and ceremonies of Tengger tribe indicate that the knowledge and the local wisdom deserve to be kept. The rise of UU No. 6 of 2014 about Village, article 4 point C explains that a village has a duty to preserve and develop the culture, tradition, and custom of the people. However, on the other side, the Permen PPPA No. 06/2013 about the implementation of Family Building mention that the Family Development is intended to control the birth rate and reduce of death of mother and also the baby, improve the nutrition supply and level of education, development quality of people on all dimension, improvement of strength and prosperity of family, preparation and setting on marriage as well as pregnancy so that people can be strong human resources for the development and strength of the nation, also to be able to compete with other nations, and able to enjoy the development fairly and evenly.

The integration between UU No. 6 of 2014 about Village with the Permen PPPA No. 06/2013 about the implementation of Family Building needs the establishment of forum of communication. Forum of communication is a mediation process in the form of dialogues in handling the different views, beliefs, importance and wisdom. However, we admit that there are contradiction of values between UU No. 6 of 2014 about Village with the Permen PPPA No. 06/2013. UU No. 6 of 2014 articles 56 to 65 has already controlled the Village Consultative Agency as the institution that works as government representative. With such recognition, then the establishment of the communication forum through the Village Consultative Agency can be made into reality.

The establishment of the forum of communication through Village Development Institution gives the chance for women and women organization in local level to work in politics, social-culture, and economy. The improvement of role in politics can be in the form of choosing the Village

Chief, Village Officers, and Village Consultative Agency. Contributing to social-culture can be done through the custom institution. In economy, it can be done through the BUMD so that the work of female in Tengger Tribe can be a method of doing the development of values of gender equality, female empowerment, protection and children growth and development in creating the strength of family.

ISSUE OF RESEARCH

The issue covers: (1) how social, culture, health, economy, and politics in Probolinggo Regency are included in Tengger Tribe in a matter of AKI, AKB, and malnutrition. (2) how the role of BPD in handling the health of the mother, baby, malnutrition and reducing poverty as the implementation of UU no. 6 of 2014 about Village.

METHODOLOGY

In terms of obtaining empirical data and information, this research uses descriptive method with quantitative approach. There are several steps that are used: (1) Determining the Location of Research purposively in Probolinggo Regency. The considerations taken in deciding Probolinggo Regency include: First, Maternal Mortality Rate (AKI) and Infant Mortality Rate (AKB), malnutrition and low education level in Probolinggo Regency are in the first position in East Java if compared to other Regencies. Second, Probolinggo Regency is the contributor of the cases of Maternal Mortality Rate (AKI) and Infant Mortality Rate (AKB), malnutrition, and low education level. However, on the other hand, Tengger tribe possesses local wisdom such as traditional ceremonies like Kasada, Karo, Unan-Unan, Entas-Entas, PujanMubeng, Birth, TugelKuncungor Tugel Gombak, Marriage, Death, Barikan, and Liliwet. Third, there is still a superstition regarding pregnancy and their belief in shaman to help the birth process. Fourth is the low access of poor residents to acquire health service because their health status is still left behind. Fifth, there are some difficulties to obtain/ utilize the qualified and affordable facilities and health professionals for poor women. The motivation of midwives to live in villages is low due to the lack of incentives, particularly for the placement in rural and poor areas. Seven, public health facility to provide reproduction health service for women is still very limited; (2) Data collection which includes (a) observation and (b) in-depth interview; (3) Informant as the individual who has the insight and experience about the studied cases; (4) Technique as the Data Analysis of the collected data which is subsequently classified and identified based on the theme, and then analyzed.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Social, Culture, Health, Economy, and Politics in Probolinggo Regency Including in Tengger Tribe Regarding Maternal Mortality Rate (AKI) and Infant Mortality Rate (AKB), and Malnutrition

Probolinggo Regency is a region which has difference

in terms of region and religion. In region, it is differed from high area and low area. In religion, Probolinggo Regency also has different beliefs and traditions (Hefner, 1999;6-13). High area has strong Javanese religious tradition which emphasizes on ceremonies to pay respect to the protector of the village by holding the ceremonies. High area is mainly inhabited by Tengger tribe. Conversely, low area is one of the strong Islamic centers from Javanese tradition in Java, that many Islamic institutions were established by religious figures (in this case Kyais). Probolinggo Regency is one of the regencies in low area of which the Islamic influence is strong. It is mainly inhabited by Madurese people who migrated to Probolinggo.

Health problem, Maternal Mortality Rate (AKI) and Infant Mortality Rate (AKB) are very high. According to the data of Department of Health of Probolinggo Regency in 2014, the life expectancy (UHH) in Probolinggo Regency was considered low compared to the other 38 Regencies/Cities in East Java. Maternal Mortality Rate (AKI) and Infant Mortality Rate (AKB) were still quite high, morbidity and mortality due to contagious diseases were still quite serious problems. People's nutritional status were still concerning and marked with the finding of malnourished children in several districts and the active participation from the people in clean and healthy life (PHBS) and alert village were still low, particularly in rural areas.

People's health and lifestyle in Probolinggo Regency are seen from the condition of lacking the sanitation facility and the poor clean and health behavior in the society. Therefore, the prevalence of environment-based diseases is high, such as Acute Upper Respiratory Tract Infection, Primary High blood pressure, disease of muscle and connective tissue system and many more in Probolinggo Regency. According to the data from Department of Health of Probolinggo Regency in 2015, even those diseases were considered as the most frequent cases in Probolinggo Regency.

Besides health problem, Probolinggo Regency also possesses unemployment problem which still becomes one of the center of gravity in development. The number of unemployment in 2014 reached 8,813 people or 11,398 down compared to the data in 2013. It made the number of unemployment in 2014 reached 8,813 people or 11,398 down compared to the data in 2013. It made the number of Probolinggo Regency down to 1.47% or in each 100 productive people, there are 1 up to two people who are unemployed. Compared to the number in 2013, the Open Unemployment Rate showed the reduction for about 1.85%. With this reduction, the number of unemployed civils was decreasing. It started to show the result of government's effort to reduce unemployment in Probolinggo Regency.

One of the reasons of undeniable unemployment problem is the mindset of some people who think that ideal job is in government institution or company. Meanwhile, in the two lines, the available job opportunity is still low. Another problem in the field of employment is the low quality of the labor in Probolinggo Regency.

According to Indonesia Statistics (BPS) of East Java, the percentage of poverty in Probolinggo Regency is in the third position in East Java Province, or for 22.2%. The first

and second positions are Sampang Regency and Bangkalan Regency with the percentage or 27.9% and 24.7%, respectively, from the total of their citizens.

Another problem is the number of early marriage (under the age of 16-20 years old) in Probolinggo Regency that is quite high. From the total of 4,017 marriages recorded until the end of May 2016, 1,811 (45.08%) were included in early marriage category.

In order to reduce the number of early marriage, Board of Women's Empowerment and Family Planning (BPPKB) of Probolinggo Regency has intensively socialized the Maturation Age of Marriage (PUP) to the society. Early marriage will affect high number of divorce, increasing birth of adolescence that causes the increase of Total Fertility Rate (TFR), and high maternal and infant mortality rate.

The highest number of early marriage is in Krucil District, from the total of 245 marriages, 152 marriages (62%) were included as early marriage category. The next is Tiris District, from the total of 358 marriages, 177 marriages (49%) were included as early marriage category. The cause of marriage under 18 years old is culture, poverty, and parents' education background. There is a label in Probolinggo society that if parents do not immediately wed their children, they will be considered 'not selling'.

Early marriage will negatively affect the woman during pregnancy. Besides being vulnerable of maternal mortality, the life expectancy of the infant tends to be very minimal. It is caused by the immature age of the parents that it will endanger the parents themselves and the infants.

Early marriage will affect the immature family planning. It will affect the harmony of household. The number of divorce in Probolinggo Regency, based on Religious Courts in Kraksaan in 2014 was 3,578 people. Meanwhile, in 2015 in August, it reached 2,356 people. In 2014, number of divorce case reached 1,602 people, and from these, the cases were mostly submitted by women.

Pre-school level in Probolinggo Regency can be said that the children have not yet entered education; however, it can also be said that there are people in Probolinggo Regency who do not hold any education. These people are the ones living in low area (mainly Madurese). They think that the most important thing is to be able to read Holy Quran. This makes some of them not go to school and are illiterate. Generally, they do not feel ashamed of being illiterate but if they cannot read Holy Quran, they will be ashamed and feel discriminated by the society. The education applied in Madurese community is very much associated to Islam. Most of the people at the age of 40 years old state that they did not go to formal school.

Different from Sukapura District in Probolinggo Regency which is mainly inhabited by Tengger tribe, there is responsibility to study for 9 (nine) years, 6 (six) years in Elementary School level and 3 (three) years in Junior High School level. They are obliged to study up to Junior High School level once they are graduated from Elementary School level or at the age of 13-15 years old. This program is called One-Roof Education (Satap) which is very successful in Sukapura District as a referential program in Probolinggo Regency and national program.

One-Roof Education is a development in the form of regular Junior High School of which the location is integrated or close to the location of the supporting Elementary School in rural, isolated, and separated areas. This program becomes the manifestation of the willingness to implement the legislation in giving education service for all people. One-Roof Education becomes a very important program to increase the quality of human resource, and education is a basic need for everyone to be fulfilled.

One-Roof Education in Tengger tribe obtains strong support from the central and regional government, head of sub-district, and local shamans. The teachers in Sukapura district were given incentives for IDR 750,000/ year. The effectiveness of learning process is induced by other supporting facilities such as adequate textbooks and student books, library, laboratories (Science, language, computer) and many more.

Specifically, Government Regulation Number 6 of 2013 on Implementation of Family Development Policy, aims at: (i) encouraging the application of the concept of endurance and prosperity of the family with gender perspective to all development activities of which the target is family; (ii) encouraging the increasing of implementation of family development policy in each Ministry/ Institution, Province Regional Government, Regency/ City and Sub-District; (iii) developing a new policy to complete the fulfillment of implementation of family endurance development policy that is hoped to refer to the concept of endurance and prosperity which includes: legal base and family integrity; physical endurance; economical endurance; social psychology endurance; and socio-culture endurance (in Article 3 and 4 of Regulation of Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Number 6 of 2013 on Implementation of Family Development).

Study about Sub-District development and Family development is needed to explore the potential of social, culture, economy, and politics of the Sub-District (in this case, particularly Tengger tribe and generally Probolinggo Regency) in order to build qualified human resources, build independence, endurance, and prosperity of families. A study about sub-district community which can explain the local potential includes making a communication forum as the attempt to support the development of family endurance to realize gender equality, women's empowerments, and children protection and growth.

Maximizing the Role of Sub-District Consultative Body in Managing the Health of Mother and Infant, Malnutrition, and Decreasing Poverty as the Implementation of Indonesian Legislation Number 6 of 2014 on Sub-District

Regarding the implementation of regional autonomy, the system of sub-district governance starts to be transparent and accountable and obtains participation from the people in implementing such governance. In Indonesian Legislation Number 6 of 2014 on Sub-District Article 1 section 1 mentions that:

Sub-District is the region which has integrated legal

people who has the boundary which is authorized to regulate and execute governmental affairs and local public interest based on the people's initiatives, original rights, and/ or traditional rights acknowledged and respected in the government system of Republic of Indonesia.

Referring to Article 1 section 1 of Indonesian Legislation Number 6 of 2014, it is very clear that sub-district has its own government. Sub-District Government includes Head of Sub-District, Sub-District Authorities, and Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD). Head of Sub-District is the leader in implementing the sub-district governance based on the policy which is stipulated with Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD).

In Indonesian Legislation Number 6 of 2014, Article 56 up to Article 65 have regulated the function of sub-district governance completed with Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD). Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) is functioned to protect the customs, arrange sub-district regulations (Perdes), collect and deliver people's aspiration, and monitor the sub-district governance. In explanatory text of Indonesian Legislation Number 6 of 2014, it is emphasized that the monitoring function of Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) includes the monitoring towards the implementation of sub-district regulations (Perdes) of which the implementation is stipulated by the decree of Head of Sub-District. For those who care about the empowerment of sub-district people, this information can be a base of need assessment, in understanding the need of the people and the problems encountered in the attempt to develop and empower the political people in Sub-District community. From that process, it can be formulated that there is a pattern of joint action towards problem solving for the development and empowerment of political people in Sub-District community. Therefore, Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) becomes an adequately authoritative democratic body in Sub-District level.

Delivering people's aspiration to Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) is frequently done both individually and together by direct submission to the member of Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) in citizen association (RW) in order to discuss the problem or the ongoing program by the Sub-District Government.

Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) in synergy process with the Head of Sub-District aiming to build democratic governance is: (1) the role of Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) in running the government in Sub-District and monitoring the implementation of the authority of sub-district governance in the case of manipulation of authority and power of Sub-District government in governing. (2) Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) also playing the role in stipulating Sub-District's regulation together with Head of Sub-District. (3) Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) playing the role as working partner with the Head of Sub-District and the officials, which means that Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) and the Head of Sub-District need to work together in implementing the Sub-District programs. Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) holds consultative task with the Head of Sub-District in order to arrange and stipulate policies in governing and executing Sub-District development. Fur-

thermore, Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) is also obliged to assist the smoothness of the Head of Sub-District's duties. (4) Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) expected to play its roles in relation with the Sub-District government and the people by encouraging the growth of participation of the people in Sub-District. (5) Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) as a media to collect people's aspiration.

From the result of Focus Group Discussion and in-depth interview, Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) in Probolinggo Regency can be considered as democratic. It is due to the fact that the cooperation between Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) and the Head of Sub-District in synergy is good. Actually, there have been many programs to realize the development of family endurance towards family prosperity by central and regional government. The examples are, empowerment program for poor family, Direct Cash Subsidy (BLT) for seniors, Hope for the Family Program (PKH) for health and education, National Program of People Empowerment (PNPM) as the attempts to reach family endurance.

In fact, regional government of Probolinggo Regency has implemented various programs of family endurance development to reach family prosperity as mentioned in Indonesian Legislation Number 52 of 2009 on development of citizenship and family development which extensively regulates the citizenship and family development in accordance with the current condition nationally and internationally. Also, Regulation of Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Number 06 of 2013 on Implementation of Family Development is done as the attempt to control birth and reduce mortality in both mother and infant, improve nutrition and education, develop the people's quality in all dimensions, improve family endurance and prosperity, prepare and regulate marriage and pregnancy so that the people become strong human resources for national development and endurance and are able to compete with other nations, and can relish the result of development evenly.

However, program of family endurance development cannot be implemented maximally. There are several problems encountered by the Head of Sub-District and Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) in Probolinggo Regency. *First*, lacking of human resource from the Sub-District is due to the fact that many people have low level of education that they do not understand the program. Many of the people in Sub-District do not understand the importance of education because the parents do not think about their children's education. Therefore, Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) and Head of Sub-District need to cooperate in solving the low quality of human resource.

Second, the Sub-District government also needs the participation from the people for the development to be well-implemented since in implementing the development, the participation from the people is very important. However, the participation from the people in Probolinggo Regency is not enough to help the success of each program planned by the Sub-District government.

Third, the different perception of the Head of Sub-District and Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) in imple-

menting the development program causes the postponement of the program. The disagreement is due to some different interpretation in using different principals.

Different from other Sub-Districts, the Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) in Sukapura District of Tengger tribe really helps the Sub-District government, specifically in preserving custom, ecosystem sustainability, development activities, exploring potentials and influence in arranging Sub-District regulation together with the Head of Sub-District.

Custom which becomes the agreement between Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD) includes evoking the spirit of mutual cooperation and element of togetherness. With the development of the spirit of mutual cooperation, various development programs such as road work, building religious worship place and other facilities starts to be well-implemented in the form of cooperation.

Environmental damage also becomes the threat for ecosystem sustainability for the people of Tengger tribe. It is due to the fact that there were many cases of deforestation in the past which directly damaged the ecosystem sustainability that it can decrease the supporting capability of the environment. The people have submitted their aspiration regarding this to the Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD).

Through the Sub-District Government and Sub-District Consultative Body (BPD), various agreements have been taken regarding the Regulation of Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Number 06/ 2013 on Implementation of Family Development such as: preserving custom, tradition, and culture such as ceremonies of *Kasada*, *Unan-Unan*, *Entas-Entas*, *PujanMubeng*, Birth, *Tugel Kuncungor Tugel Gombak*, Marriage, Death, *Barikan*, and *Liliwet*. The interesting part is that Tengger tribe also accepts and implements the program of sub-district development from across central, province, or regional governments. It can be seen from the level of success of Tengger tribe as referential cultural sub-district in family development, gender equality, women empowerment, and protection and growth of children as explained by the Table below.

Table 1

The Programs That are Successfully Used in Family Development in Order to Achieve Gender Equality, Woman's Empowerment, Protection and Growth of Children in Tengger Tribe.

No.	Successful Program	Related Agencies	Information
1.	Diversity of food and food security	Department of Agriculture, Department of Forestry	The program was successful as an exemplary program in Probolinggo regency and national. It was able to trigger the highest per capita income in Probolinggo regency.
2.	Empowerment and Development of Animal Husbandry		

No.	Successful Program	Related Agencies	Information
3.	There is only one baby. Counseling about birth control. After giving birth, mother was immediately sterile.	National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN), Department of Health, Empowerment of Women and Children Services (BPP&KB) in Probolinggo regency.	Become a champion at the provincial and national level.
4.	Village Agribusiness Development. Each farmer group received a loan of Rp 100 million. This loan was repaid in 3 times, which must be paid per each harvest.	Department for Cooperatives Small and Medium Enterprises, Department of Manpower, Department of Industry and Trade	This program was successful and the loan of Rp 100 million had been fully returned. These loans did not have problems because custom of Tengger recognizes law of karma, if stealing one tree would lose 10 trees. When these loans were not returned, the losses would be about 10 times more than the loan amount. Tengger people like to work hard. They are friendly, and they are afraid of bad habit such as stealing because they are overshadowed by the law of karma that when stealing other people then the karma would come so that they would lose even more.
5.	Red worm farm for cosmetics.	Department for Cooperatives Small and Medium Enterprises, Department of Manpower, Department of Industry and Trade	The program was successful and as an exemplary program in Probolinggo and national.
6.	Forming Bina Keluarga Balita (BKB) for the care and attention to growth and development of infants. Taman Posyandu, Goal: Parents who had had children, and infants.	National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN), Department of Health, Empowerment of Women & Children Services in Probolinggo regency, and partnership with the counsalfive of family welfare (PKK),	
7.	Rising the maturity of age of marriage. The program aims to avoid 4T that are Too Young, Too Close for the Distance of Maternity Kids, Too Old, Too Often to Childbirth.		

No.	Successful Program	Related Agencies	Information
8.	Provide understanding for parents (especially mothers) who have teenagers about reproductive health and the dangers of promiscuity, drugs, and HIV / AIDS. Goal: Mothers in PKK program, religious organizations for women.		
9.	One Roof School Program. The program has developed primary school to junior high school. Teachers in the district Sukapura has been given an incentive of Rp 750,000 / year.	Department of Education and Culture	The program was successful and as an exemplary program in Probolinggo and national.
10.	Training and empowerment of sewing and embroidery.	Department for Cooperatives, Small and Medium Enterprise	
11.	Early Childhood Development (ECD) programs were synergized with the Department of Health in order to empower parents to control the protection and development of the children.	Department of Education, Department of Health held partnership with counsalfive of family welfare (PKK).	The program was successful and as an exemplary program in Probolinggo regency and national.
12.	The HIPAM (Association of Water Users) was formed, especially in areas with water scarcity in Jatak and Ngadas, Sukapura district. The use of this drinking water was delivered to people's homes.	Community Empowerment Agency	
13.	Coaching midwives to assist traditional birth attendant (TBAs).	Department of Health held partnership with Indonesian Midwives Association and Indonesian Family Planning Association.	
14.	Integrated Antenatal Care (examinations during pregnancy); a). Holding Integrated Pregnancy Screening Screening Program for early	Department of Health	The program was successful and as an exemplary program in Probolinggo regency and national. This causes very small maternal mortality and infant mortality number in the district Sukapura compared to

No.	Successful Program	Related Agencies	Information
	<p>detection by conducting some classes for pregnant women. This class for pregnant women is placed in every village. In every month, there is a midwife who comes to the pregnant women to detect pregnancy health.</p> <p>b). detection of high risk for pregnant woman.</p> <p>c). partnership with traditional birth attendants: they were invited to partner.</p>		to the entire districts in Probolinggo
15.	Giving services by providing information about diseases, for example, cancer, HIV-AIDS, and all matters relating to the reproductive health and disease	Department of Health	
16.	Early detection to the growth of baby and monitoring of nutritional status. Families who had children were encouraged to go integrated service post (Posyandu) or health clinic for early detection for the development of the baby.	National Family Planning Coordinating Board, Department of Health, Agency for Women's Empowerment and Family Planning, Empowerment of Women and Children in Probolinggo.	
17.	Early detection and monitoring the use of iodized salt for Toddlers Iodized salt is very nutritious for toddlers. Therefore iodized salt is highly recommended. This early detection uses iodine test kits.		
18.	Free from defecation gratuitously. Although as a tourist location in Mount Bromo, there are public toilets in some strategic places.		Received an award from the World Bank. District Sukapura is the only and the most successful district in holding anti gratuitous defecation.
19.	Forming Breastfeeding Supporters Group		In district Sukapura, babies are breastfed exclusively for 6 months. This is what causes infant mortality is low compared to other districts in Probolinggo

No.	Successful Program	Related Agencies	Information
20.	Generating UPPKS program (An attempt to increase revenue of a welfare family) with the assistance of appropriate technology and tools to improve business of chips.	UPPKS is a small enterprise program constructed by Department of Industry and Trade.	Banana and potato chips are well known in the district of Sukapura. This causes the level of economical family's income increases in Sukapura.
21.	Savings and credit cooperatives to improve family's income increases in Sukapura.	Department for Cooperatives, Small and Medium Enterprises, Department of Industry and Trade.	Saving and credit cooperative in Sukapura is the best among other districts in Probolinggo, because the transparency of financial and the residents always return the loans on time. These loans do not have problems since the custom of Tengger people recognizes the law of karma, if stealing one tree, they will lose 10 trees for the karma. When these loans are not returned, they will lose about 10 times more than the loan amount.
22.	Understanding an Event Bhakti Gotong Royong Month		Ngadisari village in district Sukapura won the award as the best village in the event Bhakti Gotong Royong Month in East Java, 2013. That was supported by the presence of the spirit of unity, mutual assistance and self-sufficiency based on social values of local culture and religion. The spirit of togetherness, mutual help and self-reliance are very entrenched and institutionalized in life of Tengger tribe, so they can live in harmony and peace.

Source: processed by the researcher

The village head or cultural village (*desa adat*) is also called the head of the village administration or cultural village led by organization of the village administration. The village head or cultural village has an important role in his capacity as head of state's command successor. He must always be close to the people as the leader of the village. With such position, the Village Consultative Agency (BPD) has a duty and an important function in preparing the Village administration's policy.

Village Consultative Agency can be described as institutions that perform the functions of government whose members are representatives of the village community, based on a specific area, and determined democratically.

Village Consultative Agency is a consultative agency at the village that discusses and makes agreement upon poli-

cies in the administration of the village, including deliberation and agreement on the strategic implementation of the Government's policies in the Village. The results of village meetings form an agreement which is concluded into the results of consultation. Then it is positioned as a basis, by the BPD and village administration, to establish policies. The village community has the right to propose or provide suggestion to the Head of Village and BPD in the process in preparing the Village Regulations.

As a consequences, the villlage administration plans development strtegy in accordance with the authority refering to the development planning of Regency / City. The document of village development planning is the only one document in the village and as a basis for preparing the Village Budget. Village Development Planning was held with participation of village communities through communication forum organized by BPD.

Communication forums made by BPD set priorities, programs, activities and needs of village development that are funded by the Budget of the Village, community donation , and or the Budget of the Regency / City, based on the assessment of the needs of village communities. Village development is ruled by the village administration and BPD with a spirit of mutual cooperation and exploits local potential and natural resources of the village. The implementation of the program will be informed to the village authorities and integrated with BPD. BPD is entitled to get the information and monitor the plan and the implementation of the village development.

In the unity of customary law communities of Tengger, they are known for their traditional institutions, led by a shaman, which has proliferated in the lives of the people. In its existence, customary law community has the jurisdiction customs and rights on properties within the area of customary law and has the right and authority to manage, administer, and solve various problems of life of village communities in terms of customs and customary law. Customary institutions are partners of village institution (in this case, the head of village) and BPD in empowering society of Tengger tribe.

According to the chairman of the BPD, Mr Bambang said:

"The role of BPD in capturing the aspirations of the people for rulemaking village is quite good and open, they invite the people to ask for their opinions before creating the rules of village and thus they can capture the will of the society".

It is also justified by the villagers of Ngadisari:

"All the relevant regulations relating to the village, we were invited to be consulted, because in the village regulations also include all customs of Tengger tribe".

From these statements, it seems that the customs become a booster for the local community in providing a sense of togetherness to build the village. In this forum, the community becomes a learning model to deliver the aspirations. The distribution of these aspirations assist people in expressing their opinions. Submitting proposal is important for the sake of development in the village, even

the people can learn to make programs that had never been previously obtained. The process of expressing aspiration is channeled through the mechanism of the village meetings.

The presence of BPD based on Undang-undang No. 6 of 2014 on village administration and BPD brings a good atmosphere to the people in the village to deliver their aspirations. Duties and functions of BPD are very dominant. It serves as the legislative agency which is responsible for overseeing the village chief task that was once identical with particular interests.

CONCLUSION

Based on the data collected, it can be deduced that:

1. The function of family institution and community institutions play an important role in society of Tengger tribe in Probolinggo regency as shown by the data in the previous chapters. Current condition of family and institutional village showed that although there was a shift in values and behaviors as a result of modernization, it is actually a challenge to build and strengthen the family institution and institutional in Tengger tribe. However, the community of Tengger tribe has extraordinary strength and resilience that come from local social capital and an opportunity to strengthen the fuction of families and institutional of Tengger communities.
2. Social power of Tengger tribe is on the values of local tradition and a willingness to keep the spirit of togetherness, mutual cooperation and community self-reliance that is entrenched and institutionalized in Tengger community. Values and the spirit of togetherness, mutual cooperation and community self-reliance are social values that always grow all the time in the Tengger tribe. Those can be well maintained and thanks to the consistency of public participation to build the village.
3. With such values, the Village Regulations, and the administration under it, opportunities of Families and Institutional in developing the village to achieve Gender Equality, Women's Empowerment, Protection & Growth of Children will open if they are well implemented. The programs that are managed in Tengger tribe could be adopted as an exemplary program for Regency / City at local, regional and national levels. Because the family development program achieves gender equality, women's empowerment, protection and growth of the children, this region is often awarded at the provincial, national and international level.
4. A variety of social, cultural, economical, and political things in Village community, particularly from the family, the village Institutional, and Human Resources plays an active role and carries out the mandate of Village regulations. That is the importance of values and customary practices following the role of the village chief who is also a cultural lead-

er and knowing about the observance of the values that must be adhered in the form of respecting the balance of nature. Village Head / cultural leader in this role is the actor who drives the changes in gender equality, women's empowerment, protection and

growth of the children. This shows and proves that people of Tengger tribe have the ability to transform the culture and structure at the same time. It is the idea that human consciousness is the center and the key to implement the changes.

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E-KTP as the Formal Identity in Election

Penyusun :

• **Anieq Fardah**

Student of Magister
Political Sciences
Universitas Airlangga

Abstract

This Paper will track down the use of E-KTP as the formal identity that is used in the election that can also become the electoral safety net. According to the New Electoral Constitution Number 10 / 2016 verses 57, it is said that “to use the electoral rights the citizen must be recorded in the voter list, or if they are not recorded, the citizen must use the e-KTP to vote”. E-KTP in that electoral constitution becomes the legal evidence for the citizenship and the ownership of right to vote. Can E-KTP answer all the voter list and the voter registration problems that occur in Indonesia? Or the compulsory rule of the use of E-KTP tends to threaten the eligibility of voter in the Indonesian Election.

PREFACE

Indonesian Electoral Commission is facing the enormous voter list problems on the Local Election that will be done simultaneously in about 101 provinces and cities in Indonesia. The New Electoral Constitution Number 10 / 2016 verse 57 said “to use the electoral rights the citizen must be recorded in the voter list, or if they are not recorded, the citizen must use the e-KTP to vote”. E-KTP in that electoral constitution becomes the legal evidence for the citizenship and the ownership of right to vote. In other words, e-KTP has become a political tool for the citizens to claim their right to vote and to be voted. The voter list provisions should be distinctive, comprehensive, and detailed about the defining of citizenship, so the rights to vote and to be voted are valid for the citizens in all ethnics, cultures, and social class in Indonesia. The voter registration that

later becomes the voter list has evolved to a new level in Indonesia. In Indonesian electoral history, voter registration became one of the essential foundations on election steps. Those steps determine whether this or that election can be classified to a democratic election or otherwise. The international covenant that shapes the parameters of electoral democracy emphasized the electoral constitution in Indonesia. One of the compulsions of the voter registration that becomes the voter list is to accommodate all the eligible voters. Moreover, the standards of fair implementation of voter list provision are:¹ (1) The democratic quality aspect and, (2) The standard of technical advantages

Indonesia believes that election is the best way to arrange systematically the political turnover. As the electoral commission that is responsible for the flawlessness of elec-

¹ International Standard on Elections

tion, the organization has to contend to the electoral justice and electoral integrity problems for the citizens that are eligible to vote. In many cases found by the election observer, so many citizens do not have formal and legitimate identities, have double identities, and despite having the formal identities, some citizens avoid the voter registration system. Before 2003 election, international countries believe that Indonesia was not part of democratic countries. There were electoral voter list malpractices that have been recorded before 2003 election, such as² the following: 1. Voter Registration that was heavy on one party, 2. Exclusive Voter Registration,³ Manipulative Voter Registration,

Certainly, the observers still found that malpractice even in recent elections and its break the integrity of election commission.³ This paper will try to answer the discussion about the cost and benefit about the compulsory rules of e-KTP in Election Constitution. Who is responsible for the degree of accuracy of election voter list? Who is taking the responsibilities for the e-KTP as safety net on the voter registration that becomes the voter list? In addition, how will the Election Commission cope with the thread of the rise of Absentee Voters that are caused by the incision of the citizens that are not registered at the voter list and neither have e-KTP?

Since Voting is not compulsory in Indonesia, there is no consequences of not going to the polling station. But the voter turnout in Indonesia is relatively higher than other countries that has the same rule. On the latest parliamentary vote, Japan has 52.66% with 55,334,447 voters going to the polling station.⁴ Thailand has 46.79% with 43,024,000 voters going to the polling station.⁵ In Myanmar parliamentary vote, it has 69.72% with 23,911,784 voters coming to the polling station.⁶ Indonesia has 75.11% with 139,573,927 voters coming to the polling stations.⁷ This data may not be valuable for the electoral integrity if the voter registration process was not well functioned. In 2014 the Indonesian Election Commission had a great success to bring a conducive legislative and presidential election with no chaos and violence. Despite the malpractices that happened in several places in Indonesia, there are praises for the election process from abroad. Indonesia's transparent presidential election in 2014 has gained praises as being a perfect example among the Asian countries. The chairperson of the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL), the USA President Barack Obama said that Indonesia is an example of democracy, tolerance and pluralism in the world despite having the largest Muslim population. He cited the recent election as a proof of the functioning democracy in

Indonesia.⁸ Indonesia, the world's third-largest democracy, has become more transparent in reporting the election results, as the analysts said during the UNDP-sponsored public discussion.⁹

The electoral framework regulation keeps flourishing due to some deficiencies found in the last national and local elections. The most recent problems occur in the voter registration process in Indonesia, referring to the New simultaneously Local Election Regulation Number 10 / 2016 verses 57 saying that "to use the electoral rights the citizen must be recorded in the voter list, or if they are not recorded, the citizen must use the e-KTP to vote". There are hundreds of thousands of Greater Jakarta residents whose right to vote could be lost because they have no electronic identity card (e-ID). The election commissions and its regional offices are being urged to keep disseminating the information and encouraging the citizens who have no e-ID to record their personal data or to apply for a letter from the Population and Civil Registry Agency.¹⁰

GLOBAL PRINCIPLES

There are Global principles for both civil register and voter registrations.¹¹ All of them were derived from the "Universal and Equal Suffrage" like Equal Suffrage. The universal term determines broader aspects that affect the civil registry and the voter registration. These principle are;

A. Integrity means that the process of voter registrations must be fair, honest, and hardly demanding. *B. Inclusiveness* means that every voter and people who is eligible are included in the voter list and must be recorded without exception. *C. Comprehensiveness* means that every person that is eligible in that country should be registered in the voter list, including the vulnerable, marginalized people, people with disabilities, women, young voter, and people in remote area. *D. Accuracy* means that the height degree of accuracy requires striving and eagerness from the electoral commission and the registration officer. The officer has to be equipped well with both the mindset and the technical tools. *E. Accessibility* means that there should be no barriers to be included in the voter registration systems. Every citizen or person who is eligible to vote is easily access to information about registration systems. *F. Transparency* means that there is no prohibition to any person, organization, or political party to access to the voter list when the voter list are functionally used for the electoral purpose. *G. Security* means that all the voterlist data should be protected from the human error and missing, and should be preserved even in the big disaster. *H. Accountability*

² ACE-Electoral Knowledge Network, "Quality Standard of Voter List"

³ Aribowo, Pemilu 1999; Transisi dan negara lemah, dalam buku Model-Model Sistem pemilihan di Indonesia, Pusdeham, Surabaya, 1999

⁴ <http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?id=114>

⁵ <http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?CountryCode=TH>

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⁸ <https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2014/11/10/055620942/obama-prais-es-indonesia-for-democracy>

⁹ <http://www.un.or.id/id/news/826-indonesia-praised-for-transparency-of-its-election-results>

¹⁰ <http://print.kompas.com/baca/english/2016/10/13/Without-E-ID-Voting-Rights-Can-Be-Voided>

¹¹ Civil and Voter Registries: Lesson Learned From Global Experience, edited by Michael Yard. IFES, USAID, Washington DC, 2011

means that all data should be updated and maintained under the regulation framework, and all decisions made had to be publicly released. *I. Credibility* means that both maintaining the public trust and the public assurance is a must for KPU as the responsible part for the voter list. *J. Sustainability* means that EMB had to keep the voter list data, every time it is updated, and is maintained consistently and compatibly with the electoral schedule. *K. Cost effectiveness* means that the voter registration is one of the highest cost of the election part. EMB and budget providers should consider several ways to save the cost, but not lessen the quality of the voter list.

HISTORY OF VOTER REGISTRATIONS

The Electoral rights have similar urgencies compared to natural rights. The right to vote implies how a citizen uses his sovereignty to a better natural right achievement. Person entitled to vote should be able to register, and any manipulation of registration and the voting itself, such as intimidation or coercion, should be prohibited by law. The election should be based on the principle of “one person, one vote”. The drawing of electoral boundaries and the methods of vote allocation should not distort the distribution of voters or discriminate against any social groups.¹² Therefore, this new local election regulation tends to collide the universal rights to vote, the citizens who are eligible to vote might not use their rights if e-KTP issues still emerge.

The history of voter registration in Indonesia is not free from the problems and malpractice. In 1955 the first election that was held also had a system of voter registration, and the requirement of voter at that time is a citizen with at least 18 years old, and was or has been married before. The member of military and police army were eligible to vote. There were no restriction for army to use their right to vote.¹³ This regulation shows that in early electoral practice, Indonesia has no intention to violate the International rules and convention about human rights to vote and to be voted. Everyone and every citizen use their right to vote without fear, discriminations, and intimidation.

The next election was different. Based on the politics and social context at previous time, the change of leaderships and regime brought an enormous shift of electoral system. Voter registration system complied to the segregation of citizen based on the political streams. In 1971 elections, the voter registration used a concept of “former member of PKI (Indonesia Communist Party) should revoke their rights to vote. Every one who is involved, directly or indirectly to PKI cannot vote.¹⁴ The military and villagers committee held the investigation of involvements in PKI, and reported to the regional election committees.

¹² Goodwin Gill, Guy.S, Free and fair elections: International Law and practices Interparliamentary Union Geneva 1994

¹³ Regulation on constituante and electoral election number 7 in 1953 and Government Regulation (Peraturan Pemerintah) Number 9 year 1954

¹⁴ Regulation of legislative election number 15 year 1969

At that time the election committees was under the interior minister, and the entities were so close to the military regime. During the New Order (orde baru) was in charge, all citizens that had a connection on PKI and its cronies were not able to use their vote, and also not able to be recorded in the voter registration systems.

A long history of non-democratic election in Indonesia since 1971 until 1997 was ended in 1998 when a huge and massive demonstration happened and the new order collapsed. The new election system has changed drastically, the number of political parties also has increased to unimaginable amount. Every person and every organization can grow simultaneously and have the same right to be involved in the government administration, under the new rule. Since then, the refinement and enhancement of voter registration system is begun. The voter list fostering the political equality for all citizens has been embarked. KPU as the electoral management body in Indonesia maintains the voter rights with the internal regulations covering all eligible citizens without exceptions, including the disabled citizens, non registered citizens, and vulnerable residents.

INDONESIAN CIVIL REGISTRY AND VOTER REGISTRATIONS

The United Nation defines Civil Registration as the continuous, permanent, compulsory recording of the Occurrence and characteristic of vital event, as provided through the decree of regulations. In accordance with the legal requirement of each country¹⁵, Civil registration also defines which person is a citizen, which person is not a citizen, and which person who is temporarily a citizen. Civil Registration conducts the recognitions to each person based on the birth, death, marriage and divorce. Some other informations are provided such as address, birth place, religion/belief—in some countries, blood type, and Single Identification Number. Based on UNDP there are benchmark or standard for minimum data that civic registry must provide in a system such as add, change, correct, and reserve data related to an individual behalf.

This issue is related to the voter registration process on the electoral cycle in every election in Indonesia. The beginning age for vote in Indonesia is 17 years or was or has been married before, administratively affirmed by E-KTP. Technically, Indonesia uses the “continuous List” of voter registrations system, it means that voter list is maintained and regularly updated by the electoral commissions, and as a list of current eligible voters¹⁶ but in real application, KPU combines Continuous List with Civil Registry. In recent regulation of voter registration written in the Election Regulation Number 10 / 2016 about local election, the definite voter list from recent election becomes the temporary voter list of the next election. The maintenance and update for this temporary list become the responsibilities of election commissions in early election steps.

¹⁵ Handbook on Civil Registration and Vital Statistic system, United Nation, New York 1998

¹⁶ ACE-Electoral Knowledge Network “Voter Registration” and “Relevant Obligation”

E-KTP is used as the evidence of citizenships, and in the electoral voter admissions, it is used also as the voter identifications. In 2004 election, Indonesian Election Commission printed the electoral voter card. It was printed to give every registered voter a new identification and tools for evidence in a polling stations. In 2009 election, the policy of election card was terminated, in that election KTP as citizen identification card was used as a proof of voter registration and as additional information at the polling stations. Before identifying the advantages and disadvantages of using E-KTP for electoral registrations process, there were some obstacles that frequently happened in the voter registration system incision by updating E-KTP as the citizen identification card;

Civil registry in Indonesia is under the interior ministry administration. The studies about civil registry are not popular among the social and politics scholars, especially in the election major. Recent studies about civil registry in Indonesia are bound to E-KTP as a right for a citizen, and it has not been developed well due to several circumstances, such as the shortage of registry forms, the unstandardized length of completion, even the equipments that do not fulfill each district's needs. The assurance for the right of having identity for each citizen was acted in Population Administration Law number 24 of 2013.¹⁷ It is not acceptable if the government failed to serve the citizens with their identities in a certain time or failed to give the best to assure the citizens to easily access to their identities. There are reasons why the Government made a declaration that E-KTP can be used for a life time, as follows: 1. To decrease the complexity of personal identification, 2. To counter terrorism and crime, the single identification number must be fixed and definitive, 3. To standardize all the identification cards, 4. To assure the citizens about nationalities and citizenships. 5. One person has immutable identification, and it is efficient for both parties, the citizen and the government as the official institution, which is legally obligated to conduct E-KTP. The incision of Civil Registry and Voter Registration is wide and clear. Each institution, Election Commission, and the center of demographic affair are under the Interior Ministry that is responsible to conduct an election, is obliged to share and to build the Potential Election Voters Data (DP4).¹⁸

In the last and recent election there are issues that still cannot be avoided. These cases appear in both Civil Registry and Voter Registration, those are : (1) Double Identities, which means that one person has double identities, one person has two or more NIK (Single Identification Number) in two different cities or even in one cities, (2) People with no official identities, which means that some people are purposively not allowed to have identities. Some people are designed not to have an official identity card because they work in plain and they are intended to be invisible, the owner or the employer withhold the employee identity to socially and economically weaken

the employee. (3) People who has deceased but is still registered; this case often rises at the updating voter registration process. This cases are the good prey and issue for the media in voter registration on daily basis (4) Fake Address; this kind of problem really happens, especially in big cities with populous citizens. No one is willing to eject his KTP/Identity from a big city, which relatively has better transportation systems, shopping malls, and good health services. (5) Fake Identity; it has been easier for a felon to violate and fabricate a fake identification, since no instrument can read and prove that e-KTP is original and genuine. Indonesia Police Headquarter had found the 159 Forged E-KTP.¹⁹ The Forged e-KTP is physically identical and there are no differences with the real E-KTP except the biometrical eye scan, because all of the forged e-KTP have the same corneal identification. These problems are incisions from E-KTP and Voter registrations problems. Based on the geographical report, the citizen registry and the voter registrations depend on the enrollment officer and the officer at the entry level. KPU officially hires people who is registering the citizen door to door and also hires the computer professionals to do the data entry and to execute the data synchronization. Meanwhile the execution of e-KTP is held in every sub-district in Indonesia with unstandardized operational procedure. There is no certitude for the citizens about what documents to provide, how long the process will be taken, when the document can be accepted. E-KTP as a formal identity should become tools for the citizens to get their basic rights including the right to be registered in the voter list and the right to vote. If the first is violated, then the second is a must. In the new electoral law framework, the Electoral Constitution Number 10 / 2016 verses 57 said that "to use the electoral rights the citizen must be recorded in the voter list, or if they are not recorded, E-Ktp can be used to be the electoral safety net.

ELECTORAL SAFETY NET

The application of E-KTP in the election is clear and legal. If a citizen does not get an election invitation (C6) form and he/she is not registered in voter list, the citizen can use E-KTP and show it to the polling station officer, noted and verified, then he/she can do the vote at 12.00 a clock, at one hour to the closing time. This policy is functionate like a net for every citizen who wants to vote but not registered. Under the concept of universal and accessibility, E-KTP has brought the election to be the electoral safety net. The shortage of E-KTP Forms and the obstacle to replace e-KTP in the election should be well coped. There is no guarantee that using only E-KTP in the polling stations is accepted by the polling station officer (KPPS). There is also no guarantee that a person who uses E-KTP as legal identity to vote is not registered in another polling station (Double Registered).

According to the evidences and infirmities of E-KTP and the procedures to have it, the Government should act immediately and be responsive to every violation that im-

¹⁷ Undang-Undang no 23 tahun 2013 about civil registry

¹⁸ Surbakti, Ramlan DKK. Meningkatkan Akurasi Daftar Pemilih. Seri Publikasi: Materi Advokasi untuk perubahan undang-undang pemilu. Tahun 2011, Kemitraan Jakarta.

¹⁹ <http://print.kompas.com/baca/politik/2016/08/26/KTP-Elektronik-Diduga-Dipalsukan>

pair the integrity of overall election stages. The Government of Indonesia as a main stakeholder and KPU as the electoral management body should not do over the violations against the freedom to vote, like the authoritarian government has done in the “Orde Baru”. Both of them are responsible to develop a fresh and clean system of civil registry. In order to have the better voter list and voter reg-

istration systems, simplification of civil registry is needed to get a full coverage and attainable height degree of comprehensiveness of the voter list. That is why the E-KTP System has to be well supervised, well standardized, and inexpensive. Only then E-KTP is reasonable to be an electoral safety net.

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- UU no 9/ 1954 electoral election and Government Regulation (Peraturan Pemerintah)
- UU no 15/1969 electoral regulation for parliamentary member



Implementation Policy on UKM Cluster Development in East Java

Penyusun :

(a) • **Budi Prasetyo**

(b)(1) • **Rizca Yunike Putri**

(a)(b) Faculty of Social and
Political Sciences

Airlangga University
Kampus B Jalan
Dharmawangsa Dalam,
Surabaya 60286,
Indonesia

(1) Corresponding author.

Tel.: +62315034015

fax: +62315012442

E-mail address:
budiunair@yahoo.com

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Abstract

This study tries to conduct the research of capacity development of UKM in a good local government on economic clusters of brown sugar in East Java, especially in the brown sugar industry Kediri regency, East Java. Background of UKM capacity development in the good local government on the economic clusters will be able to increase the business capacity of the economy if done in synergy and not only support the development of the region that has a similar business but also the synergies in institutional efforts to work together to jointly face and solve the problems faced by economy business in the region with specific economic business clusters. Cooperatives are considered as a solution because by the cooperatives, the problems of economic enterprises faced alone or in small groups would be easier if faced and solved together in the form of cooperative economic enterprise jointly established by the small entrepreneurs in the economic clusters of red sugar UKM.

As an exploratory study with a qualitative approach that is useful for explaining the relationship of reciprocity, this study sets changes, compares them, and assess the effectiveness of a policy or program. The output of this study is aimed at a research of capacity development of UKM.

The results obtained are analysed using the qualitative method to obtain depiction potential establishment of cooperatives for the development of institutional capacity (capacity building) of cooperative based on cluster economies in East Java, especially on a cluster of brown sugar economy and then to make the policy recommendation as an effort to empower the brown sugar UKM through the development of cooperative institutions.

1. PREFACE

Development of UKM and cooperatives in Indonesia, at least could be judged from the four levels of development

policy. The development policy of UKM and cooperatives can be divided into four levels: the Meta level, the Macro level, the Meso level, and the Micro level. At the Meta level, the political will of the founders of this republic has

supported legislation to run clearly and firmly to cooperatives, as stated in Article 33 UUD 1945 and explanation. MPR RI also always includes the need for empowerment of UKM and cooperatives on any set of GBHN, and further reinforced by the Law No. 25 of 1992 concerning Cooperatives, and the Law No. 9 of 1995 on Small Business.

Capacity development of UKM in a good local government in the case of economic clusters will be able to increase the capacity of economic activities if done in synergy and also support the development of the region that has a similar business in the institutional efforts and work together to face and solve the problems faced by the economic enterprises in the area of cluster economic efforts, Cooperatives are considered as a solution because by the cooperatives, the problems of economic effort faced alone or in small groups would be easier if faced and solved together in the form of cooperatives economic effort jointly established by the small entrepreneurs in the economic clusters of brown sugar UKM.

Studies of clusters of UKM in Western Europe at least show that there are a number of factors, which make them able to thrive, among others: (1) In the center there is also a supplier of raw materials, production equipment, machinery, and components, sub-contractors, and manufacturers of finished goods. In addition to reducing the cost of production, it should work in synergy with each other and facilitate business linkages between them; (2) There is an existence of a combination of intense competition on the one hand, and good cooperation on the other hand, among the fellows of UKM. Thus creating collective efficiency levels (collective efficiency) is high; (3) In these clusters, there are service centers, mainly provided by local governments, which can be used collectively by all employers who were there; (4) UKM in the cluster is very flexible in the face of changes in the market, where it has created a good network, and smart innovations.

Based on the records of various agencies that were compiled by JICA Study Team (2002), at present there are at least 9,800 units of SME centers with the level of development of the degree of linkages in the cluster are generally still low. The number of UKM units observed in the center as an embryonic cluster is estimated at around 475,000 if seen from the distribution of about 58% of the existing centers located in Java, Bali and Nusa Tenggara.

Seen from the type of activity it is generally that grouping in sectors relating to the existing industrial cluster is 50% of the UKM in the food and beverage processing industry and textiles ISIC 31 ISIC 32. One proof is undeveloped cluster of relatively low levels of technology or the simple example in ISIC 31 ISIC 32 and ISIC 34.

This study uses the perspective of institutional development or commonly known as the development of institutional capacity (capacity building). But it still takes into account of various aspects that influence the development of UMKM like venture capital capacity, the capacity of human resources managers, business management capacity, network capacity and marketing of raw materials as well as external factors such as the business climate and government policy support.

Economic perspective in the cluster originated the ba-

sic idea, which revealed that the industrial centers were able to increase business competitiveness through several mechanisms, namely: (1) the gathering of workers with special specifications that are relevant to the needs of the industry (2) the availability of raw materials and facilities to support the industry, as well as (3) the dissemination of innovation. This concept also highlights the importance of externalities in development that will help provide a more practical understanding of the benefits of the resulting cluster.

Economic perspective sees clusters as a competitive strategy that is capable of spontaneity of giving economic benefits to members of the cluster. But the benefits of passive agglomeration must be supported by an active activity to encourage dynamism within clusters. Nevertheless, considering the important role of clusters in the cooperative performance boost, it is not only the existence of the cluster that can be seen from the pure economic point of view. Institutional policy perspective sees the cluster as institutional capacity building program that could planned, once evaluated and implemented to provide guidance for the policy makers.

Policies on macro level will determine whether or not the system is conducive and has economic conditions with the development UKM and cooperatives. Policies on macro level will determine the structure and level of market competition faced by the businessmen including UKM and cooperatives. The task of government (central and local) is to foster a conducive business climate for UKM and cooperatives, in which the UKM and cooperatives have attempted the same opportunities and the same burden compared to other businesses proportionately.

Challenges of development of UKM and cooperatives in Indonesia have at least four levels associated with the above policy. And anyway, to reform back on the construction and development of UKM and cooperatives has to pay attention to the aspects that have to be discussed and developed in the best practice above.

Urgent priorities for the Indonesian government's approach in the development UKM and cooperatives, among others are: creating conducive conditions for the private sector to move and grow. Thus, it is necessary to reform the formal authority environment in the company operated, the appropriate policies and regulations. In the context of the development of UKM and cooperatives, the main challenge for any government, including the Indonesian government, is to define what role to play in developing the market for UKM and cooperatives effectively.

In terms of workers employed, UKM is in the cluster average of the third force or nearly the same as the domestic industry defined as having a workforce of less than five people or four workers or less. At the centers of UKM for three people, it is only slightly above the industry average of household nationwide, including outside the cluster by two people. But still far from the average is the use of labours in small industry for eight people. Thus, the conditions of the use of labours on the existing cluster are still in a very early stage to survive in its activities. This is supported by the finding that about 70% of industrial clustering according to the use of labours is at a low level

of technology use in the three types of the pillar industries of UKM activities.

The direct result is visible from the low level of technology and the structure of employment, as shown by the diversity of the added value UKM clusters that only reached one billion rupiahs or lower than the domestic industry of 1.2 billion, while small industries outside the cluster reached 2.9 billion or twice greater. The low productivity of this cluster is also the case in all sectors of the economy. Thus the condition of existing clusters in general can be classified into three stages of development in accordance with the productivity of labours and the use of technology is a technology that has low productivity / labour of Rp 970,000, -. At the level of intermediate technology, it reached 2.055 million rupiahs, - as well as high-tech of 8.24 million rupiahs.

This study aimed to find answers to the question: "How is the development of UKM capacity building in a good local government in the case of economic clusters of brown sugar in East Java?"

This research is useful to draw up a strategy and concept development capacity of SMEs policy recommendations in a good local government on economic clusters of brown sugar in East Java.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

Based on the form of the problems, the scope and purpose of the study, the study can be classified as an explorative research with a qualitative approach. Explorative research is one of the research approach used to examine something (interest) not known, not understood, or not recognized and useful to explain the interrelationships, to set changing decision into the future, to compare the conditions, and to assess the effectiveness of policies / programs.

This activity is conducted on the development of research capacity of UKM in a good local government on economic clusters of brown sugar in East Java related to industrial clusters of brown sugar in Kediri, precisely in Ngadiluwih District and Kandat District.

Data was collected by means of documentation, observation and interview. In this study, the primary data was obtained through a series of good interviews with officials, key informants, and informant entrepreneurs conducted in-depth interview with device questioner and limited FGD conducted directly at the business location. While the secondary data was derived from the written data, either references of previous studies, official reports, and other relevant data sources.

A complete research and development of the capacity of UKM in a good local government on economic clusters of brown sugar in East Java is conducted by measures such as the following picture: (1) Analysing the initial data (secondary) on clusters of red sugar UKM obtained from the Department of Cooperatives, Department of Industry and Trade of East Java and related service agencies in Kediri; (2) The primary data collection begins with an observation / monitoring in research location to obtain data and preliminary information regarding our research and development the capacity of UKM; (3) Focus Group Discussion is con-

ducted on a limited basis with some brown sugar UKM; (4) The data is collected as a secondary reinforcement in analysing to determine the output of research in the form of policy recommendations.

The results obtained were analysed using qualitative method to obtain depiction potential establishment of cooperatives for the development of institutional capacity (capacity building) of cooperative based on the economy cluster in East Java, especially on brown sugar economy cluster and then serve the policy recommendations as an effort to empower for brown sugar UKM through the development of cooperative institutions.

The validity of the data is an activity carried out so that the research results can be accounted for on all sides. The validity of the data in this study includes tests of internal validity (credibility), the external validity (transferability), reliability (dependability) and objectivity (confirmability).

3. DISCUSSION

3.1. UKM Cluster Policy

In Indonesia, UKM are the backbone of the Indonesian economy. The number of UKM until 2011 reached about 52 million. UKM in Indonesia is very important for the economy because it contributed about 60% of GDP and holds 97% of the workforce. But access to financial institutions is limited only 25% or 13 million of UKM that have access to financial institutions. The Indonesian government develops UKM through the Department of Cooperatives and UKM in each province or regency / city.

According to Act No. 25 1992 Article 4, it explained that the cooperative has the function and role of, among others, to develop the potential and capabilities of member economies and societies, seek to increasing the quality human life, strengthen the economy of the people, develop the national economy as well as develop creativity and spirit organization for the students nation.

An organization can be called a cooperative if it meets the main criteria: 1) There is a number of individuals united into a group on the basis of equal economic interest and then referred to the cooperative group. 2) Members of cooperative groups are determined to realize the achievement of goals or interests (the same) better through joint efforts and help each other on the basis of its own strength, called non-cooperative (Self help Cooperative). 3) As an instrument that realizes the achievement of the objectives or interests of the group, then it forms a company that is established, capital provided, financed, managed, monitored and utilized by the members and the company, which is called cooperative enterprise / business unit cooperative (Cooperative Enterprise). 4) The main duties of the cooperative enterprise is holding services for goods and services that can support the economic recovery of household members or unit of economic / business member who is later named as the principal task of promoting members (Member Promotion).

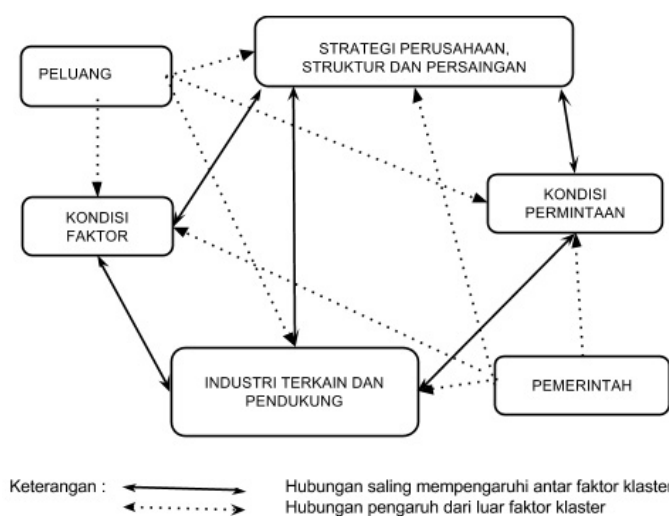
From the experience in some countries such as Italy, Chile, and India, the strategy pursued to improve the productivity of the cooperative is the cluster approach.

Clusters are geographic concentrations of companies and institutions that are interconnected in a particular sector. Clusters encourage the industry to compete with each other, to create competitiveness. There are four interrelated factors: (1) Conditions Factor (Input), (2) Demand conditions, (3) Corporate Strategy, Structure and Usability, and (4) Related Industry and Supporters. In addition, there is the influence of the government and opportunities change. The creation of competitiveness is described in the model of competitiveness Diamond (Diamond of competitiveness), as in the picture 2.1 below.

From the Picture below, there are four factors added to complete those are: human factors, which consist of workers, politics and bureaucrats, professionals, entrepreneurs.

Figure 1.

Diamond Model of competitiveness of porter 1998



Economic perspective in the cluster began with the work Marshall (1920), which is one of the basic idea revealing that the industrial centers are able to increase business competitiveness through several mechanisms, namely: (1) the gathering of workers with special specifications that are relevant to the needs of the industry (2) the availability of raw materials and industrial support facilities, and (3) the dissemination of innovation. This concept also highlights the importance of externalities in development that will help provide a more practical understanding of the benefits of the resulting cluster.

Joint marketing strategy undertaken by cluster actors is also one manifestation of externalities price. Although the cluster is able to produce agglomeration effects for the cooperative form of economic externality actors, but these benefits are not sufficient to respond to the challenges of competitive rivalry. There needs to be a joint effort to actively do (deliberative joint action) to improve competitiveness. Joint action in SME clusters can be done vertically or horizontally among cooperatives in clusters {bilateral} or conducted jointly in the form of associations {multilateral} (Schmitz, 1999). Action with vertical joint actions is undertaken between producers and suppliers / customers while horizontal collaboration is the collaboration with fellow producer.

UKM as one of the economic actors naturally gets more attention from the government. The government's attention to the sustainability of UKM is based on the urgency of the role of UKM in overcoming the problems of poverty and unemployment. Data issued by the Ministry of Cooperatives and UKM mentions that unit micro enterprises, small and medium enterprises employing between about 97% depend on the UKM sector. Several other studies strengthen the argument that UKM in Indonesia contributes substantially to the economy, especially in addressing the problem of unemployment and poverty.

Besides its contribution to the reduction of unemployment and poverty, UKM can also be observed on the characteristics that tend to be located in groups in a region (geographical agglomeration). The tendency of companies to be agglomerated was observed by Alfred Marshal, a second-generation neoclassical economist in the UK since the late 19th century. According to him, companies tend to be located in groups in certain industrial centers (industrial district) based on the motif to obtain skilled labours easily and absorb market information and technical information through informal relationships. Conception of industrial centers of Marshal (*The Marshalian Industrial District*) is the basis for the development of cluster studies.

There are two basic theories of cluster widely cited in the study of clusters, namely the theory of clusters (cluster theory) and the theory of industrial centers (industrial district theory). Two basic theories have no difference in principle, but the theory more pressures on the industry centers on the domination of the UKM sector and explicitly express their important role in the dynamics of social capital.

Furthermore, the definition of these clusters will be able to help identify the presence of clusters in Indonesia. Indonesia is an interesting case study of clusters, clusters of UKM in particular, because there are approximately 25,000 UKM centers spread across Indonesia. However, there are several clusters of UKM that often become the object of academic study, including a center for the furniture industry in Jepara and industrial centers furniture Bukir-Pasuruan and industrial centers skin Tanggulang-Sidoarjo, an industrial district of copper in Ceper Central Java, an industrial district precarious in Karanggeneng Java Central and several other centers. But the fundamental question is: "Are the existing UKM centers in Indonesia the representation of the clusters as disclosed in the industrial district theory? And how is the prospect of the development of UKM clusters in Indonesia in terms of the potential for the development of cooperatives as the joint ventures between UKM in the cluster?"

Since the cluster is recognized as an effective approach in improving the performance of the company, the industry's performance and the performance of regions and countries, the experts sought to identify the determining factor in the development of clusters. In the industrial centers theory group, there is a cluster development model. Suitability characteristics of the object of study among UKM centers in Indonesia and Italy are taken into consideration in the use of such models in analysing the dynamics of UKM clusters. The model identifies UKM as

the main actors in the cluster and explicitly emphasizes the role of government and social model in the development of UKM clusters.

Model systematically identifies three fundamental factors that influence the development of clusters those are collective efficiency, stimulation policies (policy inducement), and social capital (social capital). The first factor, efficiency together in clusters, collective efficiency adopted framework that has been developed previously. In further developments, the concept of collective efficiency is used on a massive scale to analyse the development of clusters, especially in developing countries or countries with low income. The tendency of companies (especially UKM) to be located in certain locations together can be seen from the two economic motives, namely economic expediency (external economy) and benefits of joint action (joint action). If the benefit of the economy is obtained automatically by the offender clusters (e.g. availability of public facilities, the availability of labour with certain skills, reduction in transaction costs, market information and new knowledge), the benefit of collective action can only be enjoyed by UKM when they are actively engaged in collective action (e.g. is involved in sub-contracts with large companies, in cooperation with competitors and suppliers, or become members of the cooperative and trade associations).

The first form of collective efficiency is economic benefits that are passive and can be shaped to be lower transaction costs, dissemination of market information and information technology. These benefits can be obtained automatically by UKM if they are located in clusters. Economic benefits in the cluster can be obtained from government support in the provision of infrastructure as well as direct support to the cluster. The majority of clusters of UKM are located in rural / remote areas but there are also several clusters located in urban areas (urban areas) where public facilities are available in sufficient, such as access to transport can improve access to markets, which will ultimately reduce the cost of sale and transportation for UKM. Besides the availability of transport facilities and infrastructure, the government's role in promoting UKM clusters and encourage the adoption of new technologies also contribute to the development of clusters.

Other forms of collective efficiency are the benefits of collective action. Joint action can be tangible cooperation between fellow producers or co-operation between producers and suppliers, distributors, financial institutions and other supporting agencies. In essence, the joint action will promote the establishment of clusters as a whole production to join the new industry from upstream or downstream industries in one chain (value chain). Associated with a form of collective action, that the majority of clusters of UKM in Indonesia are still limited to obtain the benefit of passive agglomeration benefits or economic benefits (external economy) and yet actively take joint action to obtain more benefits. Categories of large part of clusters of UKM are dormant and artisanal clusters. Clusters form is characterized by the dominance of SMEs in it, which is lack of cooperation among actors and has low productivity and innovation capability. Clusters form also only meets the

local market needs. However, there are several dynamic clusters located in urban areas and export-oriented. One cluster of UKM that has successfully engaged in global value chains is UKM centers of furniture in Jepara, Central Java.

The second factor is the government's stimulus policies. The success of clusters to develop into a dynamic cluster is not enough just based on the fulfilment of economic motives (efficiency along) of the actors, but also supported by the government's stimulus policies. In addition, with the involvement of government policies in the analysis of the development of clusters, the cluster model of success in one area will be adapted in other areas. To be able to adapt the success of clusters elsewhere, cluster policy stimuli can be seen from the stage of the application. In the first phase, the local governments and the central government stimulate the industrial sector involving the establishment of clusters in a region, while in the next step the government must act as a policy instrument cluster that is capable to function as a dynamics to sustain the clusters.

Social capital refers to the shared values and norms that influence social interactions between individuals also have an important role in the development of UKM clusters. Social capital can be measured from the dimension of social interaction, trust and shared vision within the constraints of a broader trust as a social adhesive values (social cohesiveness) and entrepreneurial spirit as a collective consciousness (self realization) as a form of social capital that encourages the growth of clusters. Specifically the study in Indonesia offers the parameters to assess the presence of social capital, among other community groups (community group), informal ties (informal social capital), and the impact of the family to measure social capital at local level (sub-district). Although there are several dimensions of social capital, but all of these dimensions lead to the conclusions that social capital is a set of shared values sourced from within the cluster that is capable of being the glue between actors and clusters that in turns encourage the dynamics and growth of clusters.

3.2. Institutional Capacity Development.

The definition of capacity building has been constructed by various institutional actors, such as UNDP, which confirms the capacity building as a process to achieve effectiveness and a set of goals (goal setting) through a certain process that is also known as an organism, in which everything is always considered to be. The process here contains a meaning as a change based on the flow of time from activities that are interrelated and then reality here instead is understood as something static, but constantly moving and changing in a dynamic continuous movement.

The process of cooperative institutions is an organic process. That is, there is the interplay between the elements that make it up and the whole being is not just a sum of its parts elements of decision-making, standardization of routine procedures, planning and implementation and evaluation.

World Bank constructs the definition of *capacity building is a locally driven process by which the change agents*

Affect socio-political, policy, and organizational factors to Achieve a development goal. Based on both definitions, it is obvious that an entity capacity building is one of the approaches that lay the institutional development as part of cooperative institutional changes to transform a set of goals to be achieved.

Although the institutional capacity building of cooperatives can be seen as a social reality, but what needs to be tracked is whether reality is constructed through creation results or findings. Therefore, institutional capacity-building of cooperatives in the world has practically become part of the life of public institutions particularly local government, private and community, the existence of institutional capacity-building of cooperatives finally are formed from a life long process and continuously. Because these symptoms can be found in the experience of community that continue to proceed, then the forms of appreciation of capacity building can live, grow and converge in the overall public life of a society that could involve cognitive, psychomotor, emotional and intuitive.

It contains the holistic nature of capacity building, inclusive, multi-perspective and multi-dimensional. This context further demonstrates that the capacity-building as a process and organism always moves dynamically, so the terms, definitions, approaches, the characteristics, models and dimensions of capacity building has always had variety and diversity of styles and characteristics. The concept of diversity is not just picturing enthusiasm intellectual property, but also producing challenges and constraints in the development of ideas and praxis.

UNDP redefine capacity building as the creation or the creation of an enabling environment through the provision of appropriate policy and legal framework, institutional development, including community participation (especially members of the cooperative), human resource development and strengthening of the management system. In this context, capacity building is related to the context where people allow creation to help themselves to as 'self-determined communities and citizens'. Based on the rhetoric and discourse cooperative institution that occur at this time, according to Martin Willis and Robert Dalziel (2009), Building Capacity can be understood in four categories, namely: 1) Capacity building as enhancing inputs and process, 2) Capacity building as citizen and community empowerment, 3) Capacity building as improving services, 4) Capacity building as improving Outcomes.

According to Samuel Oto, Natalia Agapitova (2009), the framework for capacity building is a process to drive through change agents that affect the socio-political, policy and organization to achieve development goals, involving four ways, namely: 1) Capacity impact, 2) Change Process, 3) Change agents, 4) Capacity development activities and outcomes. The output enable relating to changes in the process (Altered process) and new product and then expand the organizational or social environment, such as changes consensus-building, the coalition and network, and formation and policy implementation.

3.3. Red Sugar Processing characteristics of UKM in Slumbung Village

Most UKM of red sugar establish and maintain cooperative as an activity that is busily engaged. All activities pertaining to the cooperative will be handled by the board. In the Minister of Cooperatives and SMEs R.I No. 22 / PER / M.KUKM / IV / 2007 on Guidelines for grading Cooperative, cooperative success is measured by the extent to which the role of members in cooperatives.

For the brown sugar artisans, there are so many problems that should be solved by the establishment of cooperatives. The Regulation of State Minister of Cooperatives and UKM No. 22 / PER / M.KUKM / IV / 2007, is intended to set a cooperative established later that can provide the maximum benefit in resolving problems in managing the cooperative. In excerpts of interviews, it revealed that the problems of the artisans who are pretty much resolved individually so as to be a brown sugar artisan is like to be a "superman" who is able to resolve every problem. These rules are expected to understand correctly, it is expected that the cooperatives could help in resolving the problem of craftsmen

Degree of education in the village of brown sugar artisans in Slumbung is Junior High School. With this level of secondary school education, the researchers believe that they never get the material completely and clearly cooperatives in the school period. With the lack of provision of knowledge about cooperatives, the researchers found them mostly do not understand about cooperatives. Most of them have never read the rules of the Minister and UKM. If this argument is correct, then in fact there should be an attempt to hang them on cooperatives.

3.4. Brown Sugar Production Problems

There are seven problems encountered by the artisans of brown sugar in Kediri. The first problem is that the production of brown sugar needs sugar cane raw materials. The production of brown sugar is very dependent on the quality of sugar cane. Brown sugar quality is strongly influenced by the raw materials, post-harvest activities and processing activities. These problems occur in raw material yield. The better the quality of the land is, the higher the yield will be. To improve the quality of soil, it needs to have impartial fertilization with time and dose exactly. The results of observations and discussions showed the need for appropriate measures on the various stakeholders to anticipate the scarcity of fertilizer. Government as the regulator and the system controller is expected to implement the appropriate policies to control the distribution of fertilizers. The parties involved in fertilizer distribution lines must also be really controlled to prevent the leakage of fertilizer losses to farmers.

The second problem in the brown sugar production process includes milling, cooking and printing. In the process of milling, the artisans are already using the machines with diesel propulsion and electric dynamo. In the case of this grinding process, the informants only reveal the problems of noise and the solution to that problem is to replace the electric dynamo driving.

In the ripening process, the informants mention that vacuum frying is a relief from service industry. The use of

these tools failed and he must bear some losses. In the ripening process, most producers are still reluctant to use the new equipment. Trauma of failure of the technology transfer process still haunted them. They gave the view that for the time being the most ideal for cooking sugar with a wok is lined as it is today. In the process of printing they do not reveal the problem. Shape and size of the sugar in general follow the customers. Based on the interview requests, each - with their own special customer - requests a special type of sugar as well.

The third problem is the workforce, which is an individual who moves the brown sugar production process Slumbung from the village and surrounding villages. The labour problem lies in an individual worker and the owner of the mill.

The fourth problem is marketing. Respectively each artisan of brown sugar has his own customer. They could sell it to anyone as long as profitable. But there are problems in the sugar ceplik artisan. They find difficulty in marketing this type of sugar for a special target market. Besides concerning the target market, the problem also occurs in the price fluctuations and competition with refined sugar.

The fifth problem is the problem of capital. Brown sugar artisans use many sources of capital to meet the needs of investment. The source could be from their capital or the capital comes from the wholesaler.

The sixth problem is social imbalance. According to the head of the village, in Slumbung village there has been a social gap between the owners of sugar industry with the local community. These gaps resulted in the reluctance of local communities to work as a labour of brown sugar industry.

The final problem is the lack of proper government policy. The shortages of fertilizer that impact on the brown sugar industry will also trouble the brown sugar artisans. This happens because they also work as farmers. Government as regulator and the system controller is expected to implement appropriate policies to control the distribution of fertilizers. Parties involved in the fertilizer distribution lines must also be controlled to prevent leakage of fertilizer losses to farmers. Office / SKPD Plantations are expected to play an active role in determining the allocation of fertilizer requirements and Official / SKPD trade can better control the distribution line to the fertilizer to the farmers.

3.5. Scheme of Brown Sugar Processing Industry Cluster

According to Marshal (1920), the industrial centers can improve business competitiveness of the artisans through several mechanisms, namely: (1) the availability of raw materials and facilities to support the industry, (2) the gathering of workers with special specifications that are relevant to the needs of the industry, and (3) the dissemination of innovation.

In the context of the cluster, externalities arise because of the agglomeration effects produced business activity is concentrated in a region. One classification of externalities that are relevant to the real benefits of agglomeration is the real externalities and the externality price (pecuniary ex-

ternalities) (Stewart and Ghani, 1991). Real externality is when business activity (production function) of a company has impact on business activities (the production function) of other companies, while the price externality is when the business activities of a company give effect to the price of other companies.

There are some businessmen of brown sugar industry in Slumbung village. There are some businesses that are located not in one village but the location is not too far away from the industrial centers. Real externality occurs between entrepreneurs. As we know that the cane is brown sugar raw material. In this village, there is a sugar cane plantation area that is quite spacious with abundant production. They will sell the cane to the sugar industry because the sugar industry is the only market for the commodity of sugar cane. Thus, the relationship is built between each other. The relationship is not just a regular relationship but it already creates a dependency on one another.

To give the opinion, the researchers tried to formulate a scheme to map the formation of these cluster parties that need to be included in the cluster model to be created (picture). Generally, the parties in question include: (1) the employers of brown sugar as an individual / institution that produces, (2) the farmer as a provider of raw materials, (3) the government as a policy maker, (4) the sugar industry as a corporation that utilizes the biggest sugar cane, (5) the consultants as a companion expert.

3.6. Cooperative Development In Brown Sugar Cluster

In a SWOT analysis, it is found that the strengths of brown sugar industry are: (1) Long experience, (2) Clear market, (3) The availability of abundant raw materials, and (4) Mechanization of production. Internal weaknesses identified include (1) Low education, (2) Fluctuation of raw material quality, (3) Weak managerial, (4) No license, and (5) Weak capital.

- Strength
 - o Long experience. Employers of brown sugar cane in Slumbung village already have long experience. The existence of brown sugar industry in Slumbung village, Ngadiluwih district, Kediri, East Java Province, has been around since the 1950s.
 - o The market is clear. Each brown sugar artisan has had their own customers. This was revealed when researchers asked people where they market their products. Each discloses a different buyer. They could sell it to anyone as long as profitable.
 - o The availability of raw materials. Raw materials are available in large quantities and the distance to the processing plant is too close. Most artisans derived from sugar cane farmers, but to obtain their raw materials do not fully rely on their own production of sugarcane fields. They also admitted that the source of raw materials is not only from sugar cane plantation area in Slumbung village but also from some neighbouring villages such as the Cendono and Dukuh village.

- o Mechanization of production. In the process of milling the cane, the brown sugar producers already use mechanical machines. The engine power could take a diesel engine and an electric dynamo. Using these machines can make the production process run faster so that it can produce a lot more.
- Weakness
 - o The quality of raw materials fluctuates. It depends on the quality of sugarcane cultivation in particular the availability of urea and ZA that is often empty during the growing season. This causes no guarantees for brown sugar entrepreneurs to always get the cane feedstock that has the high quality.
 - o Low education. The average level of education of the brown sugar entrepreneurs is junior high school. With this level of secondary school education, the researchers believe that they never get the material completely and clearly about cooperatives in the school period. With the lack of provision of knowledge about cooperatives, the researchers found that most of them do not understand about cooperatives.
 - o Weak managerial. Employers of brown sugar cane still have the traditional management pattern. Besides as the owner at a particular time they also act as labour, especially when the employee is not present in the production time, so they must replace the employee's roles.
 - o No license. Most brown sugar entrepreneurs do not have any business license although a business license is needed in accessing loans from banks.
 - o Weak Capital Stock. Among the brown sugar artisans there are some who face capital constraints although the availability of sufficient capital into a major requirement for the sugar industry could walk normally. In gaining the capital, brown sugar industries rely on their own capital, bank loans, and capital from middlemen. There are some artisans who lend capital from the buyer for the production process. Because the production capital is from the buyer, he cannot determine the high price, but it is always below the market price, the difference is up to Rp 500 per kilogram. For example, if the price of sugar is Rp 7,000, since the capital is from the buyer, the maximum selling price is only Rp 6,500 per kilogram."
- The threat and challenge
 - o Slow Licensing. Government services in the management of licensing felt quite sluggish, whereas the brown sugar employers are expecting the government to provide services more quickly to issue this permit.
 - o The products of competitors. The influx of refined sugar is not only haunting the white sugar industry but also the brown sugar industry. Refined sugar circulation is not only during the industry but it also affects the selling price of sugar. The price of brown sugar is only a half of the refined sugar. The government's policy to limit the circulation of refined sugar will help the brown sugar artisans.
 - o Scarcity of fertilizer. The scarcity of fertilizers that impact on the brown sugar industry is also troubling the brown sugar artisans. This happens because they also work as farmers. The fertilizer scarcity also affects the quality of the sugar cane crop yield. Brown sugar quality is strongly influenced by the raw materials, post-harvest activities and processing activities. Sugar cane is strongly influenced by climate, plant age, and varieties. Age is closely linked to the yield of sugar, so the knowledge of farmers on planting techniques is crucial
 - o Social disparities. According to the head of Slumbung village, there has been a social gap between the owners of brown sugar industry with the local community. These gaps resulted in the reluctance of the local communities to work as a labour of brown sugar industry. They were happier working out of the area or as migrant worker than working in the brown sugar industry.
 - o Fluctuations in demand. They find difficulty in marketing this type of sugar for a special target market.
- Opportunities
 - o The market is vast. Generally, the brown sugar market share is vast opened. The purpose of this marketing includes local, national and international markets. Yes, anywhere, to Jombang, Krian, Tuban. The demand in these different areas is not the same. It is the same sugar, but it tastes different. There are customers that are fanatic with sugar ceplik.
 - o A hope to improve the quality of raw materials. Brown sugar artisans still have the opportunity to get a better quality of sugar cane. This can occur when the requirements to improve the quality of the sugar cane crop is fulfilled.

Table 1.
SWOT Matrix

SWOT MATRIX OF BROWN SUGAR	
Internal strength (Score 4)	Internal weakness (score 5)
1) Long experience 2) The market is clear 3) Availability of raw materials 4) Mechanization of production	1) Low Education 2) Fluctuations in the quality of raw materials 3) Weak Managerial 4) No license 5) Weak Capital Stock
Opportunity (Score 2)	Threats and challenges (Score 5)
1) The market is vast 2) A hope to improve the quality of raw materials	1) The license is slow 2) The products of competitors 3) Scarcity of fertilizer 4) The social gap 5) Fluctuations in demand

Source: Analysis Result

3.7. Recommended Actions to Establish a Cooperative

Recommendations concerning institutional managerial implications of a recommendation in the form of strategic steps need to be done by the owner of the business / cooperative management. It needs to formulate several strategies that can be run by a cooperative for the vision to become a bridge desire to develop cooperative until becoming the largest exporter of brown sugar in East Java can be reached. The followings are the formulation of business development strategies brown sugar cane processing:

- Increasing production and quality. Production is increased in order to meet the needs of brown sugar in domestic so as to reduce the imports of sugar. Quality also needs to be improved so that the product can compete with rival products and is able to become crystal sugar substitute product.
- Developing organic sugar products. Seeing the public demand for organic products increases, the expected brown sugar cane can be an alternative product for the public to meet their needs.
- Improving the skills of employees to meet market demand. This is done in order to increase the employees' skills so that the quality and quantity on production can be increased in order to meet the needs of a growing market.
- Standardization of equipment and machinery. It is by finding and studying the use of tools that support the standardization of production processes and product quality standards.
- Developing a Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) for the quality desired by consumers is achieved consistently.
- Building a network of local markets, inter-island, and exports for the marketing of products.
- Encouraging the development of cane-cow integration to increase productivity and support the development of organic products, as well as to anticipate shortages of fertilizer.
- Developing a nucleus estate to utilize employees outside the milling time. It is also a form of anticipation of the fluctuation of commodity prices of rice and secondary crops that can change the preference of farmers to grow sugar cane.
- Conducting marketing campaigns in order to change the preferences of consumers from consuming sugar crystals became consumed brown sugar cane.
- Providing an understanding of cooperatives.

The development of brown sugar cane can be managed efficiently if developed with an institutional form. There are several patterns of development that could be done either in the form farmer groups or in the cooperation processing. Institutional development of sugar cane farmers through the empowerment of the group as a pattern consists of three main elements, namely organization, resources, and management. Organizations involved in the devel-

opment of brown sugar cane have their respective roles in the future cooperation. The organizations are:

- Sugar Cane Farmers/*Kelompok Tani Tebu* (KTB), which are developed based on a large factory capacity of 50-60 hectares. The group consists of about 10 farmers per group, or about 20 ha that is the overlay, so that every factory is served by three KTB. Farmer groups can be at three different locations, but all must be close to the plant site.
- Farmers are the shareholders, and the factory as a single business unit is managed by cooperatives container.
- Cooperative farmers are equipped with a structure or element of an advisory board, the board, the auditing body, the manager / employee, and AD / ART.
- The Bank gives financing to manufacturers and farmers through cooperatives. Cooperative acts as guarantor entity refund farmers loans to banks.
- The Board consists of three members including the chairman, secretary and treasurer. Board derived from each one farmer group. The same thing on the supervisory board consisting of three people, one chairman and two members. Board members come from each of the members of farmer groups as a representative.
- The manager comes from outside who is recruited through a selection process by the board and the advisory board. The advisory board is sourced from plantations PPL, the village head, and consultants from the nearby university located in Kediri or Tulungagung like University of Kediri, Uniska, UIN Tulungagung etc.

Construction of the processing planting of brown sugar cane can also provide an option for farmers. There are farmers who prefer to cultivate their cane in the sugar factory, and some prefer to processing become sugar. Brown sugar processing is more profitable but more troublesome when inserted into the sugar factory. The yield achieved in the processing of sugar cane into sugar in Ngadirejo (PTPN X) is 4-6 per cent, with an average range of 4.8 percent, while the rendement for brown sugar is around 6-12 percent with an average of 8 percent.

Profit-sharing system applied is 65-35 percent. Part of farmers is as many as 65 percent and part for processing is 35 percent. Crystal sugar price at the sugar mill is Rp 7,800 / kg (common market 8,500 / kg) while the price of brown sugar cane is Rp 6,000 / kg. The following is the comparison of sugar cane farmers' income when distributed to the sugar cane factory or to be processed into brown sugar.

Businesses that support the development of brown sugar cane enterprises are:

- Building incubation center that functions as a means of learning of the artisans to have an emotional attachment and passion to work together. Besides, this factory will be setup with professional management, so that if successful the system can be duplicated to another factory. The factory is equipped with a

training center and guided by professional experts.

- Establishment of agricultural kiosk owned by farmer members around 2 hectares / farmer (adjusted for fertilizer subsidy policy) so that each factory will be owned by 30 farmers. Number 30 is based on the number of active brown sugar artisans. Sugar cane farmers will be grouped into three KTB that will be attended by about 10 farmers per group based on overlay cane plantation and harvest time / the same garden. Sugar cane harvest period is divided into three categories, namely, early ripening (April-June), middle cooking (June-August), and late cooking (August-October).
- The need of funds for investment in planting of Rp 400 million already included working capital of Rp 20 million. The investment costs are shares of farmers, so that every farmer has a stake of around Rp 13.5 million for each farmer. All investment fund is expected to come from bank financing such as BRI, BNI, and other banks in the district.
- Loans for the construction of the garden can be paid as much as twice or two harvests, while lending to factory paid for five years, with a grace period of six months after the loan used to build the plant.
- Development of agricultural kiosk with Rp 2 million / hectare of bank loans used for fertilizer, and medicine.
- Construction of the factory with a fund of Rp 400 million was used to complete factory, land, buildings and working capital.
- Construction of the factory conducted after eight months of cane have been planted, so the farmers' loans must be received in April and for the factory in December of the current year.

The next is the organization's management system that is required in order to run well and the organization's goals can be achieved. Some rules included in the management system are translated as follows:

- The factory's management is conducted in a management system that is separated by the garden management. The gardens are managed by groups or farmers.
- The management of factory in the processing of sugar cane to become brown sugar uses a system of profit sharing between the factory and the farmer members individually with the system 65-35 percent. This pattern is carried out by the sugar factory in East Java.
- Management of factory is conducted by the board, assisted by a manager or employee. Construction of the garden is carried out by the manager with the farmers.
- After completion of planting, first and second fertilization, the gardens are submitted to each member of farmers. Management in the form of cutting-haul maintenance is done by each farmer.
- Determination of cutting transportation schedule

is determined based on an agreement between the board of advisors, regulators, managers / employees of factory, and farmer groups. On this occasion, the technical maintenance (fertilizer, weeding, etc.) is also discussed.

Development of cooperatives in the economic clusters brown sugar as efforts must be adapted to the real problems and needs encountered by people, particularly businessmen of brown sugar. Despite its importance, capital assistance does not always solve the problem even in some cases even increasing the dependence of the members of the cooperative to aid subsequent funds.

3.8. Policy Recommendations

The policy recommendations that should be implemented by the Board of government in Slumbung village and Ngadiluwih district are: 1) to facilitate the development efforts of cooperative institutions through the provision of facilities for meetings and mentoring as well as ease of licensing in the development of cooperatives, 2) to give socialization to the community particularly those involved in economic enterprises of brown sugar about the importance of the role of cooperatives in improving business capacity and bargaining position of economic enterprises of brown sugar at the local level, 3) to facilitate institutional support by becoming coaches or advisors of cooperative of developed institutions, 4) the sub district government should facilitate the ease of licensing, facility access in marketing, facilities business cooperation with other economic enterprises through exhibitions and visits work.

For the Government of Kediri, the ranks of the Government of Kediri related such as the Department of Industry, Department of Cooperatives and UKM, the Department of Employment, Bappeda and other relevant should facilitate the policies, among others: 1) Department of Industry and Trade facilitating policy such as Bintek and facilities in cooperation with business other economies to increase production capacity so as to compete and bring out the peculiarities of UKM Kediri rich of variety of culinary results. 2) Office of Cooperative provides licensing facilities, guidance and assistance to cooperative institution set up by employers and other stakeholders of brown sugar that these economic activities can thrive. 3) Department of Employment should facilitate efforts to improve the skills of workers and the improvement of business management for the business owner. 4) Bappeda Kediri needs to provide policy emphasis on stylist rooms and space utilization and the development of investment climate that supports business development economics brown sugar and actualization of UKM and cooperatives to be able to expand its business through collaborations with various parties that are relevant across districts / cities, the provincial government even to the global market.

Whereas for East Java Provincial Government, the policy recommendations that can be done include: 1) Providing support to the government of Kediri Regency to develop the business capacity of economics and the institutional capacity of the cooperative with synergistic policies between service cooperatives, department of industry,

agency investment, Bappeprov etc. 2) The Department of Cooperatives and UKM in East Java. Economic clusters of brown sugar is a great potential for the development of cooperatives in a professional manner both their economic and institutional development. 3) Institutional support to encourage the creation of reliable stewardship, membership productive, competitive and professional business management. Access to capital is advised professionally assisted through the services of banking or other financial services professionals and not in the form of capital assistance grant.

The Central Government policy recommendations that can be done is to provide regulations that support the development and empowerment of UKM and competitive cooperatives and professional through affirmative policies to support capacity building of UKM and cooperatives in competition at the global level

4. CONCLUSION

The production of brown sugar is very dependent on the quality of sugar cane. Brown sugar quality is strongly influenced by the raw materials, post-harvest activities and processing activities. These problems occur in raw material yield. Due to the high yield only the dry season only, the production process can only be done during the dry season only. Problems occur when farmers must faced shortages of fertilizer during the growing season of sugar cane. Thus, it is difficult to improve the soil when fertilizer scarcity

prevails.

The production process includes milling the brown sugar, cooking and molding. In the process of milling, the artisans are already using machines with propulsion diesel and electric dynamo. In this process, generally they do not reveal the problem. Shape and size of the sugar generally follows the customer's request. In marketing the product, brown sugar artisans have their own customers. They could sell it to anyone as long as profitable. However, there are problems in the sugar ceplik artisans. They find difficulty in marketing this type of sugar for a special target market.

The influx of refined sugar is not only haunting the white sugar industry, but also the brown sugar. Refined sugar circulation is not only in industry but also to final consumers that affect the selling price of brown sugar. Brown sugar prices just a half of the refined sugar. The government's policy to limit the circulation of refined sugar will help the brown sugar artisans.

Brown sugar artisans collateralize many sources of capital to provide for capital investment and working capital. The capital sources can be from their own capital, from a wholesaler, and capital of banks. UKM of brown sugar in some businessmen involved debt bondage system. Those involved in bonded labor systems in general are the artisans who do not understand the banking credit and they do not have the completeness of banking credit requirements. To overcome this is by giving the cheap credit program. It is up to the source of where the administrative requirements are not too burdensome.

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Community Participation in Tourism Planning: A Study in Sumenep, Madura

Penyusun :

- (a) • **Dian Yulie Reindrawati**
- (b) • **Santi Isnaini**
- (a) • **Nur Emma Suriani**

(a) Vocational Faculty
Airlangga University

(b) Social and Politic Science,
Airlangga University

Keywords :

*community participation,
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Abstract

This paper discusses the implementation of community support in tourism planning in Sumenep, Madura Island. Community participation in tourism development process has been widely recognised as essential (Cole 2008). It is believed that participation of locals in tourism planning results in better support and attitudes towards tourism, and subsequently, this creates a successful industry. A lack of community support has become one of the major problems of tourism planning in developing countries. This is in contrast to the sustainable tourism principle that entails a long-term perspective and broad-based participation in tourism, particularly in policy formulation, decision making and implementation at all levels (United Nations 2002). Yet, if the aspirations of locals are ignored or not included in tourism planning, resentments and hostilities may happen and these may have the potential to damage the industry (Zhang, Inbakaran & Jackson 2006). As the one of potential destination in Madura, Sumenep ideally applies this community support in tourism planning. However, the results show that lack of community support in tourism planning occurs in Sumenep. The strong hold in culture and religion among Sumenep society has strengthened their awareness in participating in tourism planning. Yet, lack of access in participating has become one of their barriers in participating in tourism planning.

INTRODUCTION

Tourism development has been referred to as 'a double-edged sword' (Zhong, Deng, Song & Ding 2011, p. 2972). Tourism creates positive impacts for host communities, by stimulating marginal economies, promoting development through employment, and generating revenue (Liu

& Wall 2006). Conversely, tourism development can also create negative impacts such as increased crime and cost of living, friction between tourists and residents, changes in residents' quality of life (Ap & Crompton 1993), marginalisation of locals in the tourism planning process (Dola & Mijan 2006), and a number of environmental impacts such as pollution and degradation of the ecosystem (Zhong et

al. 2011). These negative impacts have been attributed to a lack of planning (Zhong et al. 2011) and are the impetus for increased attention towards sustainable forms of development (Hall 2008).

Sustainability requires tourism to be planned and managed in such a manner that natural and cultural resources are continuously maintained for future use (Hall 2008). Planning is considered necessary to minimise any potential negative impacts and maximise positive impacts, such as economic revenue for the destination (Hall 2008). Murphy (1985) argues that planning is focused on anticipating and regulating change in a system and is therefore able to promote development which contributes to social, economic, and environmental benefits. Gunn and Var (2002) also maintain that tourism must be planned in order to achieve better economic impacts, enhanced visitor satisfaction, community integration, and greater resource protection. It is therefore argued that the overarching task of tourism planning is to promote human welfare by creating planning which takes into account the principles of sustainable development (Hall 2008). Sustainable development thus underpins and provides a justification for the tourism planning imperative (Hall 2008).

Administratively, Madura Island is part of East Java Province. It consists of four regions: Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. Two maps are presented below.

Figure 1.

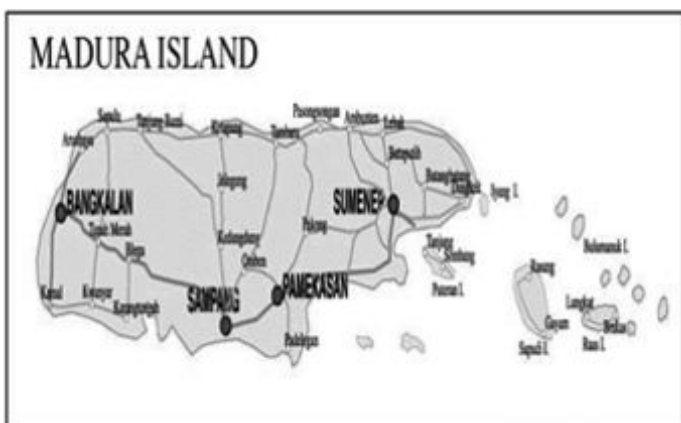
Map of East Java and Madura Island



Source: East Java (n.d.)

Figure 2.

Map of Madura Island



Source: Indonesia Matters (n.d.)

Madura Island comprises an area of approximately 5,422 square kilometres with a population of 3,570 million according to 2010 census (Statistics East Java n.d.). The island is quite isolated because it is separated from Java Island by Madura Strait. A public ferry was once the only way to access the island. As a consequence, Madura Island has been confronted with a significant number of obstacles to development, such as high levels of poverty and unemployment. In comparison to other regions in East Java, all regions in Madura have the highest percentage of people living under the poverty line. In 2010, in Sumenep Region, 24.61 per cent of the total population were living in poverty, (TNP2K 2011). These high percentages have positioned Sumenep as one of the poor regions in East Java. (TNP2K 2011).

Economically, Madura has always depended on agriculture. However, due to relatively poor soils and dry climate, Madura's agriculture has very low productivity (Rachbini 1995). This, along with other problems such as limited economic activities, rapid migration and an isolated location, has contributed to Madura's status as a marginal and largely forgotten island (Rachbini 1995).

Several scholars argue that tourism has the potential to be a means of improving regional economies, especially through its ability to generate employment, export earnings and revenue for both the government and individuals (Cornelissen 2005; Sharma, Dyer, Carter & Gursoy 2008). Even though the Indonesian Government ranks tourism as a priority of its development sector, this approach has not been applied consistently to all regions. In Madura, only a meagre number of tourism establishments existed (Dinas Pariwisata Propinsi Jawa Timur 2007).

The number of accommodation offerings in Bangkalan and Sampang remained the same between 2005 and 2007. A slight increase was found in Pamekasan where offerings increased from 10 to 11 and in Sumenep where they increased from 5 to 7 (Dinas Pariwisata Propinsi Jawa Timur 2007). The number of recreational amenities that had potential to be developed as tourist attraction was also small (48 total in the four regions) (Dinas Pariwisata Propinsi Jawa Timur 2007). In light of this, it is not surprising that Madura Island is considered the least popular destination in East Java both for overseas and domestic tourists (East Java Tourism Board 2009).

Compared to other regions in East Java, international arrivals in Madura have always been very low. In 2007, Bangkalan, Sampang and Sumenep attracted only 164, 116, and 51 overseas tourists, respectively, while no one visited Pamekasan (Dinas Pariwisata Propinsi Jawa Timur 2007).

The confidence in tourism as a way to promote prosperity on Madura Island is also apparent in the status attributed to Sumenep and Pamekasan, two designated *Kawasan Pengembangan Pariwisata Nasional* (KPPN) (National Tourism Development Areas) 2010-2025, as part of *Destinasi Pariwisata Nasional* (DPN) (National Tourism Destination) in the Surabaya-Madura area (RIPPARNAS/ The National Tourism Plan 2010-2025). This policy has become a great milestone for Sumenep in developing tourism. Below are some tourist destinations in Sumenep.

1. Natural Tourism: Lombang Beach, Slopeng Beach, Sea Garden, etc.
2. Cultural Tourism : Asta Tinggi Grave, Asta Sayyid Yusuf Grave, Asta Buju' Panaongan Grave, Bull Race, Nyadar Ceremony, Petik Laut Ceremony, Sumenep Palace & Museum, Agung Mosque
3. Man-Made Tourism: Batik, Keris & Mask Making

With the development of tourism in Madura Island and Sumenep, the question about community participation in tourism planning has been questionable. Therefore, this paper examines community participation in tourism planning research in Sumenep, Madura Island.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Tourism planning is important, particularly in developing countries (Pearce 2000). However, there are several issues around planning implementation in the developing countries. These issues can be categorised into political, structural and cultural issues. In terms of political issues, a strong centralised structure is a major issue in developing countries (Tosun 2001; Tosun & Timothy 2001). This centralisation of public administration functions has caused the concentration of power in the hands of elites. As in the case of Turkey, the central government is the power base and, local bodies are therefore used by the ruling parties to implement the central government priorities, or they are forced to follow central government decisions via economic and political pressures (Tosun & Timothy 2001).

Overcentralisation also results in the government of developing countries placing too much focus on planning but having less capability and discipline to govern it (Inskeep 1991; Tosun & Timothy 2001). Pearce (2000) claims that in developing countries, the emphasis in planning is mostly focused on preparation rather than implementation. Thus, while planning needs to be regularly assessed (Lawson & Baud-Bovy 1977), this regular monitoring is often ignored and unaccomplished (Pearce 2000) as changing local situations is also not accommodated in the plans (Tosun & Timothy 2001). In other words, the plans tend to be inflexible and unable to address the fast changing socio-cultural, economic and technological conditions which the tourism industry works under (Tosun & Timothy 2001). As a result, improper implementation of plans may occur because the plans are not advanced enough to manage the real situations at hand (Tosun & Timothy 2001).

Furthermore, the centralised structure in developing countries has encouraged a tendency for those who win elections and are in power to claim entitlement in terms of making all of the decisions necessary in the name of those who elected them (Tosun 2000). This can lead to a lack of political will for those in power to implement a participatory tourism approach (Timothy 2002; Tosun 2001). Some believe that this domination of elites deliberately keeps residents in a subordinate position (De Kadt 1979b; Haywood 1988). In developing countries, the tendency to ignore residents is encouraged by the fear on the part of elites that the masses could use their numerical strength

to take care of their interests through political power or coercion (Tosun 2000).

One example of power concentrated in the hands of elites is what occurred in Java Island in Indonesia. In Java Island, respect for leaders is highly valued by the communities and thus, bypassing the leaders is considered impolite (Timothy 1998). This strong power in the hands of the leaders allows the leaders to make decisions on behalf of everyone. This arrangement leaves the common people with little choice but to accept what the leader determines. To disagree would be regarded as a sign of disrespect.

The common practices of planning in developing countries, which are overwhelmingly inflexible, incomprehensible, and disregard local conditions (Tosun & Timothy 2001), result in difficulties in implementing planning. Thus, a wide gap between planning and practices is unavoidable (Lai, Li & Feng 2006). Tosun and Timothy (2001) suggest that tourism planning in developing countries should adhere to a suitable method of planning that considers their own conditions such as socio-economic indicators of the destination and socio-cultural traditions. As Tosun and Timothy (2001, p. 358) state, 'There is no magical checklist for an appropriate or inappropriate approach to tourism development planning'.

A lack of community support has also become one of the major problems of tourism planning in developing countries. This is in contrast to the sustainable tourism principle that entails a long-term perspective and broad-based participation in tourism, particularly in policy formulation, decision making and implementation at all levels (United Nations 2002). This is articulated in the report below:

One of the fundamental prerequisites for the achievement of sustainable development is broad public participation in decision making. Furthermore, in the more specific context of environment and development, the need for new forms of participation has emerged. This includes the needs of individuals, groups and organisations to participate in environmental impact assessment procedures and to have knowledge about and to participate in decisions, particularly those which potentially affect the communities in which they live and work (United Nations 1992, p. 23.2).

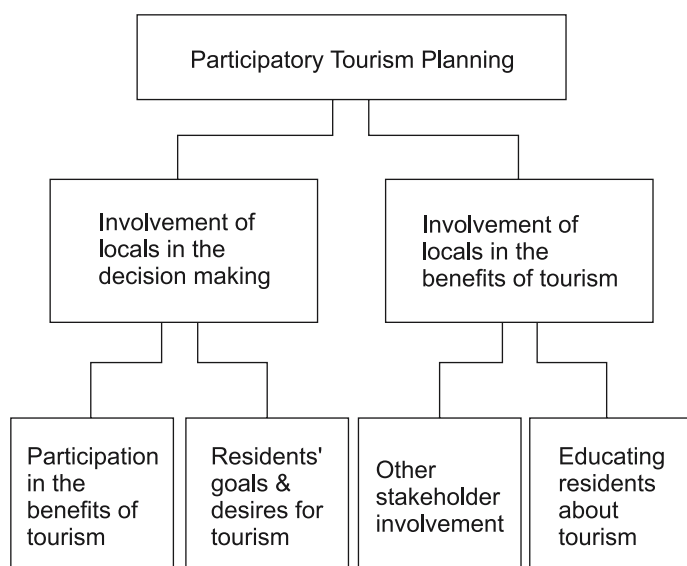
Community participation in tourism development process has been widely recognised as essential (Cole 2008; Grybovyeh, Hafermann & Mazzoni 2011; Lamberti, Noci, Guo & Zhu 2011; Marien & Pizam 1997). It is believed that participation of locals in tourism planning results in better support and attitudes towards tourism and subsequently, this creates a successful industry (Grybovyeh et al. 2011; Timothy 2002). Yet, if the aspirations of locals are ignored or not included in tourism planning, resentments and hostilities may happen and these may have the potential to damage the industry (Haywood 1988; Murphy 1985; Zhang, Inbakaran & Jackson 2006). Roberts (2013) argues that since no one can judge the perceptions and preferences of residents except the residents themselves, their involvement in tourism planning is essential. In addition, the involvement of residents in the decision making process in developing countries is important because tourism will generate profits for the residents (Roberts 2013).

As part of the wide recognition of the importance of community participation, this topic has become a debated issue in the tourism management literature, particularly around its definition. The term 'community participation' has been interpreted by scholars in varying ways (Saxena 2011) and agreement on a common definition of community participation has been hard to achieve (Lamberti et al. 2011; Tosun 1999, 2005). Community participation can refer to collaboration (Bramwell & Sharman 1999; Jamal & Getz 1995; Jamal & Stronza 2009), involvement of the community in the decision making process (Aref & Ma'rof 2008), or a multi-stakeholder approach in decision making, all of which are referred to as participatory tourism planning (Timothy 1999) or cooperative tourism planning (Timothy 1998).

Key factors in community participation that relate to the input of locals are contribution, influence, sharing, or redistribution of power and control, knowledge and skills of locals in decision making (Saxena 2011). These include empowering the community by a consultative process which provides the community an opportunity to choose, make decisions and implement those decisions (Sofield 2003), as well as by enhancing self-esteem and pride in cultural traditions through an outside recognition of the values and uniqueness of the culture (Cole 2008; Scheyvens 2003b). Therefore, participation should place an emphasis on the resources, needs and decisions of the community, whereby opportunities are provided for local communities to mobilise their own resources, define their own needs, and make their own decisions in order to meet their own needs (Tosun 2005).

Figure 2.1

A Normative Model of Participatory Tourism Planning



Source: Adapted from Timothy (1999)

Timothy (1999) suggests that community participation may happen in two stages: in the decision-making process and in gaining the benefits of tourism development (see Figure 2.1). Participation in the decision making process refers to the empowerment of local residents to define their own goals for development, as well as consultation

with them so their hopes and concerns with regard to tourism are addressed. Participation also encompasses the involvement of other stakeholders in the decision making and development process. The benefits of tourism refer to increased income and opportunities for employment and education for the locals, and are the most evident way of involving local community members in the benefits of tourism development (Timothy 1999).

Both of these stages - involvement of locals in decision making and in the benefits of tourism - are closely related and entangled (Lamberti et al. 2011). The involvement of locals in decision making influences the generation of the benefits of tourism, and vice versa (Lamberti et al. 2011). For example, if there is no involvement of local stakeholders in decision making, disparity in the benefits of tourism might occur (Madrigal 1995). If local residents are to benefit from tourism, it is imperative that they are involved in the decision making process. However, the study of Li (2006) in China found the contrary. Li's (2006) study results showed that even though there was low participation of locals in the decision making, local communities were happy with tourism because they received satisfactory benefits from tourism. Several elites, who were decision makers in the process, were from local villages and may have contributed to this outcome because they may have had the interests of the local community at heart (Li 2006).

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Sumenep Region is located on the eastern side of Madura Island. In the past, it was the only kingdom on Madura Island. The kingdom's palace and the Asta Tinggi Graves, which are the graves of the kings of Sumenep, are the heritage of the kingdom and have become the most promoted attractions in Sumenep, both domestically and internationally.

The two villages selected for study are Kebun Agung and Prenduan Village. Kebun Agung Village is the village where the Asta Tinggi Graves are located, while Prenduan Village is a village where there is no planned tourism. In fact, Prenduan Village is a village with several pesantren in it. The cultural pride of being a resident of Sumenep appears to be the most significant factor influencing the participation in tourism planning among the residents interviewed.

Tourism for most residents interviewed in Sumenep Region focused around the issue of tourism being an opportunity to share cultural and religious values. This feeling has underpinned the opportunity to enjoy the benefits of tourism. Nanang indicates how tourism means an opportunity to promote culture and religious values:

Madura Island is known to be a Muslim island and as a Muslim we have to be able to enjoy the beauty and spread the words of God's scripture widely so that we can persuade, and the use of tourism is a very good way of doing this. (Nanang, 22, Writer/Teacher, Prenduan Village, Sumenep)

Nanang attributes a positive meaning to tourism as a way of informing others about God's scripture. In his role

as a writer and teacher, Nanang, from my interpretation, understands that he has an obligation to inform others of God's scripture. This duty-bound feeling is more apparent in his words '...Madura Island is known to be a Muslim island...' which identifies him as both Madurese and a Muslim.

In addition to tourism as a way of sharing religious scriptures, Nanang also sees tourism as a way of enjoying God's creation. This view is congruent with Islamic values, that is, that Muslims should fully appreciate the beauty of God's creation (Henderson 2003). Tourism is subsequently perceived by Nanang as a vehicle to educate and spread religious scriptures, which is also a way for him to appreciate the beauty of God's creation.

Despite tourism being seen as an opportunity to share religious values, those who were teachers also interpret tourism as an opportunity to promote Madurese culture. They explained that some of the dances, crafts and other traditional practices need more development and tourism can assist with this. Izul, for example, believes that tourism can encourage the further development of *Lok-alok* within traditional cultures. Bull race has been identified by the authorities as the major tourist event in Madura Island. According to Izul, *Lok-alok*, a kind of traditional musical performance, that was once performed before the Bull race attraction and in recent years has gradually disappeared, is a case in point. With tourism, he firmly believes that this traditional musical performance will be rejuvenated.

I think bull race attractions nowadays are only about the race, which have lost its cultural undertone. Lok-alok, which was used to be part of the Bull race attraction, has already gone. Tourism will help restore our culture, including traditional music and dances. (Izul, 26, Teacher, Prenduan Village, Sumenep)

The above comment highlights how residents interviewed participate in tourism by looking at tourism as revitalising traditional cultural practices. The belief of Izul that *Lok-alok* will be rejuvenated demonstrates his expectation that cultural practices can be rejuvenated through tourism. This finding confirms the potential for tourism to encourage the revitalisation or resurgence of interest in traditional cultural practices (Oppermann & Chon 1997; Telfer & Sharpley 2008).

The data collected from Prenduan Village, Sumenep, indicates a number of significant points: the first point suggests that, according to the participants, there is an opportunity for freedom of speech in the *pesantren* where they stayed. The opportunity to speak freely among the residents indicates that the choices made in life by individuals are not scrutinised and controlled by someone else such as their leader. For example, even though the residents still conform to the philosophy of *Buppa' Babbu' Guru Rato*, evident in the statement that the *kyai* is highly valued and respected, they are not obligated to follow orders of the *kyai* as a leader. That most of the residents in this village are part-time teachers in the *pesantren* implies they have a good level of knowledge within the community and have an understanding of what is best for them. This means that they are not totally dependent on someone else's thinking.

The following statements draw attention to the critical stance held by the residents about the leader's orders.

If the suggestions of the kyai are good in my mind, I will follow what he said, but if it is not good, I will disobey him. He should have sound logic for anything that he says. (Varah, 19, Teacher, Prenduan Village, Sumenep)

As long as what they order is good and fits in with my religious beliefs, I will obey their orders, otherwise I will disobey their orders. It is also my belief that the government and the Kyai should work in harmony to give the community a sense of harmony. (Izul, 26, Teacher, Prenduan Village, Sumenep)

The second point is that even though all the interviewed residents feel they have the opportunity to speak freely; there are some who are still content to ask their leader as their spokesperson for advice. In these cases, the value, trust and dependence given to the *kyai* still remain high, because they believe that the *kyai* will be their mediator in voicing their thoughts to the government.

I am just a small person, so the kyai will be my voice. (Said, 38, Sub District Officer, Prenduan Village, Sumenep)

If residents want to say something they should tell the kyai first and then the Kyai will tell the government what the residents have said. In cases like this, the Kyai is the mediator between the residents and government. (Izul, 26, Teacher, Prenduan Village, Sumenep)

The obligation, as well as the high respect afforded the *kyai* among the residents, has indeed provided the *kyai* with a high degree of power over the community. The broad role of the *kyai* in the community, the philosophy of *Buppa' Babbu' Guru Rato* and the endless relationship of *kyai* and student have indeed created a high level of respect and trust of the *kyai* in people lives, including in decision making. The fact that some residents seem to perceive themselves as powerless as well as deferring to the *kyai* as a mediator has demonstrated the powerlessness of local residents in tourism planning.

The data revealed a great sense of pride in the hearts of the residents from Prenduan Village and Kebon Agung Village in relation to its region. The residents explained that this pride is the guidance that makes them embrace and hold onto their historical values very tightly. Tourism is positioned as possessing religious and cultural opportunities. Unlike the participants who are highly oriented towards economic benefits, the desire to obtain opportunities for profit for the majority of residents in Kebon Agung Village, Sumenep, is also associated with the respect that they show to their ancestors. In this case, the perceptions of tourism are stimulated by the high level of pride associated with being involved in tourism at the Asta Tinggi Graves. The source of this pride has its genesis in the fact that Sumenep is the one and only former kingdom of Madura Island, and Asta Tinggi Graves are the graves where the Kings of Sumenep Kingdom are buried. The unique findings from this village are that the perceptions of residents are not only concerned with the economic benefits of tourism but also focus on opportunities to respect and

rejuvenate their historical cultural values. As one of these residents said:

I am happy with the development of tourism in Asta Tinggi Graves. Tourism not only gives me opportunities to gain income, but it also allows me to show my respect to my ancestors. (Farid, 59, Seller, Kebon Agung Village, Sumenep)

I enjoy my work in Asta Tinggi and I am proud of it because it has been handed down from generation to generation and it is privileged because not everyone can work here. (Sugeng, 59, Farmer/Staff of Asta Tinggi Graves, Kebon Agung Village, Sumenep)

Another reason that elevates the pride of the residents interviewed who work at the graves is the exclusivity of the workers of Asta Tinggi Graves. This exclusivity stems from the fact that they are direct descendants of the workers of the kings. The workers have various roles as cleaners, parking officers, *musholla* officers and administration staff. That there is no salary paid for being a worker (except of having *pecatan* land in lieu of salary) implies high levels of loyalty, another reason for their pride. This situation, to varying degrees, gives those who are working at the graves a sense of cultural pride and high status in the community.

Furthermore, this pride also spills over to those who are not related to descendants but are just involved in activities around the graves. In the remarks presented above, Farid, who is a seller at the area of Asta Tinggi Graves, emphasises this pride. The ability of tourism to bring pride has been widely discussed by several scholars (e.g. Cole 2008; Scheyvens 2003). Researching tourism in Wogo, Indonesia, Cole (2008) found that the residents feel proud if their culture is recognised by tourists, as they believe that tourism will strengthen their cultural values.

CONCLUSION

All in all, the analysis of findings from the interviews in Sumenep comes to the conclusion that, regardless of the villages they live in, the residents of Sumenep have a prolific sense of pride in their history and cultural heritage. This pride for many of the residents is accompanied by privilege and high status within the community. It has also become a major driving force for them to see tourism as an opportunity to share their cultural and religious values. Subsequently, this will become a motivator for participating in tourism development.

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Performance of Village-Owned Enterprises (BUM Desa) of Kemiri Village Jember Regency Based on Balanced Scorecard Approach

Penyusun :

(a) • **Faris Widiyatmoko**

(b) • **Rahma Amelia W N**

(a) Graduate student of
Public Policy
Airlangga University
(Author)

(b) Undergraduate student of
International Relations
University of Jember
(Co-Author)

Keywords :

Village-owned enterprises (BUM Desa), performance, balanced scorecard, Kemiri Village, quantitative analysis

Abstract

This research aims to describe the performance of village-owned enterprises (BUM Desa) of Kemiri Village, Jember Regency using balanced scorecard approach. The research used descriptive quantitative approach using primary and secondary data analysis. Primary data were obtained through interviews and observations while secondary data were obtained through documentation. Data analysis used primary and secondary data analysis, covering four perspectives of the balanced scorecard approach. A village-owned enterprise (BUM Desa) "Kembang" of Kemiri Village, Jember Regency is the oldest BUM Desa in Jember Regency and had the greatest number of businesses in East Java Province in 2013. Based on the results of four perspectives of balanced scorecard in this research, the maximum weighted score was 74. Referring to the health table used in this research, BUM Desa "Kembang" Kemiri was in a state of 'Healthy' with category 'A'.

INTRODUCTION

A village-Owned Enterprise, known as BUM Desa is an institution or a business entity that is expected to build the village economy and increase the village revenue (PADes). The potency of the village that has not been explored maximally is expected to be optimized with BUM Desa. The outcome of the business can be used as the independent economic footing through the escalation of PADes and

gives optimal service to meet the need of the society. The statements above are supported by the statement and plan of the Ministry of Villages, Underdeveloped Region and Transmigration, to which support the village fund to be used to establish BUM Desa or as the additional venture capital fund that supports the improvement of the economy of the village.

Currently, East Java has the most BUM desa with 1,022 BUM Desa. As stated by Marwan Ja'far (The Minister of

Vilages and Underdeveloped Regions and Transmigration, East Java has the most BUM Desa with 287 BUM Desa. It shows the development village-owned enterprises in East Java, and expected amount of village-owned enterprises in East Java could be increased in quantity. (www.thejagat.net/ekonomi/ diaskes date 30-10-2015 15.15 GMT).

Based on Ministry of Home Affairs regulation number 39 of 2010 and Undang-Undang number 6 of 2014, there were some villages which have started to initiate the establishment of village-owned enterprises in Jember. In domestic, village-owned enterprises also received support from the government, such as Jokowi's support on pilot projects of village-owned enterprises in Jember. One village-owned enterprise in developing rapidly in Jember is a village-owned enterprise in the Pancakarya district, Ajung. (Www.lensarakyatnews.com/2014/09 accessed on 8-3-2015 at 18:45 pm).

Based on the data from the Agency for Community Empowerment of East Java, there have been three village-owned enterprises in Jember. One of village-owned enterprises is Kemiri village-owned enterprise which is entitled "Kembang" that has the most categories of productions compared to other village-owned enterprises in Jember, even at the province level. It makes Kemiri village-owned enterprise interesting since it was established. The performance is conducted to this point whether it is normatively in line with the essential purpose of the establishment of the village-owned enterprises or not. The performance is compatibility with the aim referred to as the institutions of economic and social institutions (services) for village people.

Regional Regulation of Jember District Number 3 of 2007 on the Village Financial described the sense of BUM Desa as a village economy agency or institution which is formed and owned by the village government, managed economically, independently, and professionally with whole or large capital, and also village capital could be separated and set in the village regulations. Similar regulations could be reviewed through Undang-Undang No. 6 of 2014 on the Village rules, that a village-owned enterprise is an enterprise that all or most of the capital is owned by a village through direct investments inventing from the capital of the village, then separated in order to manage assets, services, and other efforts for the welfare of the villagers. Based on those regulations, it can be assumed that the BUM Desa is the village business institution from the village, by the village and to the village.

BUM Desa has two central roles that must be implemented in a balanced management. The first of these is the value of financial benefit. Such benefit can be assessed at the BUM Desa function as a business institution in the economy of the village level. That function would have to have a significant role in improving profits which are used to realize the economic independence of the village. The second side is the service and benefits (non-financial) for villagers. As has been described above by Undang-Undang No. 6 of 2014 on Village rules that all the economic activity results of the BUM Desa are used for the welfare of the villagers, it means serving the villagers becomes a major

role for BUM Desa.

Based on the calculation, Kemiri village-owned enterprise has fluctuation results from 2012 to 2014. Below is the overview of the calculation of revenue and expenditure of Kemiri village-owned enterprise from 2012 to 2014. The data are presented in Table 1.

Table 1.

Report Pair of Scales BUM Desa "Kembang" Kemiri Village

No	Year	Income	Cost
1	2012	Rp 37.816.500	Rp 37.722.500
2	2013	Rp 35.841.000	Rp 37.787.000
3	2014	Rp 73.993.500	Rp 60.620.000

Based on the table above, the revenue and expenditure of Kemiri village-owned enterprise show instability from 2012 to 2014. In 2012 the revenue was 37.8165 million rupiahs decreasing in 2013 to 35,8 million rupiahs. In 2014 the income increased harshly from 73,9 million rupiahs but expenses also increased as to about 60,6 million rupiahs. Fluctuations of Kemiri village-owned enterprise's revenue and expenditure above are interesting to analyze and examine further with other aspects besides the financial aspect.

In other data, it mentioned the development of the village-owned enterprise's management, between 2013 and 2014 there is the addition of staffs to Kemiri village-owned enterprise's management board. The development becomes an interesting factor to be analyzed in assessment of employee performance with aspects of village-owned enterprises officers, such as employee productivity factor in village-owned enterprises performance in the year 2012 to 2014. So, the development in the management structure of the village-owned enterprise can be analyzed as an influencer on the village-owned enterprise's performance in realizing the goal.

From the interview result, there is a description from the board of Kemiri village-owned enterprise that also has interesting things about customers terms. From 2012 to 2014, there are fluctuations in the number of customers on each line of business in the village-owned enterprise namely Villagers Association of Water Users (Himpunan Masyarakat Pengguna Air Minum, HIPPAM) and Electricity Online Payment System (Sistem Online Pembayaran Lisrik, SOPP). Below is the overview of customer number.

Table 2.

Customers of BUM Desa "Kembang" Kemiri Village

Year	Field of Business	
	HIPPAM	SOPP
2012	453	688
2013	471	647
2014	486	591

In accordance with the table above, it can be seen that the number of customers increased each year from 2012

to 2014 in the HIPAM sector. While in the SOPP sector, the number decreased in customers annually from 2012 to 2014. Therefore, it becomes a substance of interest for researchers to look comprehensively at every customer from 2012 to 2014 in assessment of the village-owned enterprise's performance from customer aspects. The calculation of the performance aims to determine the ability of the village-owned enterprise in retaining customers and acquiring new customers.

Meanwhile, aspects of learning and growth of human resources showed an interesting thing. According to information given by Mrs. Lulu Widyawati, the training followed by the board of BUM village is still fairly minimal, "The trainings have been followed by the board of Kemiri village-owned enterprise, including myself only in 2014. The training was followed by me, Pak Astro and Pak Ekan. "(Monday, October 5, 2015). Training or workshop is one of the media for the Kemiri village-owned enterprise's board to improve the knowledge, expertise and professionalism in servicing its performance. This will affect the aspects of learning and growth for the institution and a long-term investment that is important to note to the village-owned enterprise, in improving overall institutional performance and its sustainability.

Various types of businesses in Kemiri village-owned enterprise, its fluctuations income and customers annually from 2012 to 2014, its quantity or its human resources based on training sessions that are followed by the board become interesting subjects to be analysed. Kaplan and Norton (2000: 2) explain that the balanced scorecard contains four main perspectives. Those are: financial performance, customer service, internal business processes and organizational capacity to learn and grow. Development of balanced scorecard was initially used on private organizations that are for-profit or profit, along with the development of a balanced scorecard which is growing and applied to all types of organizations (Moehleriono, 2010: 125).

The aspects described above are based on the elements of the balanced scorecard performance measurement. Using a balanced scorecard based performance measurement is expected to be standardized performance measures of the village-owned enterprise by observing from various aspects comprehensively. It was known that BUM Desa should ideally be able to contribute in the form of economic value (business) and in terms of service to villagers.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Village-Owned Enterprises (BUM Desa) Performance

On recent regulation, there is no clear regulation on explaining how to measure the performance of village-owned enterprises even on Undang-Undang which regulates about BUM Desa. Therefore, most of literature about the performance of village-owned enterprises analyse the financial aspects. Also, in some other recent studies, it is still not able to obtain a comprehensive measurement of the village-owned enterprises performance.

In Jember government regulation, the focus of research

does not state the measurement of performance. Other regulations such as Regulation of Jember Regent do not explain clearly about assessment method of performance of BUM Desa. Even today regional regulation about village-owned enterprises tends to be dwarfed, reviewing the aspects that the regional regulations concerning BUM Desa was mentioned on the Regional Regulation No. 3 of 2007 on Village Finance. Therefore, regulation on BUM Desa should have its own rules as it could potentially have a major role in the village economy. So, the role of BUM Desa could be more significant if it has a higher legal status than now. Although recently Jember government initiates to develop laws on the Village rules, those do not mention detailed methods to measure the performance comprehensively.

Tools or measuring tools are needed to assess performance comprehensively, and it is important tools for the significance of local economy studies. Therefore, the author uses a balanced scorecard approach to analyze performance of village-owned enterprises. It will further be described in the section below.

Balanced Scorecard

According to the development of a balanced scorecard, it was first described by Robert S. Kaplan that balanced scorecard is a concept that can be used to conduct impartial performance measurement. Balanced here stated by Moehleriono (2012: 159) is unbalanced as measured from two perspectives, namely from the perspective of financial and non-financial perspective. Both perspectives are measured by the scorecard formulated in a balanced. Balanced scorecard assumes four perspectives that are used in the measurement of the score. Kaplan and Norton (in Imelda, 2004: 108) explain that the measurement using the balanced scorecard is expressed in four perspectives: the financial perspective, the perspective of the customers, the perspective of internal business processes and the learning and growth. Therefore, balanced scorecard approach can be used to assess performance of an organization which is viable.

Kaplan and Norton (2000: 41) explain that "the purpose and financial measures should play a dual role, determining financial performance expected from the strategy, and were subjected to the final objective and become standard of the other scorecard perspectives." Therefore, the financial perspective is significant for organizations to grow and develop their business. Furthermore, the balanced scorecard should also be supported by other perspectives which both are tangible and long-term. Kaplan and Norton (2000: 42) describe the life cycle of a business that are terraced, grow, sustain, and harvest.

Financial performance measurement has some measurable indicators that can be used precisely in describing the financial performance of BUM Desa Kemiri. Referring to Kaplan and Norton, an organization (business) in the phase of growth business will determine financial objectives related to profitability. Profitability ratio is considered to be more applicable for organizations which develop to increase revenue of the organization. Therefore, the profit-

ability ratios will be used in the research, that is Return On Investment (ROI) used to analyze the organization's ability to return on investment (assets) through net income. Second is Return On Equity (ROE) used to describe the level of accomplishment of the company in managing its equity to be converted into profits for the company (BUM Desa). Third is the net profit Margin (NPM) used to indicate the net profit earned by the sale of goods or services performed by the organization. Fourth is Growth Rate in sales (GRIC) used to display growth of selling in each period (years), in order to give an overview of organization development.

In the balanced scorecard approach as described by Kaplan and Norton (2000: 8), it focuses on the internal chain starting from innovation, recognizing customer needs at the present and in the future once the process of fulfilment, operation process, delivering products in the form of goods or services to customers and providing additional values to the products received by customers.

Measurements on internal business process perspective would use some measuring tools. Manufacturing Cycle Effectiveness (MCE) measures the operating time in each business sector of BUM Desa Kemiri. Yield Rate (YR) measures actual capacity which is used in BUM Desa Kemiri and the maximum capacity available in each business sector. Kaplan and Norton (2000: 109) explain that the purpose of learning and growth perspective is to optimize the performance of the organization. Observing the needs and circumstances of BUM Desa Kemiri, it then concluded that the learning and growth perspective would use three measuring instruments: employee productivity, employee training and employee turnover.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses quantitative research design and applies descriptive research. Moleong (2008:31) states that quantitative approach is a research approach that applies objective measurement and numeric analysis to explain a social phenomenon. According to Sugiyono (2011:11), descriptive research is a research to find out the value of independent variable, either one or more variables without making any comparison, or connecting between one variable to another.

The variables of operational definitions in quantitative research are important to be concerned. Purwanto and Sulistyastuti (2007: 17) state that a variable is a concept that has a variety of values. If a concept just has variety of values, it cannot be measured and observed more in the research. Therefore, it takes an operational definition of variables. The operational definition is the shackle between the conceptual-level theoretical with empirical-observational level (Purwanto and Sulistyastuti, 2007: 19). From the explanation above, empirical reference can be used in the research to describe or apply a concept in order to be measured and observed.

Definition of Operational Variable

a. Financial Perspective

Return On Investment (ROI) calculation is net in-

come divided by total assets in the financial balance reports and then measured by percentage. Whereas, ROI calculation is net income divided by total assets in the financial balanced reports and then measured by percentage. The ROI will use the financial data of Kemiri village-owned enterprises in 2012-2014. Return On Equity (ROE) is a financial ratio of profitability used to describe the rate of return on capital (equity) organization (company) within a specified period predetermined. ROE is calculated using financial report of BUM Desa Kemiri in 2012-2014. Net Profit Margin (NPM) is a profitability ratio that is used to describe profit or loss per sale which is output based from profit/loss in percentage calculation. The data that are used in calculating this NPM were from the year 2012-2014 which were observed from financial reports of BUM Desa Kemiri. The fourth is Growth Rate In Sales (GRIC) which is a measurement to know the sales growth by comparing the percentage of an increase from the previous period. The measurement way is the percentage of current year sales minus last year sales, and then divided by last year sales. To determine the sales growth the data on the financial reports of BUM Desa Kemiri in 2012-2014 would be used.

b. Customer Perspective

Customer Retention is the measurement used to determine how much the organization retains existing customers. Customer retention is calculated through a percentage of the number of existing customers divided by the total order. The number of customers that were used as a reference in the calculation was the customer data in the year 2012- 2014. The second is Customer acquisition which is to assume the capacity to acquire new customers using the products or services. To measure Customer Acquisition score, the percentage of new customers is divided by the total number of existing customers. Customer Acquisition calculation uses the data in 2012-2014.

c. Internal Business Process Perspective

Manufacturing Cycle Effectiveness (MCE) is a measurement to see or describe the efficiency of time cycle in producing goods and services. Therefore, the data used were the latest data from BUM Desa Kemiri. Reviewing the data in BUM Desa Kemiri was poorly documented, and then an interview was conducted to explore these data. At the second, Yield Rate is a measurement used to obtain an overview of the organization's ability to develop the maximum capacity of BUM Desa Kemiri. The measurement results obtained from the actual capacity (actually) is divided by the maximum capacity and then measured by the percentage. Collected data for the calculations are derived from capacity of the organization in 2012-2014 that have been implemented by the BUM Desa Kemiri.

d. Learning and Growth perspective

Defining employee in this perspective is the board

of BUM Desa Kemiri implementing all activities of the organization. Employee Productivity is a measurement used to determine how much capability in employee productivity. The result of the calculation is measured by the percentage of total production divided by total employees, multiplied by total work hours.

And then, Employee Training is a measurement to determine the level of training provided by the organization to its employees or training which has joined by employees. Collected data were data in the year of 2012-2014.

Employee Turnover is a measure used to describe employee turnover in a year. The result of the calculation is measured by the percentage of retiring employees in a year divided by total employees. Measurements which use PrP formula, observing the data in 2012-2014, are obtained from documentation or interviews of significant informants.

Weighting Techniques

In general, weighting techniques in this research use what has been delivered by Kaplan and Norton (in Mulyanto, 2000: 18-19) that will not give equal weight to each perspective and definition of operational variable. However, based measurements using the balanced scorecard could review the performance of every aspect. Below is the table of weighting of the four perspectives of the balanced scorecard.

Table 3.

Weighting Based On Balanced Scorecard

No	Category	Weight
1	Financial	60%
2	Customer	10%
3	Internal Business Process	10%
4	Learning and Growth	20%

In general, the four perspectives used in this study will be measured using the weights as in the above table. Financial perspective will be weighted 60%; the customer perspective is weighted 10%; internal business process perspective is weighted 10%; and the learning and growth perspective will be given a weighting of 20%. Rangkuti (2014:143) explains that in the study the balanced scorecard can also be calculated without giving weight to each indicator firstly. The way is to compare the weights given to each perspective with the total number of indicators on the perspective. For example, the weight of financial perspective is 60%, while the total number of indicators on the financial perspective is 4 indicators, so $60/4 = 15$, then the weight of each indicator of the financial perspective is 15%.

Once filled with indicators and indicator weights, the next step is to determine the maximum indicator scores and a maximum weighted score, which is used to calcu-

late the performance of BUM Desa Kemiri. To know more details about the maximum indicator scores and a maximum weighted score, Rangkuti (2014: 144) explains that the maximum score is an indicator 5 in accordance with the above table. This is the result of giving an A = 5, B = 4, C = 3, D = 2 and E = 1 for each indicator; the value is the interval value by using the formula, $(\text{target value} - \text{minimum value})/5$. For example, if the target value is 100 and the minimum value is 0, then the calculation using the class interval is $(100-0) / 5 = 20$.

Maximum weighted score is 500.05. It is the sum of the maximum weighted score of each perspective. The result of the maximum weighted score of each perspective is the result of a formula, and the formula is the maximum weighted score which is the number of indicators multiplied with indicator scores of maximum weight indicator. The table of indicators and weighting indicators is used to measure the health of the organization (BUM Desa). Rangkuti states (2014:145) that subsequent making of a scoring table maximum indicator and a maximum weighted score is an assessment of health.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Financial Perspective

Return on investment (ROI) is a measurement of the ratio of profitability to show how financial performance of village-owned enterprises obtain profit of measurement of net income compared to total assets (assets) of BUM Desa. The table below presents the chart of the return on investment (ROI) by using financial data reports of BUM Desa Kemiri.

Table 4.

Return On Investment (ROI) BUM Desa
"Kembang" Kemiri Village

Year	Profit	Active	% ROI
2012	Rp 49.000	Rp 26.574.550	0,18%
2013	Rp -1.946.000	Rp 27.038.550	-7,21%
2014	Rp 13.373.500	Rp 42.124.050	31,74%
Average			8,24%

In the table above, it can be analyzed that the performance of the financial ratios return on investment (ROI) BUM Desa Kemiri from year 2012 to 2014 has fluctuated. The average performance of financial ratios based on the ROI of the year 2012-2014 is amounted to 8.24%. Referring to Kaplan and Norton (in Mulyanto 2000: 187), ROI has healthy value if it has value percentage of 13%. Therefore, based on the list, ROI assessment score has a value score of 3.

Return on equity (ROE) is a part of the financial ratios measuring profitability. This ratio presents the performance of village-owned enterprises in managing their capital (equity). The growth value of ROE determines the better performance of BUM village in managing capital in order to become profit for BUM Desa. A low ROE value

would indicate a poor performance. The chart of the return rate on equity of BUM Desa Kemiri of 2012-2014 is presented below.

Table 5.
Return On Equity (ROE) BUM Desa
"Kembang" Kemiri Village

Year	Profit	Equity	% ROE
2012	Rp 49.000	Rp 22.174.550	0,22%
2013	Rp -1.946.000	Rp 22.638.550	-8,61%
2014	Rp 13.373.500	Rp 41.724.050	32,1%
Average			7,89%

The average value calculation of ROE is 7.89%. Kaplan and Norton (in Mulyanto, 2000: 186) explain that the value of ROE has good (healthy) value which is 18%. Therefore, referring to the statement (Kaplan and Norton), the assessment of ROE scores is 2.

Net profit margin (NPM) is a measurement of financial profitability ratio to analyze the benefits level of village-owned enterprises of business from the result of deducting all costs as compared to total sales. Below is the chart of the BUM Desa Kemiri of 2012-2014.

Table 6.
Net Profit Margin (NPM) BUM Desa
"Kembang" Kemiri Village

Year	Income	Sales Total	% NPM
2012	Rp 49.000	Rp 37.816.500	0,13%
2013	Rp -1.946.000	Rp 35.841.000	-5,43%
2014	Rp 13.373.500	Rp 73.993.500	18,1%
Average			4,26%

The average value of NPM for 2012-2014 which has a value of 4.26% can not be measured good or bad. Even Kaplan and Norton did not describe the criteria. The regulation of the Minister of Finance was not determined by the measurement of NPM. However, there is an alternative measurement by comparing the target and implementation of annual work and budget plan of the company (CBP), but BUM Desa Kemiri has no supporting data which could be used for NPM calculation.

Therefore, there is measurement to compare the last year percentage of NPM as below.

NPM as below

$$\frac{\text{NPM percentage of 2014}}{\text{the average of NPM percentage (2012 - 2014)}} \times 100\%$$

The calculation is logically used to analyse the value of NPM in a particular situation as stated above. The performance can not be measured if there is no target as a

standard of measurement towards performance of annual or average calculation. Therefore, measurement can use the average value NPM as a standard to analyse the current year of performance.

The result can determine the capability of current performance. Maximum indicator score can be measured if the result is more than 100%, or it could be reviewed that the value of last year of NPM has higher percentage than average year of percentage whereas the result is equal or less than 100%. It could be ranged to NPM score list.

Calculation of financial ratios for net profit margin of BUM Desa Kemiri of 2012-2014 is below.

$$\frac{181}{4,26} \times 100\% = 424.88\%$$

The calculation of the value of NPM is above 424.88% in accordance with the NPM score list having a maximum value which is 5. It can be concluded that the net income derived from the sale of BUM Desa Kemiri is a good (healthy) category.

Growth rate in sales (GRIS) is a measurement to obtain the level of growth in sales. The measurements used analyses the level of sales growth in BUM Desa Kemiri in 2012 to 2014.

Table 7.
Growth Rate In Sales (GRIS) BUM Desa
"Kembang" Kemiri Village

Year	Sales Total	% GRIS
2011	Rp 34.102.400	-
2012	Rp 37.816.500	10,9%
2013	Rp 35.841.000	-5,22%
2014	Rp 73.993.500	106,45%
Average		37,37%

The results cannot be considered good or bad categories if they do not compare the level of sales from similar companies or comparison between the level of planning and realization. However, BUM Desa Kemiri has no annual work and budget plan of the Company (CBP), and then it can't compare between the target (plan) and realization. Thus, the authors compare the average value of sales in 2014 to the average value of sales during the last 3 years as seen below.

$$\frac{106.45}{37.37} \times 100\% = 284.85\%$$

Based on the above calculation results, GRIS has gained 284.85% value. From the results, the value of score indicators to GRIS is 5 based on GRIS assessment score.

Financial perspective has the integrity of 60% out of 100% in balanced scorecard. In the previous discussion, it has been stated that the integrity of each financial perspective is 15% with the maximum score of 5. Below is the

overview of the calculation of financial perspective.

Table 8.
Financial Score Perspective

Perspective	Operational Definition of The Variables	Score
Financial	Return On Investment	3
	Return On Equity	2
	Net Profit Margin	5
	Growth Rate In Sales	5
Total Scores		15

The table of Financial Perspective Score shows each operational definition of the variables that was used and the total score. *Return on investment* (ROE) scored 3, *return on equity* (ROE) scored 2, *net profit margin* (NPM) scored 5 and growth rate in sales (GRIS) scored 5. Hence, the score of financial perspective was 15.

Customer Perspective

Customer retention presents the ability of BUM Desa Kemiri in retaining customers. Retaining customers is an important part of a company. In addition, customer retention can be a report of services to customers who are customers of BUM Desa Kemiri. The table below presents the customer growth from 2011 to 2014. Data in 2011 are needed to analyse retaining process to existing customers.

Table 9.
Growth Rate of Customer Retention BUM Desa Kemiri Based on Bussiness Sector

Year	Customer Total			% Retention Customer		
	HIPPAM	Pasar Desa	SOPP	HIPPAM	Pasar Desa	SOPP
2011	441	13.650	657	-	-	-
2012	453	15.090	688	2,72	10,55	4,72
2013	471	14.784	647	3,97	-2,03	-5,96
2014	486	14.378	591	3,18	-2,75	-8,65
Average of Customer Retention				3,29	-1,92	-3,3

Calculation of customer retention rate is measured as below and results in the table of calculation result as below.

$$\frac{\text{amount of (the current year customer-previous year customers)}}{\text{amount of previous year customer}} \times 100\%$$

Based on the calculation, the average value of customer retention of BUM Desa Kemiri has a lower rate, that is -0.64. That value needs more consideration in serving

existing customers. It should need more evaluating action in order not to decrease customers which have implication towards profit and sustainable of the organization.

The average value cannot be considered good or bad categories, if it does not compare growth of customers or comparison between the level of planning and realization. However, BUM Desa Kemiri has no annual work and budget plan of the Company (CBP), and then it can't compare between the target (plan) and realization. Thus, the authors compare the average value of sales in 2014 to the average value of sales during the last 3 years as below.

$$\frac{(-2.45)}{(-0.64)} \times 100\% = 382.8\%$$

Based on the calculation, the value is -382.8%. Therefore, the score indicator of customer retention is 1.

Customer acquisition shows how BUM Desa Kemiri can seize or acquire new customers. This measurement will indicate the level of new customers that can be acquired annually by BUM Desa. Measurement of customer acquisition will have an impact to the income of BUM Desa Kemiri. It will be presented in the table on annual new customers below.

Table 10.
New Customers and Customer Total BUM Desa "Kembang" Kemiri Village

Year	Customer Total			Customer Total		
	HIPPAM	Pasar Desa	SOPP	HIPPAM	Pasar Desa	SOPP
2012	12	1.400	31	453	15.090	688
2013	18	0	0	471	14.784	647
2014	15	0	0	486	14.378	591

The table above shows the ability of BUM Desa Kemiri in the acquisition of new customers. Therefore, the measurement of customer acquisition will be measured using the percentage of customer growth annually.

Table 11.
Customer Acquisition
BUM Desa "Kembang" Kemiri Village

Year	% Customer Acquisition		
	HIPPAM	Pasar Desa	SOPP
2012	2,65	9,54	4,51
2013	3,82	0	0
2014	3,19	0	0
Average	3,22	3,15	1,5

Based on the table above, the average score of customer acquisition value is 2.62. The average value cannot be considered good or bad categories, if it does not compare the growth of customers or comparison between the level of

planning and realization. However, BUM Desa Kemiri has no annual work and budget plan of the Company (CBP), and then it can't compare between the target (plan) and realization. Thus, the authors compare the average value of sales in 2014 to the average value of sales during the last 3 years as below.

$$\frac{(1.1)}{(2.62)} \times 100\% = 41.98\%$$

Based on the calculation, the value is 41.98%. Therefore, the indicator score of customer acquisition is 2.

The Customer Perspective has the integrity of 10% out of 100%. Hence, each indicator in this perspective has the integrity of 5% with the maximum score of 10. Below is the table of the customer perspective score.

Table 12.
Customer Score Perspective

Perspective	Operational Definition of The Variables	Score
Customer	Customer Retention	1
	Customer Acquisition	2
Total Score		3

The table above shows that the result of each analysis of operational definition of the variables was used to measure the performance of customer perspective along with its total score. The total score of this customer perspective is 3. The customer retention scores 1 and the customer acquisition scores 2.

The Internal-Business-Process Perspective

Manufacturing cycle effectiveness (MCE) is a tool for measuring the production time of product or service. The measurement of time in this process would use the MCE formula, the processing time divided by the finishing time.

Table 13.
Manufacturing Cycle Effectiveness (MCE) of
BUM Desa Kemiri Village

Year	Processing Time			Finishing Time			MCE Score
	HIP-PAM	Pasar Desa	SOPP	HIP-PAM	Pasar Desa	SOPP	
2012	25 minutes	600 minutes	3 minutes	30 minutes	900 minutes	3 minutes	0,83
2013	25 minutes	600 minutes	3 minutes	30 minutes	900 minutes	3 minutes	0,83
2014	25 minutes	600 minutes	3 minutes	30 minutes	900 minutes	3 minutes	0,83
Average of MCE							0,83

Based on the table above, the percentage of MCE value is 83%, and the indicator score of MCE is 4 with B score as the criteria.

Yield rate (YR) is a tool to analyse how the village of BUM Desa Kemiri maximizes the maximum capacity to be converted to actual capacity. Below is the table presenting maximum and actual capacity.

Table 14.
Yield Rate (YR) of BUM Desa Kemiri Village

Year	Actual Capacity			Maximum Capacity			YR Score
	HIP-PAM	Pasar Desa	SOPP	HIP-PAM	Pasar Desa	SOPP	
2012	453	15.090	688	1.000	17.325	13.716	0,46
2013	471	14.784	647	1.000	17.160	13.716	0,46
2014	486	14.378	591	1.000	17.325	13.716	0,45
Average of Yied Rate							0,46

Based on the table, Yied Rate percentage of BUM Desa Kemiri is 46%, and the indicator score is 2.

The internal-business-process perspective has the integrity of 10% out of 100% in balanced scorecard. However, because the internal-business-process perspective has two operational definitions of variables or indicators, thus each indicator has the integrity of %. Below is the table of the score of internal-business-process perspective.

Table 15.
Internal-Bussines Process Score Perspective

Perspective	Operational Definition of The Variables	Score
Internal-Bussines Process	Manufacturing Cycle Effectiveness	4
	Yield Rate	2
Total		6

The table above shows that the indicator of manufacturing cycle effectiveness scores 4, and yield rate scores 2. Hence, the total score of the internal-business-process perspective is 6.

Learning and Growth Perspective

Employee productivity gives an overview of the organizational performance as the result of employee in contributing to the revenue of BUM Desa Kemiri. The measurement of these indicators will present the contribution of each employee to the survival of the company. Below is the table presenting the productivity level of employees which is calculated based on annual revenue divided with the number of employees in each year.

Table 16.

Employee Productivity
BUM Desa "Kembang" Kemiri Village

Year	Employee Total	Income	Growth of Productivity
2012	5	Rp 37.816.500,00	Rp 7.563.300,00
2013	5	Rp 35.841.000,00	Rp 7.168.200,00
2014	8	Rp 73.993.500,00	Rp 9.249.187,00
Average			7.993.562,00

Based on the table above, the average of employee productivity is about 7,993,562 rupiahs. The average value cannot be considered good or bad categories, if it does not compare the level of employee productivity or comparison between the level of planning and realization. However, BUM Desa Kemiri has no annual work and budget plan of the Company (CBP), and then it can't compare between the target (plan) and realization. Thus, the authors compare the average value of productivity in 2014 to the average value of productivity during the last 3 years as below.

$$\frac{(9,249,187)}{(7,993,562)} \times 100\% = 115,71\%$$

Based on the table above, the percentage of employee productivity value is 115,71%, and the indicator score is 5.

Employee training is an aspect of learning and growth in a balanced scorecard which has an important role for better development, and also makes BUM Desa Kemiri become a learning organization. Below is the table presenting the level of training which has been participated by employees of BUM Desa Kemiri in 2012-2014.

Table 17.

Employee Training
BUM Desa "Kembang" Kemiri Village

Year	Employee Total	Training of Employee	% Employee Training
2012	5	0	0
2013	5	0	0
2014	8	3	37,5
Average			12,5

Based on the table, it can be reviewed that the average value is 12.5. Because of the similar condition as previously explained, the authors compare the average value of productivity in 2014 to the average value of employee training during the last 3 years as below.

$$\frac{37,5}{12,5} \times 100\% = 300\%$$

Based on the table above, the percentage of employee training value is 300%, and the indicator score is 5.

Employee turnover will present turnover rate of employees of BUM Desa Kemiri. The better managing employee turnover rate will result in better results. Below is the table presenting the rate of employee turnover in BUM Desa Kemiri.

Table 18.

Employee Turnover
BUM Desa "Kembang" Desa Kemiri Tahun 2012-2

Year	Employee Out	Employee In	Employee Total	% Turnover
2012	0	0	5	0
2013	0	0	5	0
2014	0	3	8	0
Average				0

The result of the average value of an employee turnover rate is 0 since no employee was resigned, and the employee turnover value is 0. The calculation value is similar to the previous indicator, then results in 0%, and the indicator score is 5. Moreover, the value is the optimum score of the indicator score.

The last perspective is learning and growth perspective which supports the three perspectives. Based on the integrity provision, this perspective has the integrity of 20%, and each indicator has the integrity of 6.67% and scores 5. Hence, the maximum score of learning and growth perspective is 15. Below is the table of the result of the data analysis of the learning and growth perspective score.

Table 19.

Learning and Growth Score Perspective

Perspective	Operational Definition of The Variables	Score
Learning and growth	Employee Productivity	5
	Employee Training	5
	Employee Turnover	5
Total		15

The table shows each score of the variables. The employee productivity scores 5; the employee training scores 5; and the employee turnover scores 5. Hence, the total score is 15, and it is the maximum score of learning and growth perspective.

Measuring the performance of Village-Owned Enterprises (BUM Desa), Desa Kemiri Kabupaten Jember applies a balanced scorecard approach by engaging finance, customers, internal business process, and learning and growth. The score is presented below.

Table 20.

Measuring Performance of Badan Usaha Milik Desa (BUM Desa) “Kembang” Kemiri Village Jember District Based On Balanced Scorecard

Perspective	Score Total Indicator	Weight Indicator	Total Score
Financial	15	15	225
Customers	3	5	15
Internal-Bussines Process	6	5	30
Learning and Growth	15	6,67	100,05
Total Score			370.05

Based on the measurement of the performance of BUM Desa “Kembang” Desa Kemiri with *balanced scorecard*, it is found that BUM Desa “Kembang” Desa Kemiri scores 370.05. To find out the “healthy” level of BUM Desa “Kembang” Desa Kemiri, the result of the research is divided by the maximum score $(370,05 : 500,05) \times 100 = 74$.

Table 21.

Healthy Assessment BUM Desa “Kembang” Kemiri Village

Condition	Category	Total Score
Good	AAA	TS > 95
	AA	95 => TS > 80
	A	80 => TS > 65
Sufficient	BBB	65 => TS > 50
	BB	50 => TS > 40
	B	40 => TS > 30
Bad	CCC	30 => TS > 20
	CC	20 => TS > 10
	C	10 => TS

The calculation shows that the total score is 74. Based on the table of health assessment, BUM Desa “Kembang” Desa Kemiri is considered good with A category. This is supported by the score 74 which indicates “healthy”, and also the research indicators get a maximum score including *Net Profit Margin (NPM)*, *Growth Rate In Sales*

(GRIS), the employee productivity, the employee training, and the employee turnover. Meanwhile, the indicators that have the score below 3 are 4 indicators including *Return On Equity (ROE)*, the customer retention, the customer acquisition and *Yield Rate (YR)*. In brief, BUM Desa “Kembang” Desa Kemiri was in the good state although some indicators show poor number, especially on the customer perspective.

CONCLUSION

Village-Owned Enterprises (BUM Desa) “Kembang” Desa Kemiri Kabupaten Jember is the oldest BUM Desa in Jember that was established in 2008. The performance of “Kembang” Desa Kemiri is measured by a balanced scorecard approach. The performance measurement based on balanced scorecard approach indicates that the balance measurement engages four primary perspectives. Those perspectives are finance, customer, internal business process, and learning and growth. Below is the summary of the results.

1. Financial Perspective Score had 4 indicators which are: *return on investment (ROI)* scoring 3, *return on equity (ROE)* scoring 2, *net profit margin (NPM)* scoring 5, and *growth rate in sales (GRIS)* scoring 5. Hence, the total score of financial perspective was 15.
2. The second perspective was the customer perspective. In this research, the indicator or operational definition of the variable that was used was the customer retention (scoring 1) and the customer acquisition (scoring 2). The total score was 3.
3. The internal-business-process perspective was the third perspective. The total score was 6. Each manufacturing cycle of effectiveness scored 4, and yield rate scored 2.
4. The last perspective was learning and growth perspective. The maximum score for all indicators was 15. All of the indicators got a perfect score which is 5. Those indicators are the employee productivity, the employee training and the employee turnover.
5. The real value of the weighted-score (BUM Desa “Kembang”) was 370.05. The result was divided by the maximum value of the weighted-score 500.05. Hence, the final score was 74. To conclude, BUM Desa “Kembang” was in the good state in A category.

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CHAPTER 5

**Information, Digital Society
and Culture**

PROCEEDING

**RE-EXAMINING
GOVERNANCE:**

**STRENGTHENING
CITIZENSHIP
IN THE CHANGING WORLD**



The Enhancement of Telecenter Service Quality: Based on “Perception-Expectation Gap”

Penyusun :

• **Erna
Setijaningrum**

The Faculty of Social and
Political Science
Universitas Airlangga

Keywords :

*Service Quality,
Telecenter,
Staff's Perception,
Society's Expectation,
Gap Analysis.*

Abstract

The aim of this research is to enhance the quality of Telecenter service. Telecenter is a place for society to get any kinds of information based on technology, which has been established by the Government of East Java Province. One of the Telecenter's activities is to give technology information training to society for free. Unfortunately, almost all of the Telecenter in East Java have not been developed, even some of them are out of business. Therefore, it needs efforts to increase the quality of Telecenter service based on “Perception-Expectation Gap” by analyzing the gap between the perception of the staffs toward the service which they give, and the expectation of the society toward the service which they need. This research used descriptive qualitative method. The result of this research shows that there are four gaps between the perception of the staffs and the expectation of the society toward Telecenter service such as Gap I (knowledge gap), Gap III (delivery gap), Gap IV (communication gap), and Gap V (service gap). From those four gaps, there are five service aspects which have to be fixed to increase the service quality such as tangibility, reliability, responsiveness, assurance, and empathy.

A. INTRODUCTION

Digital and information discrepancy is an international issue in the forum of the World Summit on the Information Society of United Nations (UN) in 2003 in Geneva and in 2005 in Tunis. This conference set various flagship programs including the provision of telecommunications and internet infrastructure to connect villages and efforts to actualize information and communication technology

literacy of half of the world's population.

In Indonesia, in 2003, UNDP with the National Development Planning Agency had a research entitled “Asia Pacific Development Information Programme (APDIP)” about the use of information and communication technology for socio-economic development in Indonesia. In 2004, the study was continued with the title “Preparatory Assistance for ICTs for Human Development.” The study recommends a range of strategies and projects Partnership

for e-Prosperity for the Poor (Pe-PP). Implementation of Pe-PP was the establishment of Telecenter in six provinces in Indonesia, including in East Java province.

East Java Provincial Government through the Department of Communications and Information Technology, in cooperation with the district/city governments facilitates the establishment of an information center called Telecenter. Telecenter is the computer facilities, internet network, supporting infrastructure to empower people through acquiring and disseminating information through information technology. The existence of Telecenter is expected to empower people through access to information such as market information, agriculture, trade, education, health, and others.

To facilitate society access to telecenter services, telecenter can be divided into several types:

1. Society-based telecenter; this type of telecenter is established and supported by the society.
2. School-based telecenter; this telecenter is located at the school and can be used as a computer lab as well as the local society use after school hours.
3. Health center-based telecenter; health center has a vital position to increase society's knowledge related to health.
4. Cooperative-based telecenter; this telecenter can provide information and communication services related to the development of the surrounding society business.
5. Post office-based telecenter; this telecenter can provide a variety of services in addition to financial transactions beside goods and letters delivery.
6. Library-based telecenter; an information service unit that was developed by information technology to support local learning needs.

Between 2005 and 2013, East Java had set up 40 telecenters which can be seen in the following table:

Table 1.
List of Telecenter in East Java

No	City	Telecenter Name	Established Year
1	Madiun	Muneng	2005
2	Lumajang	Semeru	
3	Tuban	Prameta	2006
4	Pamekasan	Global	
5	Situbondo	Pasir Putih	2007
6	Lamongan	Sunan Drajat	
7	Pacitan	Rumpintek	
8	Malang	Sakti	
9	Bondowoso	Mandiri	
10	Tulungagung	Planet	2008
11	Pasuruan	Agrotech	

12	Probolinggo	Bromo	2009
13	Bojonegoro	Angling Darmo	
14	Blitar	Bumi Penataran	
15	Sumenep	Bekisar Link	
16	Banyuwangi	Asriloka	
17	Kediri	Jayati	
18	Trenggalek	Hybrid	2010
19	Malang	Daragati	
20	Tuban	Meteor	
21	Bangkalan	Kraton	
22	Nganjuk	Tanjunganom Jaya	
23	Ngawi	Kertonegoro	
24	Magetan	Wisnu Murti	2011
25	Probolinggo	Banger	
26	Kediri	Bumi Kediri	
27	Kota Batu	Karunia Telecenter	
28	Malang	Lentera Buana	
29	Mojokerto	Mojopahit	
30	Ponorogo	Warok	2012
31	Surabaya	Ampel	
32	Sampang	Trunojoyo	
33	Gresik	Joko Samudro	
34	Sidoarjo	Jenggolo	
35	Jombang	Jombang	
36	Blitar	Bung Karno	2013
37	Madiun	Madumongso	
38	Pasuruan	Suropati	
39	Sumenep	Joko Tole	
40	Jember	Ajung Jember	

Source: Department of Communication and Informatics

Services provided by Telecenter are to provide information technology facilities so that the society can access all the necessary information. The establishment of telecenters is a program of local society development using information and communication technology which aims to:

1. Empowering communities with easy access to basic information such as information on market, agriculture, trade, education, health and others
2. Improving the ability of the society in terms of access to information technology through training
3. Encouraging people to boost the local economy with society development activities through the utilization of information and communication technology
4. Developing cooperation with relevant parties to build local communities

A total of 40 telecenters had been established in East Java between 2005 and 2013. It appeared that there were only 3 telecenters which can develop well; it is the successful Agrotech telecenter with agro tourism. Malang was success to have a collaboration with the Family Welfare Movement (PKK) as well as a successful telecenter in Bromo which sold travel programs. Meanwhile, other telecenters do not develop properly, and even many telecenters are no longer active.

Characteristics and trends of the problems faced by each telecenter in East Java are almost similar. Common issues faced by telecenters actually rested on the management telecenter are less than optimal. Management of optimal telecenter will be highly dependent on infrastructure such as computers hardware with adequate internet facilities and human resources which managed the telecenters.

The number of telecenters which is not developed in East Java needs an effort to improve the quality of services so that empowering people through information technology can be realized. Efforts to improve the quality of services at the telecenter should be viewed from two sides, namely:

1. External sides/society as Telecenter service users. Expectations of society as telecenter service users should be considered to obtain information on the services desired by the society.
2. Internal sides/staffs of Telecenter as a service provider. Various perceptions of telecenter staffs in the implementation of quality services need to be identified to determine the services that have been implemented.

By looking at both sides of this comprehension, the effort to increase the quality of services at the telecenter will be summarized in all the interests both from the internal side of organization and external side of service users. After the identification of the people's expectations and perceptions of staffs on Telecenter service quality, it is necessary to do a gap analysis between the two in order to find a solution as an effort to improve the quality of Telecenter service. Hence, the questions posed in this study are: (1) what are the perceptions of staffs to Telecenter services? ; (2) what are the people's expectations of the service in Telecenter? ; (3) how is the service quality of "expectation-perception gap"-based Telecenter enhanced?

B. METHOD:

This type of research is descriptive qualitative research. The selection of qualitative methods in this study will describe how, when, where the atmosphere of something was studied (Bruce L Berg, 2000). The research was conducted in three 3 telecenters namely (1) Sunan Ampel Telecenter in Surabaya (renamed as BLC telecenter Ampel); (2) Sunan Drajat Telecenter in Lamongan (renamed as the creative communication center); and (3) Daragati Telecenter in Malang. Data were collected through three ways, namely observation, interviews, and documentation (Robert, 2010). In this study, the criteria of degree in the data

checking are done by triangulation techniques, namely by comparing the observed data with data from interviews, and by comparing the results of interviews with the content of related documents (Lexy J Moleong, 2008). In order to get organized and systematic analysis of qualitative data, the researcher made three flows of activities that must be followed, namely data reduction, data presentation, verification or conclusion (Miles and Huberman 1992).

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Before using a particular service, someone must have expectation related to what they will get from such a service. According to Hill (in Nia 2009), expectation is what consumers think should be served by the service provider. Expectation does not appear by itself or is not a prediction of what will be provided by the service provider. According to Olson and Dover (cited in Zeithaml, et al, 1993), the expectations of customers are the customer confidence before trying or buying concerned products. According to Horovitz (in Nia 2009), consumer expectations can be formed due to four factors:

1. Requirement; every consumer, who has a need, always expects that their needs will be met by the manufacturer as suppliers of goods and services. Thus, producers must know the needs of consumers that provide the best service so that consumers' expectations can be reached.
2. Mass Media; one of the promotional tools used by most or even the whole company to compete promotions to attract the attention of consumers by giving promises to consumers. The promises raise expectation in consumers.
3. Past experience; if a consumer never enjoyed a satisfactory service somewhere before, then when the consumer using the same service, it will make consumers expect the same service as they experienced.
4. Mouth to mouth; if consumers feel satisfied with the service received, they will recount their experiences to friends or relations so that they would use these services and hope to have an enjoyable experience as well.

Quality of service can be known when the assessment of several kinds of gaps is associated with customer expectations, perceptions of management, quality of service, provision of services, external communications, and what is perceived by customers. In detail, these gaps can be identified in the image below:

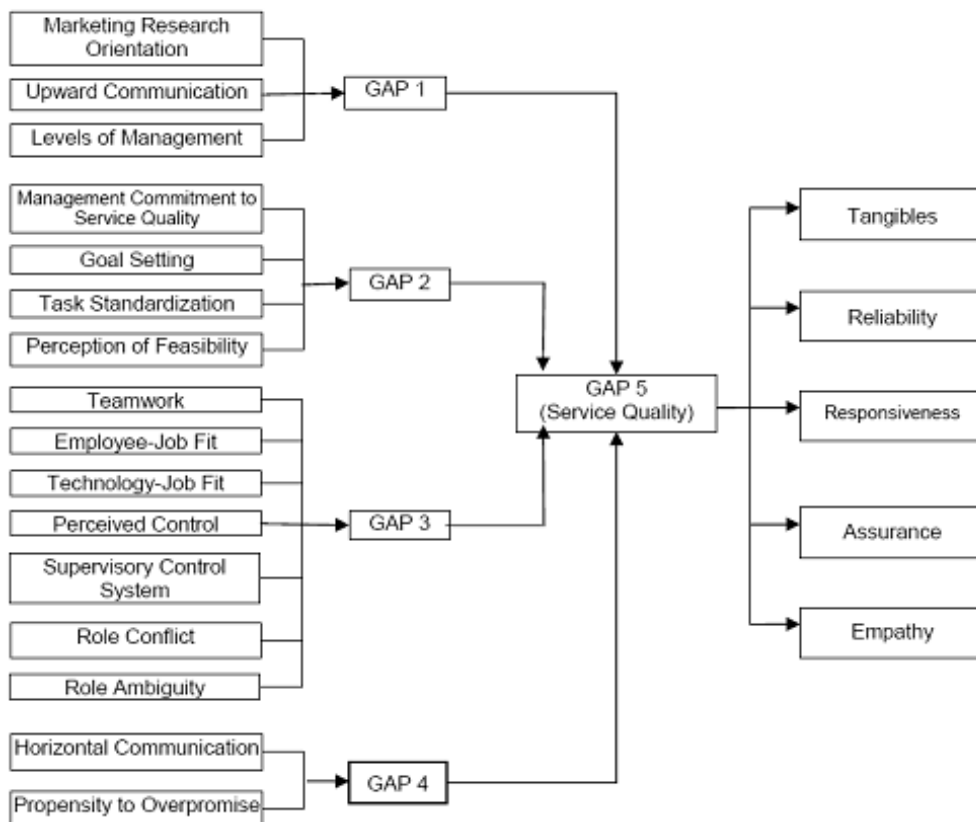
An assessment of the quality of service can be viewed from several different angles (Evans & Lindsay, 1997), in terms of:

1. Product Based, where quality of service is defined as a specific function with different measurement variables on the characteristics of its products.
2. User Based, where quality of service is the degree of conformity with the services desired by the customer.

3. Value Based, related to the usefulness or satisfaction overpriced.

In terms of assessment of service quality, Parasuraman et. al. (1985) defines service quality assessment as a global judgment or attitude associated with excellence (superiority) of a service. In other words, the assessment of the quality of service is the same as the general attitude of the individual and company performance. Further, he adds that the assessment of service quality is the extent and direction of the difference between perception and expectations of customers. The difference between perception and expectations that underlie the emergence of the concept of gap (perception-expectation gap) and is used as a basis of SERVQUAL scale, which is based on five dimensions of quality, namely:

Gambar 2
Model Kesenjangan dari Kualitas Pelayanan



Source: *Delivering Quality Service*, Zeithaml, et. al., (1990)

In service quality in the model (Servqual), an analysis of the gap 5 is as follows:

Gap I: the gap between the perception of the company and customer expectations (knowledge gap). To find out more about GAP I, three pieces of questions have been proposed to the instructor and the society, namely:

1. How do I determine the theme of training? Is it determined from the clerk or requests from the society?
2. What are the kinds of training in telecenters in accordance with the needs of the society?
3. Is there any kind of training which is actually much

needed by society but not yet implemented at the telecenter? If yes, what kind of training is it? Are the problems encountered?

Gap II: Gap between perception of the company against the expectations of consumers and service quality specifications (standard gap). To find out more about the GAP II, two pieces of questions have been filed to the instructor and the society, namely:

1. What are the benefits for the society telecenter?
2. Has the training met the standard (there are props, module, instructors, facilities and supporting infrastructure)?

Gap III: Gap between service quality specifications and service delivery (delivery gap). To find out more about GAP III, four pieces of questions have been submitted to the instructor and the society, namely:

1. Is the existing technological equipment in telecenter sufficient? Is it still necessary to have additions? If so, what the addition is needed?
2. Are the activities/courses held in this telecenter (schedules, hours, instructors) in conformity with the wishes of the people?
3. Has the learning process been effective and efficient?
4. Are all the materials that could have been done planned?

Gap IV: Gap between service delivery and communications and external interaction (communications gap). To find out more about GAP IV, two pieces of questions have been filed to the instructor and the society, namely:

1. Is there any difficulty in communicating between participants and instructors? (E.g. because the level of society education, age, economic level, etc.)
2. Has telecenter socialization been prevalent in all communities?

Gap V: Gap between perceived service and expected services (service gap). To find out more about GAP V, two pieces of questions have been filed to the instructor and the society, namely:

1. What are the perceptions of the training within the Telecenter?
2. Is training in Telecenter as expected?

Table V. 10
Staff's Perception and Society Expectation: GAP 1 – GAP IV

No.	GAP Question	Staff Perception			Society Expectation		
		BLC Ampel Telecenter Surabaya	Creative Communication Center Lamongan	Daragati Telecenter, Malang	BLC Ampel Telecenter Surabaya	Creative Communication Center Lamongan	Daragati Telecenter, Malang
GAP 1 (knowledge gap)							
1	How to determine the theme of training	Determined by staffs	Determined by staffs by having a discussion with the participants	Determined by staffs	Determined by society	Determined by staffs by having a discussion with the participants	Determined by staffs
2	Types of training in telecenter has been suitable with the society needs	Suitable	Suitable	Suitable to participants' needs	Suitable	Suitable	Suitable to participants' needs
3	There are some types of training which actually are needed by society, but it hasn't been done in telecenter	It still needs internship training and internet continuity	It still needs online marketing	It still needs online marketing training, especially for UKM participants	No need additional training	It still needs online marketing	It still needs online marketing training, especially for UKM participants
GAP II (standard gap)							
1	The function of telecenter to society	To know more about technology and develop themselves	For UKM, to develop their business through the use of information technology	To develop themselves in accordance with their profession	To use the information technology and apply it	For UKM, to develop their business through the use of information technology	To use the technology for developing them in accordance with their needs
2	The given training has fulfilled the standard (there are props, modules, instructors, supporting facilities and infrastructure)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
GAP III (delivery gap)							
1	Technological equipments in telecenter are suffice	inadequate	suffice	suffice	inadequate	suffice	suffice
2	The activities / courses which are conducted in telecenter (schedules, times, instructors) in accordance with the wishes of society	in accordance with the wishes of society	In accordance with the schedules of participants	The schedules adjusted to the spare time of society	The schedule is set up, but society can freely join the class which in accordance with their spare time	In accordance with the schedules of participants	The schedules adjusted to the spare time of society
3	Teaching and learning process have been effective and efficient	Effective and efficient	Effective and efficient	Effective and efficient	Effective and efficient	Still less effective and efficient because the participants cannot come at the same time	Haven't effective yet because the participants are not discipline, and often come late
4	All planned materials have been conducted	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
GAP IV (communications gap)							
1	There is a problem in communication between participants and instructors	There is no problem in communication	There is no problem in communication	There is no problem in communication	There is no problem in communication	There is no problem in communication	Still needs to be communicated well so that the participants can be more discipline and come on time
2	Socialization which is conducted by telecenter has been uneven in society	Socialization has been uneven in society	Socialization has been uneven in society	Socialization has been uneven in society	Socialization hasn't been uneven yet, there are people who don't know about it because of the location	Socialization has been uneven in society	Socialization has been uneven in society

GAP V (service gap)							
1	Perception to the training in telecenter	Society can use their skill after conducting the training to open the new business opportunity, looking for alternative business, and increasing income	Society can be skillful to conduct information technology in accordance with their interests	Society has applied information technology	Society has got knowledge about information technology/ internet, but they cannot apply it	Society cannot use it to develop and look for new alternative business	Society has not applied the training yet
2	Expectation toward the training in telecenter	As society's expectation	As society's expectation	As society's expectation	Can open new business opportunity, and increase profit	Can develop and look for new business opportunity and increase profit	Can open new business opportunity, and increase profit

The table shows that the gap between perception and expectations of the society staff in the service of telecenters is as follows:

a. BLC Ampel Telecenter (Surabaya):

- Gap I (Knowledge gap): there are two kinds of gap between the perceptions of the staffs with the expectations of society. Staffs consider that the theme of the training is determined by the staff to conduct the entrance test prior to placement level balance, but the society expects that the theme of training should be determined by the society. Meanwhile, the second gap is the staffs stating that they needed training in the form of internships and advanced internet, but people expect no online marketing training to create a website, and assistance as a follow-up training.
- Gap IV (communication gap): there is still a wide gap between the perception of staffs and society expectations. Staffs consider that socialization was implemented equitably to all communities, but the people expect that socialization is still to be done again to the entire society, especially the remote location of the village because there are many people who do not know the whereabouts of telecenters.
- Gap V (service gap): there are still 2 gaps between perception of the staffs and society expectations. First, consider that the staff can use his ability after training to open up new business opportunities, look for alternative businesses, and increase income, but in reality it has not been realized. Second, people assume that the training is provided in accordance with the expectations of society, but it is still not in accordance with the expectations of the people who want to open a new business and increase profits.

b. Creative Communication Center (Lamongan)

- Gap III (delivery gap): there is still a wide gap between the perception of one staff and society expectations. Staffs consider that the training has been carried out effectively and efficiently, but

people expect to be effective and efficient because all of this is still less due to the presence of participants which are not coincide.

- Gap V (service gap): there are still 2 gaps between perception staffs and society expectations. First, staffs consider that the people can proficiently perform information technology in accordance with their interests, but in reality it has not been realized. Second, the staff considers that the training is provided in accordance with the expectations of society, but it is still not in accordance with the expectations of the people who want to open a new business and increase profits.

c. Daragati Telecenter (Malang)

- Gap III (delivery gap): there is a wide gap between perception and expectations of society. Staffs consider that the implementation of the training was effective and efficient, but the people considered it not effective and efficient because of the lack of discipline of participants who often arrive late.
- Gap IV (communication gap): there is a wide gap between perception and expectations of society. Staffs consider that the communication has been running smoothly with no problems, but the society expects that the communication is intensified in respect of discipline of participants.
- Gap V (service gap): there are still 2 gaps between perception of the staffs and society expectations. First, the staff considers that the society is able to apply the information technology, but in fact it has not been realized. Second, the staff considers that the training is provided in accordance with the expectations of society, but it is still not in accordance with the expectations of the people who want to open a new business and increase profits.

Parasuraman (in Ratminto 2010) suggested five principles of society service so that service quality can be achieved, namely:

1. Direct evidence (tangibles); including physical fa-

cilities, equipment and means of communication of employees

2. Reliability; namely the ability to provide the promised service immediately, accurately, and satisfactorily
3. Responsiveness; namely the desire of the staffs to help customers and provide service with response
4. Warranty (assurance); including knowledge, skills, politeness, and trustworthy owned by the staffs, free from danger, risk or hesitations
5. Empathy; including ease of doing any type of relationship, personal attention, and understand the needs of customers (Pasuraman in Tjiptono, 1996).

To improve the quality of Telecenter service, harmonization between perception telecenter staffs to the expectations of society with the services is necessary to receive the five aspects of service quality. In general, it can be illustrated as follows:

1. To overcome Gap I (Knowledge gap): requiring poll to the society about the types of information technology training they want, according to their needs. In addition, after the society has finished the training, it requires poll back to follow up the next activity. Aspects of service which need to be improved are the responsiveness, assurance, and empathy
2. To resolve Gap III (delivery gap): requiring the re-

scheduling of training (days and hours of training), as well as the necessary society commitment to the training schedule. The aspect of service which needs to be improved is the responsiveness

3. To overcome Gap IV (communication gap): requiring a much more extensive outreach to the society. The aspect of service which needs to be improved is the responsiveness
4. To overcome Gap V (service gap): evaluation is needed to monitor the benefits of training as a follow-up activity such as mentoring or provision of special materials according to the needs of participants. Aspects of service which need to be improved are tangibility, reliability, responsiveness, assurance, and empathy

D. CONCLUSION

To improve the quality of service, Telecenter is necessary to increase the five aspects of service consisting of tangibility, reliability, responsiveness, assurance, and empathy to overcome the gaps (Gap I, Gap III, Gap IV, and Gap V) occurring between the perception of officials and people's expectations of the service of telecenters. In the future, the researcher should always do a survey to the society on a regular basis to get feedback about their expectations for the services they receive as an evaluation to always improve the quality of service of Telecenter.

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Is It An Illusion Or Reality Of Communication In Mayor Election Debate?

Managing Image in Surabaya Election Campaign

Penyusun :

• **Nevrettia
Christantyawati,
SSos, MSi**

Faculty of Communication
Science

Dr. Soetomo University

Semolowaru 84 Surabaya
Indonesia 60118

nevrie03@gmail.com

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*Illusions and reality construction of communication,
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Dramatistic pentad,
General Mayor Election Campaign.*

Abstract

A good political campaign is the one that includes many active and smart audiences to criticize the speeches of the vote-getters. This may lead to an advance local political culture. The previous paradigm focused outstandingly on how the communicator should be so keen on giving oration in front of public. This is not sufficient enough to provide many political ideas. Hence, the best tremendous effort to persuade public to win their votes is by narrating the good reason to follow and agree the idea. This is a result of the public enhancement in political awareness and more proficient in information literacy, particularly in urban area.

The election of mayor is an ideological contestation, platform and meaningful good image for a sustainable regional development. Although there are many official institutions that arrange and monitor the election processes such as, Election Supervisory Agent (Badan Pengawas Pemilu) and General Election Commissions (Komisi Pemilihan Umum), it remains a necessity to build enormous political synergy hand in hand with other stake holders.

The research was conducted at the end of previous Surabaya Mayor Election. The mainfocus of this researchwas to scrutinize the way how the debates were addressed, raised and counter the argumentations by the couples of mayor candidate. This case was the way how Risma-Wishnu and Rasiyo-Lucy had been arguing each other during the debates. Firstly, the methodology of critical rhetoric Kenneth Burke was implemented in the research to figure out both couples of mayor candidates did their best effort of public speaking in order to win the public sympathy. Finally, the dramatistic pentad was utilized to reveal the way how the public were lead to judge both couples by criticizing the show of political and power contestation stage.

The findings described that the incumbent mayor couple tended to implement the similar vision of sustainable development and narrate the whole idea as a part of public participatory. On contrast, the Rasiyo-Lucy couple failed to narrate the complete story and tended to create an illusion of a hero that pointed to themselves.

In conclusion, rising the political idea and winning the public sympathy can be obtained by addressing the reality and inclusive sensitization to the public. Public judgment is potential to be found in how the way the public speaker manipulates the story that is narrated in proper order of plots, coherences, honesty and pointing out the reality than illusions.

1. INTRODUCTION

At the end of 2015, most of Indonesian citizens hold an implementation of the democratic-party to elect the head of their respective regions. This reflects the political party of two things. First, as it is said by Mahatma Gandhi that the spirit of democracy is not an emotionless to be accustomed by ending of forms. It should involve change of heart - Mahatma Gandhi. Secondly, to describe democracy as James Bovard once said that is synonymously to a situation involving two wolves and a sheep on what to have for dinner - James Bovard cited in *Lost Rights: The Destruction of American Liberty*. It is true that these two sages describe out the democratic-party and not a systemic mechanism alone, but it is important to build on emotional attachment and negotiation efforts in communication. Number of citizens in many regions in Indonesia had voted for their mayors and head of regions. This election was a political contestation on how the candidates manage their image and attach public sentiments as well.

In the moment of regional head election in Indonesia, Commissioner of Indonesian General Election, Hadar Nafis Gumay, had announced the number of voters in list of Regional Head Election 2015 that had reached up to approximately 96,869,739 voters. This amount consisted of 48,466,877 male voters and 48,402,861 women voters. The data was obtained from the distribution of voters in 300 districts / cities, 3,591 sub-districts, villages and 237 790 43 962 polling stations (TPS). The number shows how big the public inclusivity in order to participate the political contestation.

1.1. Surabaya Mayor Election

Surabaya is the second big capital city in Indonesia which is politically very vital to national political situation. This is because Surabaya has a strong political parameter to measure up the national political stability. Related to this, many Surabaya citizens must build a strong criticism on various public policies and developmental programs offered by candidates of Surabaya Mayor. There were two couples of candidates that had been nominated for the mayor and his or her representative.

In this occasion, there were two couples nominated for

the Candidate of Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Surabaya. First couple of candidates were Risma and Whisnu from Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P) and second couple of candidates were Rasiyo and Lucy from Democratic Party and National Mandate Party (PD & PAN). Both couples might have unique image managements to win people's heart for the contest of the election in 2015. Not only to win the people's heart, but also they might narrate their political identity stories as well as to offer Surabaya citizens some tremendous programs toward future development.

The candidate of Surabaya Mayor, Tri Rismaharini claimed that firstly she would ponder on the development of urban infrastructure and development of human resources in the face of the Asean Economic community (MEA). Also, she would deliberate an infrastructure development, covering a pedestrian path outside the Circle Line in West and Satellite Underpass. Furthermore, the construction of urban infrastructure and human resources were done by extending the facilities and access to services needed by the community. The goal was to promote the development of the city of heroes. She would increase number of scholarships in order to develop human resources.

On the other hand, couple of mayor and vice mayor who were nominated by the Democratic Party and National Mandate Party, Rasiyo and Lucy Kurniasari had endorsed 12 priority programs that would be campaigned to society (<http://kesurabaya.com/category/pemilihan-wali-kota-surabaya-2015/>.)

1.2. How strong was the both couples of candidates' electability?

According to a research of one survey agency a few months ago, Tri Rismaharini's electability level reached 70 percent. While, the challenger only had less opportunity to be able to compete within short time preparation. Risma's position was very advantageous because during her performance as Mayor of Surabaya, she was supported by national and local media. As a result, her good image increased sharply to her citizens. Another thing that made the couple of candidates, Risma-Wishnu were hard to be beaten was because Risma had appeared as a strong leader of

Surabaya while the competitors were perceived as if they were only candidate dolls.

If indeed Rasiyo-Lucy wanted to beat Risma, they had to create their own media to promote their program. The media should be accessible and widespread to all citizens from the town until the suburb of Surabaya. It should be done by Rasiyo-Lucy to submit their work programs to the district level even urban village and so many neighborhoods around Surabaya. Despite the difficulties of lacking time to practice campaign door to door, Rasiyo Lucy should do this tremendous effort.

Surabaya citizens recognized Rasiyo as only the East Java Provincial Secretary. It was so less advantageous position to win public trust to vote on. His competence was

constructed through the post occupation as Provincial Secretary and he managed well his image that he practiced good public administration. In addition, it was not sufficient enough to offer good image as good public administrator. It required more than good governance to address the issue of urban areas such as very concrete actions and scopes grew much broader. While Lucy was nominated as a companion of Rasiyo, she was regarded as person who only knows the problem in general. Therefore, it was extremely doubtful that Lucy could perform concrete actions to Surabaya.

To illustrate the potential voters of Surabaya, below is the map of the voters spread around the city.

Table 1. The Surabaya voters' profile

No	Name of District	Number of village	Number of poll stations	Number of voters			Additional information*)
				L	P	L + P	
1	Karangpilang	4	94	24,213	25,708	49,921	
2	Wonocolo	5	107	27,062	28,280	55,342	
3	Rungkut	6	141	34,003	35,454	69,457	
4	Wonokromo	6	226	54,233	58,490	112,723	
5	Tegalsari	5	149	40,228	41,856	82,084	
6	Sawahan	6	285	72,581	76,359	148,940	
7	Genteng	5	87	22,295	23,380	45,675	
8	Gubeng	6	191	48,042	51,736	99,778	
9	Sukolilo	7	144	36,752	38,427	75,179	
10	Tambaksari	8	307	74,815	78,211	153,026	
11	Simokerto	5	137	34,318	35,749	70,067	
12	Pabean Cantikan	5	118	27,547	28,653	56,200	
13	Bubutan	5	144	35,647	37,531	73,178	
14	Tandes	6	122	29,572	31,392	60,964	
15	Krembangan	5	162	40,164	42,414	82,578	
16	Semampir	5	248	63,802	65,801	129,603	
17	Kenjeran	4	192	49,304	50,005	99,309	
18	Lakarsantri	6	71	18,488	19,192	37,680	
19	Benowo	4	74	19,684	20,323	40,007	
20	Wiyung	4	88	23,874	24,974	48,848	
21	Dukuh Pakis	4	82	20,386	21,714	42,100	
22	Gayungan	4	58	13,507	14,554	28,061	
23	Jambangan	4	64	16,517	17,146	33,663	
24	Tenggiling Mejoyo	4	75	19,855	20,842	40,697	
25	Gunung Anyar	4	70	18,136	19,027	37,163	
26	Mulyorejo	6	114	30,900	32,668	63,568	
27	Sukomanunggal	6	136	33,026	34,106	67,132	
28	Asemrowo	3	59	14,967	14,472	29,439	
29	Bulak	4	52	13,447	14,211	27,658	
30	Pakal	4	62	16,494	16,767	33,261	
31	Sambikerep	4	77	20,173	20,841	41,014	
JUMLAH		154	3936	994,032	1,040,283	2,034,315	

Source : KPU Surabaya 2015

The table shows the interpretation of data that :

The number of the final voters list which was announced by the Election Commission indicated that the total votes would be given in accordance with the regional dis-

tribution of each varies. Moreover, the voting management had been focused on particular public segment. This is because the basic aim was to empower public participant to criticize the prospective leaders. It is indispensable that to put the first-time-voters in the priority and to raise the idea

and platforms will receive different treatment in particular handicapped people. In order to be able recognize whether it is an illusion or fact said by the mayor candidates then it is very crucial to know how to recognize the game of words in mayor debates.

Each couple of candidates had track records that matched to their own political power map. So, the successful teams were challenged to provide a unique campaign-message that it would significantly persuade and affect track record of each candidate pair to have its own map of the political power, the creativity required for successful team in a packed high levels of persuasion campaign that would significantly lead targets to vote on.

1.3. The campaigns and public communication: how the game of words was managed.

The campaign is part of a public communication vicissitude which has the intent and purpose. Communication that is intended to provide information or to motivate behavior change for the audience is relatively constrained and spacious. The benefits derived are typically non commercial for the individuals and society at large. It is limited by the time or certain period. The message conveyed is well organized and all actions involve mass media, though it does not close the possibility of interpersonal support (Rogers & Storey, 1987). Moreover, since Internet technology began to be the cornerstone, the campaign was introduced to the internet (www.isrii.org). During a decade the campaigns are also completed using internet.

There are many advantages which on-line-campaign offers many ways of treatment, grounding typical audience behaviors, high structured-information disseminations and creatively consists of many texts and pictures. Furthermore, it is very effective to-face intervention, more personalized to the user interaction, enriched with graphics, animation, audio and video. Campaign through the internet provides follow-up and feed back as many words and picture interact as a game. Although the sites on internet do not contain many texts, it is considered to provide more information (Ritterband, Anderson, Christensen, Carlbring, Cuijpers; 2006).

2. THE QUESTION OF PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 The Scheme of Problem

The basic question address to this study is what are the

process of communication, style, and means of persuasion to gain the sympathy of the public in the local election campaign?

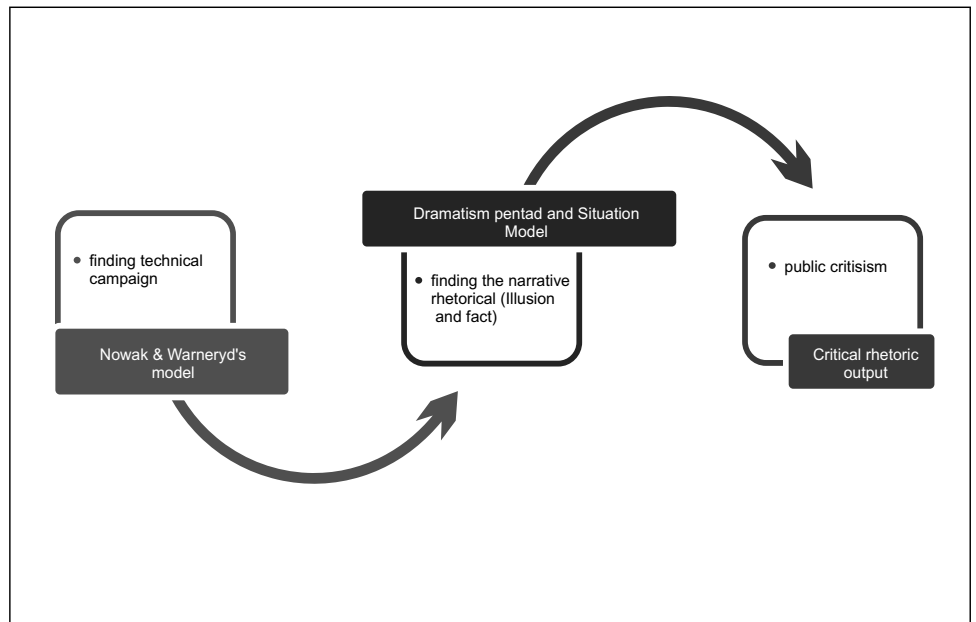


Figure 1. The Research process.

Furthermore, for general comprehension, there are several clues to assess whether a campaign is going to be successful or failed. Firstly, it is the general principle of communication. Secondly, how to persuade the target effectively is important. Thirdly, how the campaign process may lead to a purposive social change. Finally, how the relationship between the components of the campaign is done (Rice & Atkin, 1994).

It is also important to know the purpose of the campaign goal if the campaign objects are just creating awareness, instructing/educating, and persuading (Paisley, 1998). In this research, the aims of both couple of candidates are to reveal in the first order. Since the predecessor mayor Ris-mawas very outstandingly and obviously well known by the public, then it would be a little bit difficult for the challenger to beat down her reputation. Therefore, the campaigns of the two couples would be figured out as how managing words describing their political performances.

The basic philosophy of the campaign is the perspective of acceptance of something sensible. Public community and symmetrical two-way campaign are to redefine audience member whether it is public, communities, institutions as peer group and collaborators in the development of interactive and mutually beneficial as the implementation of the vicissitudes of change (Bracht 2001; Dervin & Frenette 2001; Dozier, Grunig & Grunig 2001).

The model selected campaigns in this study is a model of Nowak & Warnerreyd campaign, which is defined as a model of a traditional campaign (McQuail & Windahl 1993). This model is normative and it acts systematically to the effectiveness of the campaign. Elements relate potentially affect each other and can change the effect and purpose. Another reason chosen is this model also provides the assessment portion of how communicators can be as-

sessed. This is because the aim of this study is revealing how the communicators in the campaign can create the illusion of messages and to establish the reality. The following model of Nowak & Warneryd's campaign is illustrated below.

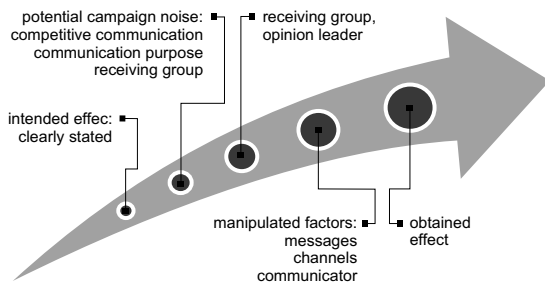


Figure 2. model of Nowak & Warneryd's campaign

2.2. Managing image through rhetorical campaign

The key term of the old rhetoric Dramatism-Pentad is persuasion that emphasizes the design of free communication. On the other hand, key term of the new rhetoric is identified and inclusively found in many parts of hidden factors of the implementation (Burke, 1968).

Therefore, communication can be comprehended as an illusion of how the efforts and how the communicators manipulate components of communication to lead the audience to a condition as if they are involved in. Burke sees that an act is declared as a basic concept of dramatism. An action and behavior implies intentionally to the attitudes. Furthermore, according to Burke, the use of language is more than an overflowing heart emotionally. No word is neutral. As a result, the attitude of the assessment, and the feeling of someone is always reflected in the language used (Burke, 1968).

To better understand the modeling in Burke's Dramatism there are three stages associated with the human drama, that is:

1. Redemption Guilt

Burke concludes that the ultimate goal of human drama is the self-cleaning of mistakes errors through public speaking. Guilt also ponders on tension, anxiety, disgust, shame, shyness and other negative feelings. Instead of guilt is what makes a more lively drama. According to Burke, negative feeling can be predicted through the pattern of picking words that refers to sort order or hierarchy, negative things or bad things, sacrifice and as a scapegoat, or mortification and penance.

2. Sort sequence or Hierarchy

It could be said that the community is a dramatic process in which there is a social level or hierarchical form. Hierarchy of social structures are formed through the strength of the relationship. Herewith, the intention is to communicate a sense of superiority, inferiority and equality (Duncan, H. D.; 1968). Language is used to facilitate the creation of the social categories and the hierarchy as well as the guilt is caused by a person's position in the social hierarchy (West, R., & Turner, L.; 2009).

3. Bad things or negative things

Bad things happen when someone is trying to find identity and social position by the way of acceptance and rejection. This is what makes a designation that the quest for social ladder is the ability to speak and prove that man is the maker selection (Duncan, H. D.; 1968). Words which are underlined by academics from Burke are the phrase "rot with perfection", which means an image symbolizing perfection. The guilt leads to differences in actual fact of life with perfection expected (Burke, K. 1965).

a. Scapegoating

Burke identifies typology and factional universal scapegoat. Universal scapegoat is a condition in which the narrator blames all the world's problems, so his audience supports and feels sorry for the failure of previous failures, because it also relates to the audience as well. But scapegoat factional is a condition in which communicators blame few people or a particular person that will be a problem afflicting him. This will be creating a section within an audience (Moore, M. P.; 2006). The victim, whoever and whatever is made into a rule-breaker. Consequently, one will think that the fight against these scapegoats will become heroes as they fight evil demons (Blain, M.; 2005).

b. Redemption

Redemption is a process of confession of guilt to seek a remission (Griffin, Em.; 2009). Generally, these people are charged in certain penalty so they can reflect on the mistakes and realize their mistakes.

Many orators of campaign tend to combine the selection cycles of liberation sin. The process begins with the order of status quo in which everything seems to be fine. Then they start "sin of political pollution" disturbing sequence that orders. It consequently leads to a possibility of guilt that is acceptable in the political arena. Furthermore, the guilt of sin will be described as the impact of pollution. After that, the sacrifice or mortification can purify guilt. Finally, the communicator will give the answer transcendental new status quo (Griffin, Em. 2009).

From the description above it is clear that how the illusion and reality built through the campaign will take place. This can be done by analyzing the performance of communication campaigns both pairs of candidates for mayor of Surabaya 2016-2020.

After the key terms that the communicators pick out the words to manage their image, the study will continue to scrutinize variety of events called dramatism-pentad. The elements contain five items illustrated below;

1. Actions and acts

2. Place of incident

3. Agent

4 The agencies

5. Intent or purpose

Eventually, the model of situation from Fisher is implemented to complete the analysis how the real message of the rhetorical campaign is. When the audiences are told a story, there is a stage of comprehension making up the representation of a text. Mental representation is called a model situation. In addition, the model in this situation is more precisely described in the text when it is compared to that apart from the text.

Many of these narrative studies understand to prioritize comprehension and act as if such a person is narrated. Below a strong model of Fisher can be counted onto reveal the final messages of managing image.

Space or Space
Space or environmental factors also support the model of this narrative. The reasons are the existence, dynamic and active moving within a scope such as the environment. Model should also propose environmental situation as the relevant relationships.
Time
This also narrates the sequence of events chronologically. Time is important to show the moment or when the events as facts are recounted. An indication of chronological time becomes part of the narrative. Therefore, the key to understand an event process is time.
Interest and For Causes
It is clear here that the narrative has a final destination and the interplay between the characters to one another, between cause something to that effect. This is the linkage in a narrative.
Possibilities and Loyalty
The following section of this theory is how people determine the possible likelihood and sincerity of the story. Honesty is defined as the narrative where the story is related or not to the experience of people they know in their lives. When people decide single component that they know honestly their lives, this determines the veracity of the story.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The Surabaya Mayor campaign debate in 2015 lasted five episodes. Each episode had a theme carried as a candidate for mayor issue of how couples responded properly and satisfactorily to audience.

From all of episodes, this study juxtaposed the speeches and debates of all candidates. The table below shows the results of the data findings.

Table 3.1

1. Redemption Guilt
From the results of the debate by the two pairs of candidates, the use of language and guilt became the hottest issue to attack and counter consecutively. This is evident with the words and phrases that were used by Risma tended to be egalitarian to the campaign goals. By encouraging citizen participation, so-called Arek Arek Suroboyo, Risma and Wishnu seemed to raise the issue of inclusivity in public administration. Meanwhile, the couple of candidates Rasiyo and Lucy preferred the use of words and sentences that have more tended to be centered on themselves or on their own. Hardly a word had found that positioning public governance participatory. This is evident from the number of the substitute words found that we, we, I and them.

2. Sort sequence or Hierarchy

The search for identity in the campaign and their social position through the way of acceptance and rejection. The finding extremely indicates the ability of public speaking very clearly. Wishnu as the pair of Risma was further superior to Rasiyo-Lucy. Even when the current arguments conveyed the vision and mission of each candidate, Lucy barely spoke nothing or expressed her ideas. Verbal dominance was mostly done by couple of Risma-Wishnu. Therefore, the better message that symbolized perfect public leaders whom citizen expected fell on the couple candidates of Risma-Wishnu. In addition, public compared the physical relating to femininity was very prominent disparity. Lucy was a former local beauty contestant 'Ning Surabaya'. Her public appearance looks very elegant and the image attached to her is a pretty woman exclusively. As juxtapose, Risma appears in public image as a strong and tough lady and never hesitates struggling with any conditions of on-site sudden inspections.

3. Bad things or negative things

a. Universal Scapegoat or Factional Scapegoat:

During the time of the debate, the couple of Rasiyo and Lucy were trying to find the failures of development outcomes before and after the leaderships of Risma and Wishnu. The purpose of looking for the scapegoats was to lead the citizens of Surabaya became doubt with anything that had been done by Risma. To counteract this question, Risma and Wishnu addressed a question what Rasiyo had done when he was occupied as the Secretary of East Java Provincial Government. This counteract was so pretty that Wishnu did not look for scapegoats. Most of responses which Rasiyo reacted to all of the addressed questions were likely to persist the argument. It was showed by many sentences he made which consisted the pronoun self "Us".

b. Redemption

In the course of the campaign, the issues raised were enormously the failure and the success of the management of government. Whether it was a good governance or bad one. Whether there were some efforts of improvement or great mistakes by the predecessor. It was a campaign trick in black (black campaign). Redemption or redemption guilt was actually a lot more done by the candidates of Rasiyo and Lucy who always expressed their ideas departing from the sin of past political mistakes predecessors (predecessor).

Next is identifying the public speaking performance of each candidate by using the model of Dramatism-Pentad. The aim is to figure out how their rhetoric efforts, whether it is truly creating reality drama or it is only an illusion of messages that they generated words by words in their campaign.

Table 3.2
Analysis Model for a Pair of Candidates by Dramatism-Pentad, Risma-Wishnu

ACT	RESPONSE :
	The response was very good in public speaking performance.
	Timelines was used effectively.
	Pose and gesture at non verbally were stable

SCENE	SITUATION : The supporters behaved mostly well and were assured for fulfilling expected responses
AGENT	SUBJECT : Hand in hand the collaboration of Risma and Wisnu in public speaking was very solid. They could counteract each other to complete the addressing questions.
AGENCY	STIMULUS : The exploration of ideas was pretty good to provide satisfying answer. The responses were very argumentative and rational-narrative based on many remarkable assumptions. So far, these candidates focused on awkward communication.
PURPOSE	TARGET : They resisted on reinforcement of the political messages as their style of campaign

Here is the comparison to the result of the other couple of candidates.

Table 3.2
Analysis Model for a pair of candidates by Dramatism-Pentad, Rasiyo - Lucy

ACT	RESPONSE : The person who was very dominant to give speech was Rasiyo, while his representative Lucy silently muted. Time used was less efficient. They showed unconsciously nervous gestures
SCENE	SITUATION : Supporters were not steady up. They tended to act in less manner
AGENT	SUBJECT : The couple were unable to counteract the argumentations. They interacted so one sided only that one spoke mostly while the other was very quiet.
AGENCY	STIMULUS : They replied the question less effectively. They just explored the global and macro issues. They ignored the details requests such as local identity, city icons and local narrative culture.
PURPOSE	TARGET : They tried to scrutinize the faults of opposite couple. By revealing the political sins. It may be potential to get newswingvoters

The next step is to identify the campaign contents Nowak&Warnerydmodel. This model is useful enough for mapping the patterns of potential voters gain.

Figure 3.1
Analysis Model for a Pair of Candidates by Dramatism-Pentad, Risma-Wisnu

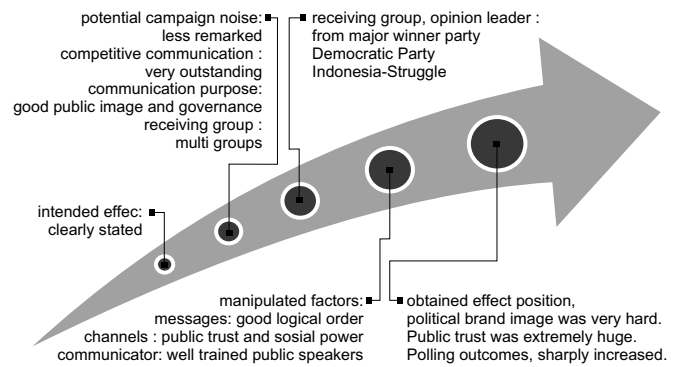
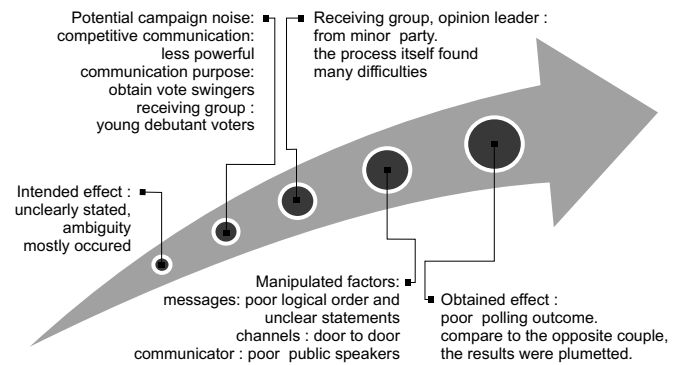
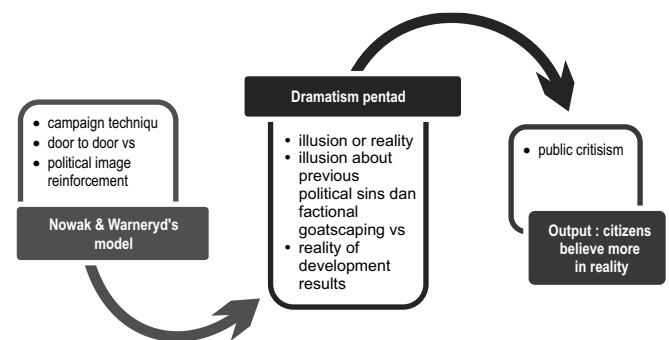


Figure 3.2
Analysis Model for a Pair of Candidates by Dramatism-Pentad, Rasiyo - Lucy



Overall, the study generates the flow to figure out how good narrative and good story about excellent public leader are constructed. The chart below describes how to win the public sympathy by simply mapping the campaign model and telling good story which involved the audience as part of it.

Figure 3.3
Chart of Data Analysis



4. CONCLUSION

From the finding softhe data that can be analyzed via flowchart diagram above, it can be concluded that:

1. Model of campaigns that the two candidates implemented were strategy that had been initiated through a pre-research forum of political strength and brand image of the candidates. Since the very start, the couple of candidates, Risma and Wishnu had been in an advantageous winning position as incumbent. It could be shown that citizens of Surabaya preferred to how the leader might present real good public governance as a result of successful inclusive development, instead of blaming the scape-goat, black campaign in fact gain nothing but lost. Furthermore, constructing image was instantly very hard to support success. If someone wants to challenge to be a mayor, he or she must be popular with his or her unique public leadership. This is one of evidence from local election that the previous paradigm has been evaded one by one. The previous paradigm is to elect the region leader by money power, social status or even gangster leader. This proves facts are initiated from the performance of public leading during their reign in Surabaya City.
2. As Rasiyo and Lucy who had limited time to foster public confidence, they found it extremely hard to win public sympathy. Then their success team tended to utilize the technique of selected campaign that was door to door. This might lead to an assumption that if someone had no good reputation as public leader, he or she might not have any opportunities to be a mayor. Also, it was very indispensable to manage the balance of political force strongly. As a result, public confidence during the mayor election process had been lead to be constructed for the illusion on a false reality of development. This happened when the mayor candidates debates were always looking for sin and a scape-goat for the failure of particular development of the city. The issue raised was the failure to establish the identity and local culture as well as the efficiency of a system that was associated to power relations. In other words, Rasiyo and Lucy wanted to find a mistake in authorizing the use of political and regional autonomy.
3. In the realm of narrative drama stage campaign, the issue of interaction between illusion and reality development emphasizes on tangible development. This illusion was not constructed during the campaign process of Risma and Wishnu. This was because their tendency was to strengthen the image by showing the reality of the results of development in a very logical argument narrative. All feedbacks were aimed irreversible properly. When Rasiyo and Lucy asked about whether Risma and Wishnu performance results were an illusion or not, they pointed out the judgment. The questions addressed to Risma and Wishnu might lead to figure out the performance of Risma and Wishnu. Rasiyo and Lucy were very curious about the policy that Risma tended to trim the system structure system government agencies. This question was lead to be an illusion as a form of political dissidence or authority abuse. The illusion created by Rasiyo and Lucy in order to attack the opposite couple failed by a logical argument on the reality of development and the achievement of outcomes that can be judged by the public.
4. Building public trust does not begin by building the illusion or spreading charm and promises. Public criticism as a community empowerment is boosted to scrutinize campaign messages. People who are critical of the political issues and are more educated tended to assess reality constructed and produced by the leaders. In this case, the rhetorical critical narratives were told about good reasons. For example, the folklore of Sawunggaling, Dr Soetomo, HOS Cokroaminoto, Soekarno, Bung Tomo and a list of names of national heroes as part of the cultural identity, honesty and coherence in storytelling in the campaign were less significant. On the other hand, citizen enjoyed very much the story telling about their Surabaya VILLAGE based on development approach. The reason of this image was much more rooted in reality ratios campaign. Heroes' identity was entrenched into the local culture in Surabaya society. Surabaya people characteristics were famous of the courage in danger risk behavior into something. This local narrative could have been accepted as a characteristics of the people of Surabaya. This issue would not result in means significantly if it was shown as an illusion. But conversely, if the characteristics of community Surabaya was displayed as part of reality or participation, this would be much more effective in public development.
5. Thus, the narrative has a strong position in the public moral argument. A public argument always regards the question basic questions of good and evil, life and death, the ideas about the figure of the individual, and how life would be. Fisher finds in the argument of public morality, rules of narrative will either beat the rules traditional arguments. An argument pitted the common narrative, rhetoric that these experts will be lost because it does not contain the integrity and accuracy expected by the public.

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Virtual Community and Local Civil Society Empowerment

Study on Virtual Community in Sikka Regency, East Nusa Tenggara

Penyusun :

(a) • **Rini Kartini**

(b) • **Sulih Indra
Dewi**

^(a) Airlangga University
Jl. Airlangga 4-6, Surabaya
60115, Indonesia

^(b) Tribhuwana Tungga Dewi
University
Jl. Tlogowarna Blok C, Malang
65144, Indonesia

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local civil society,
empowerment.*

Abstract

Social media has changed the way of people to communicate. The similarity of attractions (hobby, idealism, study, culture, religion, faith, etc.) creates virtual community. Online networking presence will actually be used as a tool for joint action as well as empowerment. Sikka District is one of area in East Nusa Tenggara. In this study, the researchers show how people in Sikka through online discussion forums use the media community to participate in local development. Furthermore, this research also shows how the role of virtual communities is used as tools for joint action as well as empowerment as to strengthen the government and society. The role of virtual communities in community empowerment and development has been demonstrated by the average virtual communities in Sikka. Discourses of empowerment and development in discussions delivered through virtual communities are generally followed up in concrete activities that have a positive impact both to the community members and the wider community. Cohesiveness between members of virtual communities in Sikka is one factor of involvement of these communities on community empowerment. In addition, the ability to access, analyze, evaluate, and use of the media that has been owned by members of the community remain conducive in helping maintain both online and offline activities. This condition helps create a public sphere that is the crucial element in either national or local development.

1. INTRODUCTION

Virtual community was born as the positive impact of the internet. When someone was actively connected to the

Internet with all the activities such as browsing to chat and follow discussion forums then automatically that person will be entered as part of the virtual community. Because the internet rates become more affordable and the prices

of devices are getting cheaper, the number of virtual communities in Indonesia is increased. Facebook social media is one of the most widely owned by Internet users in Indonesia. Until the second quarter of 2016, the number of active Facebook users reached 88 millions (<http://tekno.kompas.com/read/2016/10/20/17062397/>, accessed 25 of Oct 2016). This kind of social media is interesting for the people of Indonesia and the number of the user become bigger because basically people of Indonesia are the type of people who were very happy to chat. Starting from the fan community of artists, technology, politics and the group of buying and selling exist there. The unique thing in virtual communities is that sometimes we get the news faster than the official reporting by the main mass media.

The advantage that is not found in any print media is the media capabilities of online news portal to connect directly with readers. Relations or engagements among the media, journalists and readers are now entering a new era. The reader becomes part of the editorial, part of the newsroom, even a resource by providing tips, leaks, suggestions, comments, in real time, in the editorial.

The other unique thing in the social media is that there is always someone who knows more than us. So that the pattern of dissemination of information in the digital age is now a multi-way, no longer only in the direction from the newsroom to the reader, but the mass media now is part of the public conversation, in which the production of information is no longer monopolized by journalists.

Formerly, there was absolutely no conversation between the journalist and the reader, now the public and the media can be together formulate the news agenda, focus attention on the institutions that need to be highlighted because it is a great impact on people's lives. It is not surprising that later there will be virtual communities emerged by the online news portal. Rheingold in Mc Quail (2012: 164) shows that virtual communities can be formed by any number of individuals via the internet on the basis of their own choice or in response to a stimulus. Communities like this one have an added advantage in principle, which is open and accessible, while the real community is often difficult to enter.

New electronic media is widely welcomed as a potential way to escape from the politics of the 'top down' oppressive of mass democracy, in which political parties are strictly organized unilaterally making policy and mobilize support behind them. Freedom of the press that was born in Indonesia since 1999 contributed to the emergence of various media. The digital age offers many conveniences that is easier for us to find good information, correct information, and misinformation, which implies the risk of widening the gap of information and increased inequality between social classes.

The amount of media that appears, make the audience faced with many choices, and of course, the audience choice is the media that suits their ideals, their views, their beliefs, and their hobby. The similarity of idealism, views and beliefs are almost always the background for someone to participate in disseminating news perceived support of their positions, provide confirmation of their political preferences, or a variety of other reasons, regardless of the

truth of the contents of the news they distribute. Postings they spread on this social media then reap the reaction and action from the back redistribute the content of either posts or news previously shared, until the real action is taken to the streets. The actions appear is also diverse, either a positive impact to the community or in the form of riots or social problems in society.

In this digital era, the diversity on ethnicity, religion, customs, culture and language of Indonesia as well as the height of Internet users in Indonesia is a new challenge of the democracy life in Indonesia. Many of us see many riots and social issues using social media as a means of communication. Tanjung Balai Medan riots case, for example. This case arose out of a request from a woman who asked one of the mosque congregations to turn down the volume of loudspeakers in mosques. The case became bigger after allegedly provocation through social media that moves the crowd to riot.

From this case, we can see how social media in wrong way can endanger life of the nation. Social media is used as a medium for conducting mass raiser anarchy. Research conducted by Dewi (2016) stated that the freedom of the press and social media support enable people to participate and be part of democracy. But the flow of information and social iteration in the media, in fact, also a threat to democracy itself, so that media literacy is a solution offered to reduce fanaticism, radicalism and intolerance in Indonesia.

In fact, democracy is crucial in the capital development of a country or region. In spite of various shortcomings and negative impacts, the presence of the internet and social media, however, has spawned a new public space that is equal among the netizens in which none of the parties is allowed to perform manipulation, coercion, and domination. However, in spite of the negative stuff on social media, social media actually also has a positive side. Christopher Mele (2005) in his article entitled *Cyberspace and Disadvantaged Communities: The Internet as a Tool for Collective Action* shows how online networking presence will actually be used as a tool for joint action as well as empowerment.

In line with the growth of facebook users in Indonesia, people in Sikka regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province are increasing literacy using virtual media, especially social networking facebook. Group Features in this application is used as a community media gathered in a community based on certain common interests. Sikka Regency Society Facebook users have joined the virtual community of diverse topics. Some of them; *Solidaritas Jurnalis Sikka*, *TIK (Teknologi Komunikasi & Informasi) Sikka*, *pecinta Sastra (KAHE)*, *Forum Rakyat Pencari Keadilan (RPE-KAD)*, *MauFoto*, *Mofers Photography*, *English Club of Nian Sikka*, *inimaumere.com* and many more virtual communities in Sikka district.

Number of members of these groups ranges from hundreds to ten thousands of members. Group English Club of Nian Sikka is one of a new group in Sikka district that has the mission of literacy in English for its members. This group has 111 members. *Grup inimaumere.com* is a group that has quite a lot of members, 38,592 members. *Mofers Photography* group consists of 3,609 members. The mem-

bers of this group are photography lovers or those who want to learn photography. Two of the last group are two of several groups that sufficient attention on tourism in Sikka.

There are many activities that were held by virtual communities in Sikka District that has empowerment value. The impact of this activity was not just felt by the member but also common people. They held both online and offline activities. They use the virtual community in social media to discuss, to express their idea, to get support and to execute the idea. The appearance of Azizah (local dangdut singer) at the national level singing competition is one of the example how virtual community in Sikka district took a role of her success in KDI (Kontes Dangdut Indonesia) 2015, and also Mario G. Klau, the winner of The Voice Indonesia 2016. There are many social action such as cleaning the beach, charity, education, workshop, etc. that were also held by virtual community.

In this research, the researchers wanted to show how people in Sikka through online discussion forums using the media community to participate in local development. Furthermore, in this study will also show how the role of virtual communities is used as tools for joint action as well as empowerment as to strengthen the government and society.

2. METHOD

This research was conducted in Sikka from August-October 2016. This research used descriptive qualitative method to describe the detailed condition or process and also inter-related findings on the subject of research (Sutopo, 2006). The data gathering techniques were interview and documentation. Meanwhile, the sampling technique was a purposive sampling.

Purposive sampling tends to choose the right informants who know the problems and can be trusted as reliable sources (Sutopo, 2006). The informants chosen in this study are the admins of the groups (Mofers Photography, iniSikka.com, Forum Diskusi Politic Sikka), the members of the groups (Mofers Photography, inimaumere.com, Forum Diskusi Politic Sikka Forum Rakyat Pencari Keadilan, English Club of Nian Sikka, Ayo ke Maumere, smansamof). The analysis used interactive model from Miles & Huberman (1992). This analysis has three analysis components namely: data reduction, data display and verification or conclusion withdrawal.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Virtual Communities in Sikka District

When we type the word “Sikka” or “Maumere” in search column on Facebook, it can display dozens of forum discussions, starting from a political discussion forum, culture, information technology, hobby, until the forum to find friends and exchanging phone numbers (HP) and the amusing stories that developed in Sikka. The members of this discussion forum range from teenagers, college students, and adults of working ages.

This phenomenon shows the greater interest and aware-

ness of Sikka people who live either in or outside Sikka to use social networking Facebook as media gathered in a virtual community.

Discussion topic discussed in this virtual community is mixed, sometimes still in the groove corresponding philosophical meaning groups, sometimes also out of the groove. For example, in the group Political Discussion Forum Sikka (FDPS) it does not only discuss politics in Sikka Regency, but also sometimes talk about tourism, or other topics. But even so, the equation of these virtual groups is for “Sikka progress”.

There are many of actions performed by virtual communities that have become a real action in the real world, or become an input for the government to a better Sikka. Ferdy (2015) in his study of the discourse of tourism development through Facebook discovered that through discussion “Blue Print of Tourism in Sikka” mediated by a group FDPS which lasted from November 27, 2014 through February 13, 2015, the people of Sikka member FDPS represents their desire to involved from the planning stage in the development of tourism in Sikka regency.

Community empowerment through the virtual community is also seen in some action such as social work to clean up the beach. Netizens are concerned to the behavior of littering that impact on tourism attraction in Sikka. These concerns were then led to the joint action to clean up tourist beaches in the area. Another example is raising public support NTT, especially Sikka on the appearance of Azizah, a local artist from Sikka, on the national stage. This support is the form of sympathetic posts, which appears to the Sikka youth.

The real action support are fundraising (they do this on the street and in the market), make the event to watch together (*nobar*) to almost the entire community of Sikka district gathered to watch together at the town square. Public enthusiasm for the emergence of community pride Azizah represents public pride at once showed the yearning of Flores society of the their existence on the national scene. Similar support is also given to Maria Carolina Noge, Putri Indonesia 2015 and Mario G. NTT Klau, winner of the Voice Indonesia, 2016.

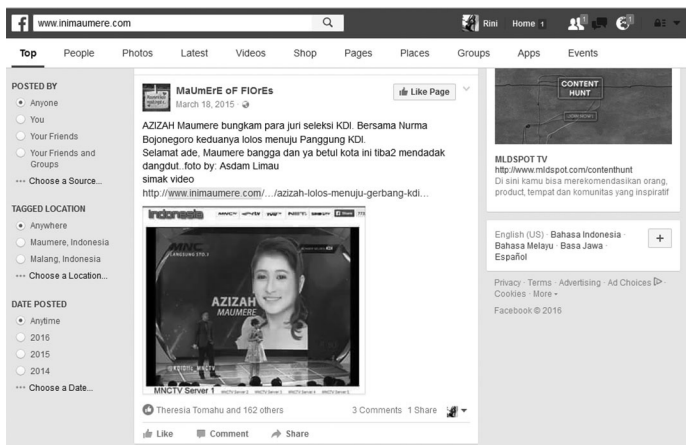
Figure 1.
The social action to clean up the beach travel



Source: <http://www.facebook.com/inimaumere.com>, accessed October 31st, 2016

Figure 2.

Support shown to Azizah, Local artist runner up Kontes Dangdut Indonesia 2015



Source: <http://www.inimaumere.com>, accessed October 29th, 2016

As the case in the virtual community at large, the virtual communities in Sikka are also inseparable from the spread of the pros and cons news. But what is interesting here is that there is awareness of the news production process, the awareness of being not easily provoked by the news. Here is an example of news that is shared by one of the members in the group Forum Rakyat Pencari Keadilan. This news is about one charismatic figure in Sikka who is a member of the House of Representatives of Indonesia. From the headlines, we can see obviously it shows the positions of the media related to the news about Hugo Andreas Parera.

Figure 3.

The negative news about Hugo Andreas Parera, a member of Parliament from Sikka



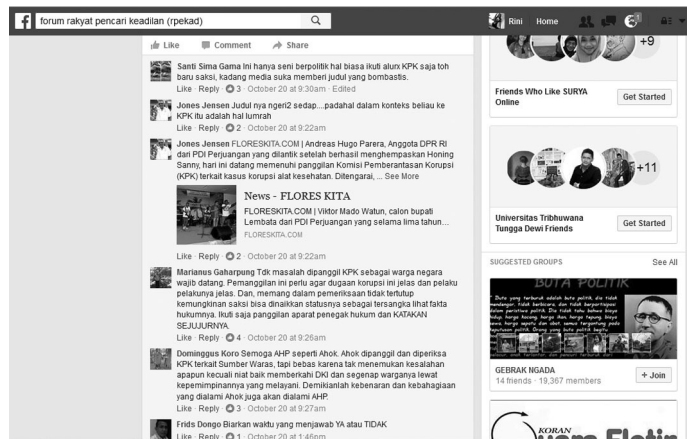
Source: <http://www.facebook.com/group>, accessed 30 of October 2016

The news does not easily provoke FRPEKAD members. Jonas Jensen as the one who post shared this news and wrote his status. Through his status, he asks the netizens to think positively on the work of Corruption Eradication Commission/KPK (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi) although this commission examined him as a witness. Some of the member commented on this post. Some have shown awareness of the news production process that is a statement from a member named Santi Sima Gama who said “It’s just the art of politics commonplace follow the flow

of the Commission, now only as witnesses, sometimes the media likes to give bombastic title.” Her statement shows the awareness that sometimes the media uses bombastic headlines to attract the reader’s attention, especially if the news publishes the politics content. Some of the members pray for him. Some comments also show that as a good citizen it is OK to come to KPK.

Figure 4.

Reaction of RPEKAD members on negative news.



Source: <http://www.facebook.com/group>, accessed October 30th, 2016

The members in virtual communities also use the media as a venue for sharing knowledge. In Mofers Photography group, for example. Frequent dialogue about photographic techniques occurs between members. Sharing knowledge is not only happening in the virtual world, but also in the real world. This community conducts sharing knowledge for several times, bringing members into the real world, bringing the professionals in the field of photography. Tribhuwana Wetangterah (Photography Mofers club chairman) said that virtual communities Mofers Photography formed after the formation of a real community. Their purpose of establishing the group on FB is to facilitate communication between members. Mofers Photography members consist of those who just love the look of photographic works to professionals, such as Valentino Luis, who is a photojournalist from NetGeo, a media industry worldwide scale. With the community in FB, then the distance and time is no longer a constraint. Another thing that underlies the formation of this virtual group is the awareness of the development of communications media that has the function of empowerment. Tribhuwana, in an interview conducted by researchers in mid September 2016 said that photography is another way to build the area with their photography to describe the beauty of the area.

Another reason behind the formation of Mofers Photography group is to develop the group in terms of quantity, quality of work and also to make it easier to establish relationships with other photographic community. According to Slevin in his book *The Internet and Society* (2000) “online communities such as this has the additional advantage in principle, open, and accessible, while the real community is often difficult to enter”. With the establishment of the group Mofers Photography versions of cyberspace, it will allow people to easily enter this community.

Regional development through social media once was

raised by Ferdy (2015) in the scientific paper entitled “Discourse of Tourism Development in FB group”. In his study, Herman found that a Facebook group becomes a means for the Sikka public to participate in the development of local government; remembering that the local government has not utilized social media as a means of communication to the public. The response of the government to the discussions through the media this FB was newly delivered after the development discourse of the virtual space are appointed by local journalists in local print media, through closed discussions about the formulation of the blueprint for tourism development of Sikka district.

The examples above show about the image of the virtual community in Sikka and its role in Sikka society empowerment. The role of virtual communities cannot be separated from the group admin roles participated selecting allowable posts published in the group, and also the role of group members in these communities. Some of the admin set the “Post permission” setting on the ON mode in order to select the member’s post before it is uploaded in the group. By this way, the admin can select the flow of information. But another admins set the “Post permission” setting on the OFF mode because this they want to give free space for members to express their feeling, idea or information.

3.2. Group Cohesiveness in Virtual Communities in Sikka

Cohesiveness is the strength of the interaction of members of a community. The forms of cohesiveness itself can be realized in the form of interaction between members of the community, freedom of expression, enthusiasm and responsibility towards the community. Cohesiveness is then become the factor of a community endurance. Cohesiveness is also later became an important element in the movement of the community.

McDavid and Hariri in Rachmat (2009) argues that cohesiveness can be measured by three things, namely the existence of interest among members in interpersonal, interested members on the activities and functioning of a community, and the extent to which members are interested in the community as a means to satisfy the needs of personal. From the interviews to several members of the virtual community of some virtual communities in Sikka, it can be concluded that it is good to keep them interacting in virtual communities because of the activities and functions of their communities positive value. They can connect to a variety of people with all its advantages such as workshop, training, discussion. Some communities also found how community members feel the satisfaction of personal needs through community activities. In general, this happens in a community that has similarity hobby like photography. Coupled with the appreciation of which are regularly held by the community, so as to make community members more motivated to work better.

Forsyth (2010) explanation of the components required in the formation of a community is very relevant to explain how community cohesion is a decisive factor permanence

of a community and then also how this community can contribute to the empowerment and development. Some of the components include social cohesion, task cohesion, perceive cohesion, and emotional cohesion.

Social cohesion is the attraction between members of the community. Cohesiveness is a multi-level process where community members can be engaged to one another. At the individual level, members of the community found himself in the community; the community members have personal relationships between members of the community. At the community level, community members have a greater interest in a community. Community members will tend to remain in the community. Virtual communities member in Sikka are not only the original from Sikka, but also the migrants who live in Sikka, as well as indigenous people who live outside of Sikka. The word “Sikka” or “Maumere” (as the capital of Sikka District) is the main attraction for the members and the reason for them to join. Longing for home, the dream of a better Sikka, the dream of Sikka being well known by the outside community is also a reason this cohesiveness.

Task cohesion is a unity of community members focused on the task assignment depending on the cooperation shown by every member of the community to coordinate their efforts and collective every efficacy of the community. Collective efficacy is a conviction, so that community members develop and carry out tasks for the common goal successfully. It seems obvious to the hobby-based community such as Mofers Photography or MauFoto. Several offline activities have been carried out successfully. This success cannot be separated from the consciousness of each member to be responsible for duties and also solid cooperation among the members.

Perceive cohesion is cohesiveness where community members looking at a member of the community as a whole, a feeling of unity and togetherness in the community. Every member of the community was recognized in the community as an identity. Form of recognition is expressed in the form of appreciation of the work or through a link on the positive activities undertaken members. Mentioning one of the accounts is a form of recognition to the linked.

Figure 9.
Tag name on the account of community members.



Source: <http://www.facebook.com/group>, accessed October 31st, 2016

Emotional cohesion is a form of positive togetherness in a community. This positive togetherness at the end gives a positive effect, such as improving personal performance and improving survival in communion. Offline activities such as social events and sharing together are one of the media for the group to increase the positive unity for the sake of the activity of the community and also the survival of the community. Emotional cohesion in virtual communities in Sikka was grown because of the feeling of being part of Sikka, the dream of a better Sikka, the dream of Sikka become well known place.

3.3. The Real Role of Virtual Community in Society Empowerment and Local Development

Virtual communities in Sikka District, like most other virtual communities, create not only a public space in the virtual world but also create physical spaces in the public domain. Through the virtual world such as social media, community members interact and communicate to form the dialogue and discourse until they finally decided to do the offline activity or movement.

New public spaces created by these online communities, each of which has a goal and a positive vision. Any positive activities designed to achieve the goals and vision, though not all communities have a clear vision and mission, but they have one thing in common that is the love of their area, Sikka District. Activities conducted both online and offline from some of the examples mentioned above, either directly or indirectly contain empowerment activities. Empowerment is “proses, cara, perbuatan membuat berdaya, yaitu kemampuan untuk melakukan sesuatu atau kemampuan bertindak yang berupa akal, ikhtiar atau upaya” (Depdiknas, 2003). Empowerment is the process, way, act of making power, namely the ability to do something or the ability to act in the form of sense, initiative or effort. Koentjaraningrat (2009) gives definition on Society as the unity of human life that interacts according to a certain customs system that is continuous, and which is bound by a sense of shared identity. In several studies on community development, community empowerment is often interpreted as an effort to provide power to make their voices heard in order to contribute to the planning and decisions that affect the community.

Conceptually derived from the word power means power or empowerment. The concept of empowerment is originated from social capital gains in public (group) that includes strengthening social capital, trust, comply rules, and network. If we already have a strong social capital, we will easily steer and adjust (direct) public and easily transfer knowledge to the community. By having a strong social capital then we will be able to strengthen knowledge, capital (money), and people. In the virtual community, the community itself was already a social capital. The greater the number of members is, the greater the social capital will be. This concept implies that the concept of community empowerment is transferring power through the strengthening of the group’s social capital to make productive groups to achieve social welfare. Strong social

capital will ensure sustainable in building a sense of trust in the community, especially members of the group.

They use the power of community with bottom-up planning that will continue to grow, after planning with top-down methods continually ‘failed’ to provide the needs of the public space. But intuitively, this grassroots movement should remain informal. These communities should remain as a community with their actions that though it may be informal but should be able to influence policies and legalities that are formal.

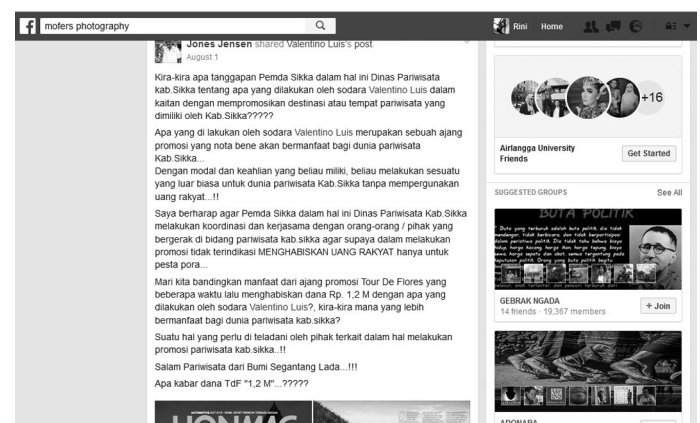
Subiakto and Ida (2012) said that the mass media is an important component for controlling the government as “power”. Here the media is positioned as a “watch dog” of power that should be guaranteed freedom as the fourth estate of democracy to make government cautious, intelligent and thoughtful. The communication technology advances emerge the internet that change the way of people to communicate. The social media emerge public space and it emerge a new estate of democracy.

According to Sirikat Shah (2014: 14) “Today, the public creates its own voice channel through cyberspace. This is the fifth pillar, which emerged as the public’s disappointment previous four pillars. In 2011 the future, this pillar will be more dominant in the world of communication settings, particularly Indonesia “.

We can find a discourse about critics on government policy in Mofers Photography group. In one of posts on the Mofers Photography, Jonas Jensen invites governments to look at what is done by Valentino Luis to introduce NTT to the world through his skill. On this post, he also hoped that the government in terms of tourism development makes coordination and cooperation with the parties – or those who engaged in tourism. Through this post, Jonas also questioned the effectiveness of the program Tour de Flores held by Sikka District Government in order to introduce Sikka district in the world, to what is done by Valentino Luis with his photography. What Jones Jensen has done shows that through social media (in this case he wrote in virtual community) he tried to criticize the government. This is the form of “watch dog” activity.

Figure 5.

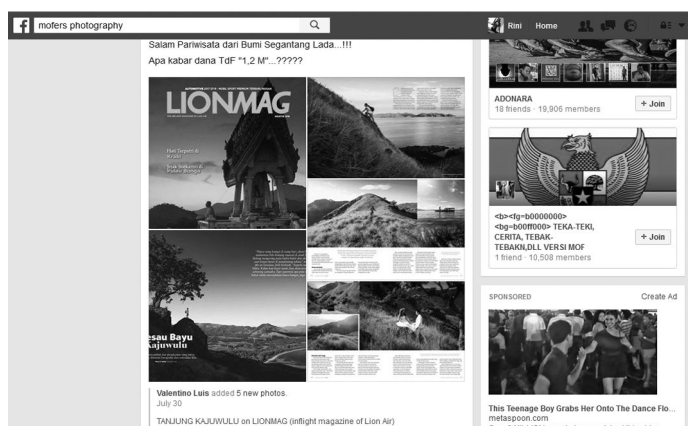
Jonas Jensen post on Mofers Photography group that questioned the effectiveness of the Tour de Flores programs and activities conducted by Valentino Luis Flores in order to introduce in the eyes of the world



Source: <http://www.facebook.com/group>, accessed October 25th, 2016

Figure 6.

Photographs of works of Luis Valentino linked posts in the group Mofers Jonas Jensen Photography.

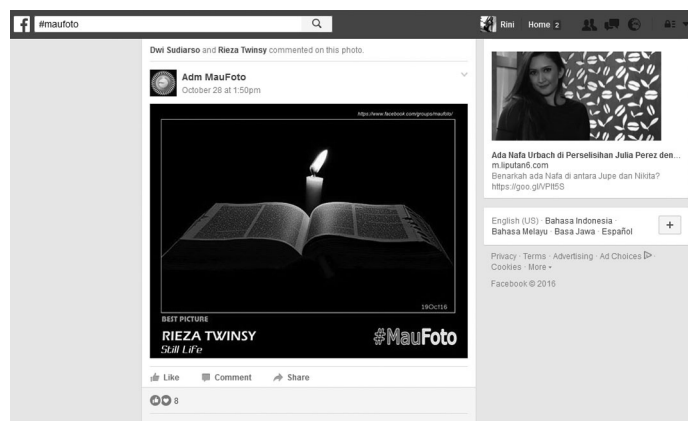


Source: <http://www.facebook.com/group> , accessed 30 of October 2016

Another empowerment initiated by virtual community in Sikka is by conducting competition. MauFoto is one of the virtual communities that conduct competition routinely for its members. They always give award to the pictures with various categories. They also conduct discussion and workshop on photography.

Figure 7.

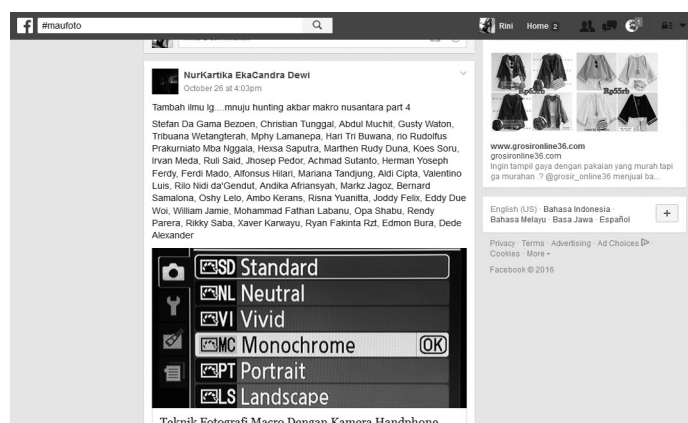
The appreciation of the best works of the community MauFoto.



Source: <http://www.facebook.com/group> , accessed October 31st, 2016

Figure 8.

Knowledge Sharing in MauFoto virtual community.



Source: <http://www.facebook.com/group> , accessed October 31st, 2016

Competition will make members compete to give their best effort, their best quality work. Discussion and workshop will increase their knowledge and their skill. They also conduct picture hunting activity to keep the member's passion on photography.

3.4. Social Media as a Means of Strengthening Communities and Government

Offline activities that are initiated from these virtual communities form a sympathetic movements and good cooperation and also emerge on the spirit of empathy that grows within each community in Sikka. This empathetic spirit then creates a new force within the community. The new force called civil society. In realizing this, the civil society is needed number of prerequisites. This prerequisite is an integral unity, and became the basis for the strengthening of civil society.

The first prerequisite is a free public sphere or Habermas call public sphere where there should be a free public space as a means of expression. Social media as a modified form of conventional media has been giving free public access to this sphere. Virtual communities that exist in Sikka have been able to use social media as a vehicle for interaction, engaging through meaning-meaning, forming a strong access to the so-called civil society.

The next prerequisite is the democratic attitude and democratic legitimacy expression. It seems from the existence of political discussion that discusses political issue or reaction as a response of political reality in some discussion in virtual community in Sikka. Common vision (to see a better Sikka) become one of motivation to keep the space into democratic community. The next requirement is a spirit of tolerance and pluralism to respect and accept pluralism in everyday life. Media literacy skills are shown by some members of the community to participate in keeping the discussion in the conducive environment. Judging from the number of requirements to form a civil society proposed by Habermas, it could be concluded that the condition of the existence of the public sphere becomes crucial. Society must have a public space, whether it is real visible in social life or virtual, which can be obtained through social media.

Democracy as a place for social movements is expected not to be a manifestation of the theory of hegemony as expressed by Gramsci. Gramsci said that hegemony is a way of life or a way of thinking that is predominant in which there are process control of the dominant class to the lower class and the lower class also actively supports the ideas of the dominant class. Mastery done not by force but through consent dominated society. This hegemony is a twit proverbial structured towards a democratic process.

The existence of social media seen from the positive side could also be one of the media educations and has a wide range of human resources quality improvement, for the region's development with community empowerment. Media literacy is also necessary so that the negative sides of social media can be minimized.

4. CONCLUSION

The role of virtual communities in community empowerment and development has been demonstrated by the average virtual communities in Sikka. Discourses of empowerment, development in discussions delivered through virtual communities are generally followed up in concrete activities that have a positive impact both to the community members and the wider community. Cohesiveness between members of virtual communities in Sikka is one factor involvement of these communities on community empowerment. In addition, the ability to access, analyze, evaluate, and use of the media has been owned by members of the community that remain conducive in helping maintain both online and offline activities. This condition helped create a democratic public space that is the crucial element in either national or local development.

5. SUGGESTION

In this research, the researchers have not seen yet the attention of Sikka district government related to the role and potential of virtual communities in the social media community empowerment and local development. The researchers found it necessary to further research to take from the standpoint of the government point of view of the social media. Besides the object of this research, there are some of the virtual communities so that the results obtained are in the form of an overview. With the objects of research, it is expected that the results obtained will be deeper and focused. Research on social media is the new thing today; it is actually a lot of aspects that can be examined by looking at the deficiencies in this study.

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Teenagers are Subjected to Cyber Bullying in Social Media Ask.fm

Penyusun :

- **Zainal Abidin Achmad**
- **I Made Anom Wiranata**
- **Sjafiatul Mardiyah**

The Faculty of Social and
Political Sciences
Universita Airlangga

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Abstract

Ask.fm has become a medium for doing the bullying by targeting the teenagers. Since this media has become one of the favorite social media for teenagers in Indonesia. The main activities undertaken by teenagers through Ask.fm is asking questions and answering questions. When interacting through Ask.fm, the owner of this account can do so by using the original name as their identity or as anonymous. The anonymous feature provided by Ask.fm is often used to do bullying on teenagers.

However, there are a lot of questions and answers that are roughly even led to an insult to the harassment. This can be described as Cyber bullying through the social media. Cyber bullying on teenagers is defined as a situation in which a child, pre-teen, or teen repeatedly tormented, threatened, harassed, humiliated, embarrassed or being targeted by children or other teenagers by using short message service, e-mail, social media, or a wide variety of other types of digital communication media.

This study uses the theory of determination of technology and the theory of New Media. The theory explains that the new media is bringing new forms of interaction between people to a personal relationship in a way that cannot be done by the media earlier. The new media also contains the power and limitation, losses and gains, and vacillation.

To explore the perception of teenagers about the Cyber bullying, this study used qualitative research methods with in-depth interviews. The teenagers who become the informants of study and interviewed have the following requirements: teenagers who have Ask.fm account; teenagers who have experienced bullying; and teenagers who have committed bullying through Ask.fm.

The conclusions of this study are: 1) Ask.fm in social media is perceived as bad thing because the high level of Cyber bullying on teenagers. 2)

One of the features in Ask.fm which facilitates the bully is the anonymous feature. The perpetrators of Cyber bullying feel safe because his identity is not visible when asking questions that contain insults or scorn. 3) Interestingly, the informants did not become a deterrent to use Ask.fm despite experiencing bullying. This is due to the high curiosity. 4) As a result of having experienced bullying, informant joining in bullying is inadvertent through questions. They do not realize that such action is bullying.

1. INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, Ask.fm becomes one of the favorite social media for many teenagers. It is a social network application that allows fellow users to know each other better by asking them to answer questions. Through Ask.fm, users can ask anything to the other users, without giving the identity (anonymous). However, it can also show their credentials (username) by disabling anonymous features. Anonymous in Ask.fm is a term for the giver to ask questions with no identity.

The main activity in Ask.fm is to provide questions and answers. As the time passes, many questions and answers that are deviant emerge. These words are rude and even lead to the mocked up to abuse. This can be described as the problem of Cyber bullying in the media.

Cyber bullying is defined as a situation in which a child, pre-teen, or teen repeatedly tormented, threatened, harassed, humiliated, embarrassed or being targeted by children or other youth by using short message services, e-mail, social media, or a wide variety of other types of digital communication media (Smith et al., 2008). It also can be defined as harsh treatment that is performed by a person or group of people with the help of electronic tools that is done repeatedly and continuously to a target trouble defensively (Padgett et al., 2013).

Ask.fm established in Latvia and launched on June 16, 2010 was founded by Mark Terebin. Ask.fm has the slogan "Where the World Want to Know" is determined by Ask.fm by providing questions to the user of Ask.fm. On February 9, 2015 Ask.fm users has reached 150 million (<http://belajar-apa-saja.webnode.com/news/apa-itu-ask-fm-dan-bagaimana-cara-kerjanya/>).

Creating an account of Ask.fm can be done directly through the website by filling in the form of identity username, full name, password, email and date of birth. Otherwise, people can access via Facebook or twitter account which is already owned by the prospective user. In Ask.fm, users can only view their profile, to answer questions, and give a "like" on every question has been answered. Users cannot see the followers, unlike Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook. Users can add images to the answer, reply with video recording devices, and of course receive a notification each time a user gets a question.

Although Cyber bullying does not involve personal contact between the offender and the victim, it may under-

mine victim psychologically and emotionally. Generally, the offender will commit a disclaimer on their bullying actions. It is often said that the intention of such actions is merely joking or fad, but it is different from the reality (<http://infopsikologi.com/apa-pengertian-Cyber-bullying-dan-bagaimana-bentuknya/>).

Here are some examples of cases caused by Cyber bullying in social media Ask.fm. Clara Pugsley is one of the teenagers who become victims of excessive use of Ask.fm. She was found dead in a forest in Killargue, Dormahair, after attending a party given by a neighbor. Initially, she was allegedly killed by her friend. But it later emerged that she was killed in a suicide due to the taunts of schoolmates and on social networks. Since she used Ask.fm, a number of requests or questions against her that led to bullying grew. This is what makes Ask.fm to be accused to have a big role in that case.

It was also experienced by Erin Gallagher, a girl from Ireland who decided to finish her life after getting the bullying in Ask.fm for a week. Most of the *troll* (a term for bullying actors) insulted her weight. Suicide threat was delivered to the perpetrators of bullying against her, especially to someone who was not named. In the end, the threat becomes a reality. Erin was found dead in her home, just six weeks after a case of Clara was discussed by the public (<http://inet.detik.com/read/2014/06/30/095417/2622839/398/bukan-omong-kosong-Cyber-bullying-berujung-bunuh-diri>).

The cases above are only a few cases of Cyber bullying experienced by teenagers in Ask.fm. Teenagers who seem controversial and less desirable in the environment are likely to be an easy target for perpetrators of Cyber bullying. The answers of the questions asked in Ask.fm apparently serve as visual stimuli that can trigger the emotions of the haters. According to data from nobullying.com sites, stating that the perpetrators of Cyber bullying prefer to vilify or intimidate victims through social media. Then Ask.fm is one of the four social media most used for Cyber bullying (<http://nobullying.com/Cyber-bullying-bullying-statistics-2014-finally/>).

Some forms of cyber bullying that have occurred are copying the private conversation, spreading rumors, manipulating images of people and sending it to others, sending threats in e-mail, misleading someone via e-mail, openly embarrassing someone in a chat room and sending messages with sexual comments (Vandeboschand Van Cleemput, 2008). Cyber bullying is clearly different from

flirting via the internet or mobile phones. One major difference is that the perpetrators of Cyber bullying really want to hurt the feelings of others (Dehue, 2008).

Based on the data, between 2012 to the present, Ask.fm was associated with many cases of Cyber bullying, some of which led to suicide, particularly in young people. For this reason, Ask.fm has partnered with various organizations including the Internet Watch Foundation and INSAFE England. This site also has a "Safety Center" that describes the resource as "Questions and Answers for Parents", "Abuse Policy", "Safety and Security Essentials" and "Dos and Don'ts" (<https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.askfm&hl=en>).

Based on the background described, researchers paid attention to the teenager users of social media Ask.fm domiciled in Surabaya. They were the teenagers who had experienced bullying and those who have done the bullying. Researchers attempt to dig up as much information as possible on how Ask.fm was used and abused by teens, and how often they experienced Cyber bullying in Ask.fm. Researchers have confidence that the teenagers in Surabaya also experienced a similar incident when interacting via Ask.fm. Researchers are also trying to find the possibility of mode or other unique thing about Ask.fm use as a medium for doing the bullying. For this reason, it is important to understand how the perception of teenagers in Surabaya is against Ask.fm which evolves into a medium of Cyber bullying.

Theoretically, the use of social media cannot be separated from the motivation that drives someone to do something (McQuail: 2000). There are several motivations that encourage someone to use social media. First, the information means that the concept of hyperlinks and memes on the internet allows users in search of information. Through the Internet, users will be faced with a wave of very much information and are necessary for people who first used the Internet to be able to function it optimally. Second, personal identity factor means that users are using social media in order to associate the actors in the media with a certain character to himself. Third, integrative factors and social interaction means that is when the Internet has managed to leave the conventional media in one step. Fourth, the entertainment factor means that people are using social media for the purpose of obtaining pleasure and entertainment (Ratu, 2011).

Cyber bullying is bullying that occur using electronic technology. Electronic technologies are devices such as mobile phones, computers, and tablets as well as communication tools including social media sites, text messaging, chat, and website. Cyber bullying can also be done in text messages or emails, rumors sent via email or posted on social networking sites, and embarrassing pictures, videos, websites, or fake profiles ([http://www.stopbullying.gov/Cyber bullying/ what-is-it/#whyCyber bullying](http://www.stopbullying.gov/Cyber%20bullying/what-is-it/#whyCyber%20bullying)).

Cyber bullying is a term that refers to the activity to disturb other people by using a computer or computer network as a tool, a means, or a crime scene. Cyber bullying is a serious problem and dangerous for people and the country. Motivations of perpetrators of Cyber bullying are quite varied. Some are done with anger and desire for revenge,

frustration, seeking attention; some are even making it just for entertainment in their spare time. There are also some people who have a motive just for a joke (Dehue, 2008).

Prolonged cyber bullying can destroy a person's self-confidence, a person becomes a morose, full of worry, always feeling guilty or failed for not being able to overcome the interference happened to him. There's even a victim of cyber bullying who are thought to end his life because he can no longer bear to be disturbed (Mishna et al., 2010).

Teenagers who become victims of cyber bullying will experience stress that can lead them to commit acts that stir up trouble. Adolescent perpetrators of cyber bullying are usually choosing to disrupt teenagers who are considered weaker, cannot fight and cannot defend themselves. The perpetrators are usually those who want to rule or to dominate. Victims of bullying are usually teenagers who are often ridiculed and humiliated because of their appearance, skin color, their families, or the way they behave. However, the victims of cyber bullying can also be popular, most intelligent, and most prominent kids in the environment that the perpetrator envy (Dehue, 2008).

Why is it important to know the perception of adolescents to use Ask.fm as a medium to conduct Cyber bullying? Because the patterns of human behavior is based on their perception of reality (social) that have been studied previously. Human perception of things was based on past experience and learning, relating to people, objects or events that are similar. The lack of previous experience in dealing with an object, making one would interpret the object based on supposition or a similar experience. It makes a person accustomed to responding to an object in a certain way, so that one often fails to perceive the same difference in another object that are similar. Humans tend to treat the object as before, but there are many other details in the object (Mulyana, 2006).

The factors that determine the perception is divided into two, namely: functional factors and structural factors (Krech et al., 2008). Functional factor is a factor derived from the needs, past experience and other things including what we refer to as personal factors. Functional factors that determine the perception is the objects that meet the objectives of individuals who do perceptions. What determines the perception is not the shape or type of stimuli but those characteristics that give a response to these stimuli, while structural factors are factors that come solely from the nature of the physical stimulus to the effects of the nerve caused to the nervous system of the individual. According to Gestalt theory, structural factors determine the perception, if we want to understand an event, we cannot examine the factors that are separated but look at the overall relationship.

The communications theory of Technological Determinism was molded by Marshall McLuhan (1962). The basic idea behind the theory is that changes in the way humans communicate are what shape our existence. McLuhan feels that our culture is molded by how we are able to communicate. To understand this, there are a few main points you must comprehend. First, inventions in communication technology cause cultural change. Secondly,

changes in modes of communication shape human life. Thirdly, as McLuhan himself puts it, "We shape our tools, and they in turn shape us". The theory of technological determinism postulates that technology is the force that shapes the society in which we live. According to technological determinism, technology develops autonomously and plays a principal role in the development of society.

This theory implies that technology basically controls a large sphere of society and therefore determines a good deal of what it embodies (West and Turner, 2000). There are several giant evolutions in the way humans have learned to communicate over time. Each of these innovations works as an extension of one of the human senses. McLuhan has divided human history into 4 critical periods of time. In each case, the moving on from one era to another is brought on by a new mode of communication which causes some sort of significant change in society. First there was the 'tribal age', followed by the 'literate age', the 'print age', and finally the 'electronic age', which is where society is now.

McLuhan describes Technological Determinism in terms of what each society deems the important way to communicate. What one could hear was truth for people of the 'tribal age', while what was available to read defined the truth for those alive during the 'print age'. In essence, the same exact words can have completely different meaning based on whether they are spoken person to person, printed on paper, or presented through instantaneous communication (i.e. television or radio).

The term 'new media' appeared to incarceration a sense that quite fast from the late 1980s on, the world of media and communications began to look quite different and this difference was not restricted to any element of that world, although the actual timing of change may have been different from medium to medium. This was the case from printing, photography, through television, to telecommunications. Of course, such media had continually been in a state of technological, institutional and cultural change or development; they never stood still. Yet, even within this state of constant flux, it seemed that the nature of change that was experienced warranted an absolute marking off from what went before. This experience of change was not, of course, confined only to the media in this period. Other, wider kinds of social and cultural change were being identified and described and had been, to varying degrees, from the 1960s onwards (Lister, 2009).

The following are indicative of wider kinds of social, economic and cultural change with which new media are associated: A shift from modernity to postmodernity: a contested, but widely subscribed attempt to characterize deep and structural changes in societies and economies from the 1960sonwards, with correlative cultural changes. In terms of their aesthetics and economies, new media are usually seen as a key marker of such change (Harvey, 1991).

Intensifying processes of globalization is a dissolving of national states and boundaries in terms of trade, corporate organization, customs and cultures, identities and beliefs, in which new media have been seen as a contributory element (Featherstone, 1990).

A replacement, in the West, of an industrial age of manufacturing by a 'postindustrial' information age is a shift in employment, skill, investment and profit, in the production of material goods to service and information 'industries' which many uses of new media are seen to epitomize (Castells, 2000).

A decentering of established and centralized geopolitical orders is the weakening of mechanisms of power and control from Western colonial centers, facilitated by the dispersed, boundary-transgressing, networks of new communication media.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research was conducted with qualitative methods by using in-depth interview techniques (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Researchers determine and select informants who meet the following requirements: teenagers who live in Surabaya, have Ask.fm account, active in Ask.fm, had experienced bullying or committing bullying in Ask.fm.

Based on the criteria for determining the informants, the researchers managed to get nine teenagers. Five teenagers are high school students and four teenagers are junior high school students. The process of collecting data in this study was conducted by direct observation of the habits of teens using Ask.fm; interviews with informants; as well as the study of books and articles in journals about social media and Cyber bullying. Data obtained from interviews were categorized in several sub topics, then analyzed and summarized.

3. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

At first, these informants were using ask.fm, as guided by the same motivation. All originated from social relationships with friends who previously had used Ask.fm. Since the informant noticed that their friends use Ask.fm, they are interested in and seek to satisfy their curiosity by installing Ask.fm on their mobile phone.

All informants are active users of Ask.fm. One of the causes of their activeness in Ask.fm is because they are students. They have free time to do activities in Ask.fm by creating a variety of diverse questions and answer questions put by a friend in Ask.fm. They also pay attention and read updated information from their friend's account.

All informants understand that they often find words and phrases that rude, or expletives in Ask.fm. And they are aware that it is a negative influence. But these informants do not really understand that bullying through electronic technology and the internet is called Cyber bullying.

They come to understand that electronic technology included as a medium of Cyber bullying are devices and equipment such as mobile phones, computers, tablets, and communication tools including social media sites, text messaging, chat, and website. Some forms of Cyber bullying is done via text message or email; rumors sent via email or posted on social networking sites; by spreading embarrassing pictures and videos; creating fake profiles or fake websites. Cyber bullying was finally realized by informants that this is a serious problem and harmful to people

and the state. It is said to be a result of the impact of Cyber bullying is a significant and durable.

Talking about the experience of the informants when receiving bully on Ask.fm, they give response to the bully. The response given by the informants are feeling to get revenge. They considered that the bully is outrageous, that foster feelings of annoyance and upset against perpetrators of bullying. The insults and verbal abuse experienced by informants reinforce their efforts for revenge.

Type bullying received by the informants have different causes. Generally, teens are often ridiculed and humiliated because of their appearance, skin color, their families, or the way they behave. However, the victims of cyber bullying can also be popular, most intelligent, and most prominent kids in the environment that the perpetrator envy.

Two informants were bullied because of their attitude when interacting with school friends; one informant was bullied for being the cleverest pupils in the class; three informants were bullied for their comments on facebook; two informants were bullied because of family problems revealed on twitter accounts of their friends; one informant was bullied because he was considered as the cause of the lost of his school futsal team; one person was bullied because of punishment from the school.

Why are teenagers so easy to do Cyber bullying? Cyber bullying is easier to do than conventional violence because the perpetrator does not need to be face to face with others who are being targeted. They can say things that are bad and easily intimidate the victims because they are behind a computer screen or at the screen of a mobile phone without having to see the impact on the victim.

Furthermore, teenagers who become perpetrators of Cyber bullying are not aware that their actions have a prolonged impact. Cyber bullying can eliminate self-confidence; can make someone become personally morose and have the feeling of worry and guilty; can make someone feel as losers because they were not able to overcome the interference that happened to him. As it happened to the nine informants who have experienced bullying through Ask.fm, they have feelings of shame, sadness, disappointment, or anger against the perpetrators of Cyber bullying. Moreover, the perpetrators were not identified. By concealing their identity, the perpetrators of Cyber bullying have the freedom to do this negative action.

Ask.fm have a higher rate of bullying than other social media because Ask.fm has that "ask anonymously". A person can ask questions to other people as much as 300 characters without having to specify his/her name or ID. Features "hide my name" that allows the questioner cover his identity without a trace and can ask whatever they can. The element of anonymity is what allows the user assume ask.fm as a heaven for carrying out and doing the bullying to someone, without fear of ever discovered (Omernick and Sood, 2013).

Anonymity is a key of deindividuation. Deindividuation is a state of loss of awareness of self (self awareness) and evaluative sense of self (evaluation apprehension) in group situations that allow anonymity and divert attention from the individual (Forsyth, 2010). What makes someone less personally identifiable may increase the effect and

lead to a reduction of individual responsibility over their actions. They seemed to have a feeling of not guilty of the acts committed (Chang, 2008).

Bullying received by the informants proves that the emergence of new media does not always bring positive benefits. Cyber bullying is one of the negative effects resulting from the presence of the new media. Cyberbullying research and understanding is critical for many reasons. To begin with, adolescence is one of the most critical stages in the development of emotional and cognitive schemes and will shape and evolve the "adult personality" (Ortega et al., 2012). Secondly, cyberbullying is difficulty faced by more than half of all high school students (Goebert et. al., 2011) that can result in mental health consequences, including abusing drugs and alcohol as well as suicidal tendencies (Baker & Helm, 2010). Baker and Helm (2010) also found that being bullied was widely accepted among youth, showing that most students expect to be harassed in one form or another. The implication of these research studies is that society is beginning to not only accept, but expect, electronic communication behaviors that are emotionally and physically damaging.

Different response were shown by the informants when they received bully in Ask.fm. Some indeed intended to revenge, some being provoked as a result of bullying were swearing at other social media such as facebook and twitter, some had responded by fad, some had a private conversation with the perpetrators to resolve it personally.

Although the informants had experienced bullying in Ask.fm, they remain active in using Ask.fm. As explained in the theory of new media, the need to interact without having to meet makes it easy for anyone to use social media.

Regarding the fact that Ask.fm is one of the media that is often used for Cyber bullying, each informant had varied responses. Most informants considered that Ask.fm indeed is identical and can not be separated from Cyber bullying. This is because anyone is free to make inquiries, either positive or negative. The other informant assume that any social media of Cyber bullying can occur. However, the perpetrators of Cyber bullying in Ask.fm get the security and convenience of doing the bullying because of its anonymous features in it (Silke, 2003).

There was only one informant who had pessimism when commenting on efforts to prevent bullying in Ask.fm. According to him, action to reduce Cyber bullying in Ask.fm is futile. As long as there is still a feature to hide the identity, then there will always be Cyber bullying. And he is confident that day by day, the more perpetrators of Cyber bullying are unidentified.

The informants provide advices for other teens on how to avoid Cyber bullying. First, young people should ignore the questions which criticise or insults. Second, do not answer questions that are considered to exceed the limits or outrageous. Third, create protection against Ask.fm account by rejecting anonymous accounts. To protect teenagers from being exposed to bullying and to avoid doing the bullying, there are good suggestions submitted by one of the informants (the bully victim because of a bad attitude in friendship). He suggested that fellow users Ask.

fm remind each other in a good way, through a personal approach. In addition to that, give an appeal to the youth to use Ask.fm responsibly.

Although the informants remain active in using Ask.fm, two of the four informants expressed more disappointment than obtaining pleasure. Disappointment that appears happens more because of many negative questions that arise. They use Ask.fm to get new friends and new experiences, but in fact, they get questions that are rude and insulting. In contrast to the perception held by the informant who once got bullied because of their versatility, he gets satisfaction when using Ask.fm. This happens because the informant is happy to interact with their friends and he ignores the questions that bully him.

Compared to other social media, all informants agreed that Ask.fm is the most frequently used for Cyber bullying. They say that because Cyber bullying in Ask.fm very worried about the level of rudeness. Words and sentences are very vulgar, filthy, and disgusting.

Social media is considered by most people as the technology developing excessively, the various pros and cons emerged from a group of conventional and modern groups. Conventional group considered that social media do not make people grow communicative with other humans. (Holmes, 2012). Cons attitude question is that bullying is more frequent in Ask.fm. It proves that it had deviated from the original intention of making this medium.

Sentences that are used for bullying in Ask.fm targeting teenagers in Surabaya are unique, distinctive Suroboyo local language in the form of swear words, insults parents' names, physical derogatory, designations genitals, and prostitution locations in Surabaya.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the data, analysis, and discussion in the previous sections, here are some conclusions about the perception of teenagers in Surabaya against Ask.fm as a medium for Cyber bullying:

First, Ask.fm can be categorized as a medium of Cy-

ber bullying. Ask.fm is perceived as a social media which is bad or negative, due to high levels of Cyber bullying on Ask.fm. Sentences that are used for bullying in Ask.fm targeting teenagers in Surabaya are unique, distinctive Suroboyo local language in the form of swear words, insults parents' names, physical derogatory, designations genitals, and prostitution locations in Surabaya. Sentences that are used for bullying, has a unique, local languages and typical Suroboyo in the form of swear words, insults name of parents, physical insult, designations genitals and of prostitution in Surabaya. They have feelings of shame, sadness, disappointment, or anger against the perpetrators of Cyber bullying.

Second, the perpetrators of bullying can not be known because it uses anonymous feature (not known). This feature has become a reason for that cause of bullying. Perpetrators of Cyber bullying feel safe because their identity is not visible when asking questions containing insults. As long as this feature is provided on Ask.fm, then Cyber bullying will continue to happen.

Third, although the level of Cyber bullying in Ask.fm is high, the teenagers in Surabaya is not deterrent to use it. The Ask.fm users remain keen to use because of curiosity to know and get friendship. The need to interact without having to meet, makes it easy for anyone to use social media.

Fourth, there are some advice to avoid Cyber bullying. 1) Ask.fm users should ignore the questions which criticises or insults. 1) Do not answer questions that are considered exceed the limits or outrageous. 3) Create protection against Ask.fm account by rejecting anonymous accounts. 4) Ask.fm users should remind each other in a good way, through a personal approach, in addition to giving an appeal to the youth to use Ask.fm responsibly.

Fifth, bullying that afflicts teenagers in Ask.fm make them, who were initially victims of bullying, eventually join in bullying behavior inadvertently through the questions. They did not realize that their actions were included as bullying.

Acknowledgements

Teenagers who become informants are in the age range 12 to 17 years (those who become school students). They likely to have different perceptions of the adolescents aged 18 to 22 years (those who become university students) because of differences in social environment and form of friendships. Another limitation is the different types of schools. All informants coming from state schools are likely to have different perceptions from students from private schools or private schools based on religion (eg: Islamic schools or Catholic schools).

This study enriches the information about the use Ask.fm deviating from its original purpose as a medium for mutual questioning and answering. Although research on Cyber bullying scattered in various references, the uniqueness of this study is the use of words in insults and invective that use local language typical of Suroboyo.

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Community Empowerment Through Developing Media Broadcasting Community

Penyusun :

• **Yayan Sakti
Suryandaru**

Lecturer and Researcher,
Communications
Department,
Faculty of Social and
Political Sciences
Universita Airlangga

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Abstract

The research "Community Empowerment Through Developing Media Broadcasting Community" was more focused on how the communication system based on community was able to create a community media management of, by, and for the local community. In addition, the study was concentrating more on the role of the Community Radio in empowering the community it serves. Does the community radio only function as empowering tool for the political, cultural, and economic sectors only or for the entire sectors? Are the empowerment efforts carried out limited to the discourses which tend to gain more from the ideas of the community radio activists or to the extent of the empowerment that emerges from a critical awareness of the whole community in Wiladeg?

The study applied a political economy of media approach. It used an in-depth interview method, documentation research, and observations. The sources for the study consisted of the managers of the community media in Wiladeg Village, Gunung Kidul District, Yogyakarta, the NGOs that were concerned with the idea of the creation of community media, the bureaucrats in the Office of Communications and Information of the Town/District, members of the Regional House of Representatives who were in charge of communications and information, experts or academics who had authorities in the field of political economy of media.

The results of the study showed that when most community radios were still struggling in finding the form of the community they serve, the community radio in Wiladeg village is the only one accessible from the strong trust that has already risen among the villagers. There were four factors that bear the existence of Wiladeg Community Radio. First was that the social capital of Wiladeg residents was adequately secured. Second was their common views on the need for alternative information that cannot be obtained from other mass media. Third was a transparent government culture which made it conducive to create a democratic civilization. Fourth was the networking support with oth-

er community radios, and networking with NGOs and universities as well; either the one from Yogyakarta or other networks in Indonesia. In addition, the community empowerment was served after the presence of Wiladeg Radio primarily concerning the political and cultural empowerments. Community empowerment in the political sphere which was run by Wiladeg Community Radio was done by making the radio as the community control medium on the performance of the village administration. Meanwhile, community empowerment in the cultural field was shown by constantly giving conducive room for the appearance of Wiladeg local culture through Wiladeg Radio.

INTRODUCTION

The comportment of the Community Broadcasting (CB) has indirectly caused local community resistance regarding the commercial mass media presentations which are incapable to meet the real needs since it brings forth more problems which are far from the reality of daily life. However, the resistances that emerge are mostly founded on the rendering of the human agencies as the CB managers. They are the ones who feel the needs of the community that they serve regarding the broadcast content that is more significant for the demands of the community lives.

Furthermore, the desire to create the democratization of information and the beefing up of civil society from the managers of the CB is also one of the factors which encourages the establishment of several CBs being researched. Never the less, the presence of the CB is restricted by legal permit problems that are tied in with the corporate body and frequency usage. In this case, there is a mechanism of interplay between Structure (local regulations, decree of local leaders, the capability and attitude awareness of the local leaders) and the Agencies (Managers of the CB, non-governmental organizations that are concerned with the beefing up of the community strengthenings). The presence of media broadcasting community is legally founded and is acknowledged and regulated in Act No. 32 on broadcasting. However, owing to the absence of the regulation on technical performance; its presence is still regarded as an illegal radio/TV. Hence, some CB managers politically take the policy to make a recommendation from regional leaders or the principal of the local area (village head or Village Representative Body). As for the other party, namely, the Office of Information and Communications and the a Commission of the Regional House of Representatives, which manage the mass media related to "legal vacuum" in terms of licensing the Community Broadcasting Institution, are simply waiting for the presence of the Government Regulations on the Implementation of the CB.

Thus far, the kinetics of the CB have fully been depended on the advocacy and facilitation carried out by the individuals who are most concerned with the community empowerment and higher education institutions (rector or faculty who has appointed lecturers or professionals as the responsible persons). The community involvement as the

primary stakeholders of the CB are generally still far from sufficient. Hence, merely a few radios and television communities which are capable of developing programs really describe the needs based on the community. Non community, entertainment programs are very predominant in most CBs, and they come close to the commercial broadcasting institution formats.

The entire mechanism products of the broadcasting contents are even deficient. In other words, the setting out of the planning, production, marketing process, until the broadcast evaluation products are still carried out similar to the ones carried out in the broadcast media in general (either commercial or public). Moreover, the performance of the entire production carried out by the CB is still dependent and dominated by the handlers of the institution. The desire to absorb the active participation of the community members are confronted with various obstacles. Not all members have media ability, critical and analytical forces, as considerable as the line to extract issues happening in the environment in community broadcasting media format (both for radio and television).

Differences in handling production arise in the CB compared to that in the commercial broadcasting institution. The entire production process is not performed by professionals who are remunerated based on commercial or public television standards. Nevertheless, the community broadcasting media managers who are not paid by monthly terms are performing their work largely based on hobbies and volunteering. Even though they hold other occupations (farmers, farm workers, Village Unit Cooperative board members, teachers or students), in fact they are able to periodically format their radio or TV programs (monthly or weekly). As a matter of fact, the work has not been preceded with audience research, it is more likely carried out by direct observation, based on the interests of the audience. Consequently, just a few numbers of wireless and television communities are able to produce programs that really depict the basic demands of the community needs. The non-community, entertainment programs are still overpowered by most of the CBs, and thus direct the commercial broadcasting institution formats.

The helplessness of the community base evokes logical consequences which require community support that is capable to provide active roles and material donations. By

doing this, the idea of the community radio and television will indirectly assume the growth of the community with the following traits: having collective and organizational awareness as a residential area, recognizing the rights as citizens, and holding the financial capability to support the independent, non-commercial broadcasting institutions. Referring to the lack of media literacy and sociological conditions of the residential areas in the country (the embarrassment feelings convey thoughts and knowledge to members of other communities), it renders minimum members of the community who can and want to access the making of community broadcasting programs. The opportunity to access the production process of the community broadcasting media is widely open, in the judgement of the CB managers' awareness of the vision and basic principle of the comportment of the CB.

Based on this image, the study is focused on how the communication system that is grounded on the residential district is capable to generate media community management from, by, and for the local community. The literary review carried out by the researcher shows that Wiladeg community radio (CR), located in a Wiladeg village in Gunung Kidul District, Yogyakarta, is considered capable to create collaboration between the village officials and the members of the community in terms of managerial capability. The CR can also perform as media accountability of the village government's performance to its community. The people also give a large position to carry them selves through the CR (by means of performing local arts, giving feedbacks or critics to the village officials, and sharing their knowledge). The material conditions of the findings have caused the researcher's inquisitiveness need to be tested in this present study.

Also, the part-taking of the CR in empowering the community it serves is also the focal point of this work. The emphasis of the research is also to find out whether the authorization is carried out only in the political, cultural, economical sectors or in the entire sectors which have become the purpose of empowerment of the community in Wiladeg CR. The subject wants to detect whether the empowerment performed by the CR is set to a discourse that is mostly coming from the CR activists or whether the empowerment emerges from a vital awareness of the entire Wiladeg community members. In other words, it is to find out whether or not the occurrence of the empowerment represents the needs of all members of the community who feel its presence as a substantial benefit.

FRAMEWORK

When learning the term "community broadcasting", the version that comes out in everybody's mind may be different. Some people may imagine that community broadcasting is broadcasting that serves the masses who have the same hobby or interest. Others may consider it as broadcasting which serves a low or very limited region. Both ideas are actually correct, since the word "community" (derives from the words "community broadcasting") typically has two meanings. The writer of the study considers the word "broadcasting" from The Oxford Dictio-

nary & Thesaurus and limits the word only to that in the context of broadcasting, that is all the people including the inhabitants that dwell in a certain country. The next interpretation is fellowship of interests, etc.; being similarity or having common interests. In the *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian Dictionary), Zein Badudu states that community is a unit consisting of individuals. It has not been clarified in the dictionary of what basis existence of such unity is.

Established on the prevalence in the world of broadcasting as well as a few number of literature about the world of broadcasting, when discussing about CBs, the word "community" is generally used in 2 main contexts:

1. A residential district which is formed with specific geographic boundaries (geographical community; Newby, 1980), for instance: Surabaya community, meaning the masses who live in Surabaya (restricted by certain geographical limits).
2. A residential district which is made based on a mother's wit of common identity (sense of identity; Newby, 1980), interest/significance/concern with the same thing (community of interest; Hollander et.al.2002), for instance: Betawi community, meaning, people who feel that they possess the same individuality, namely Betawi ethnicity; or Formula One (F1) Auto Racing Fan Community that is believed to possess an act of interests/significance/concern regarding the same affair, which is the F1 racing sport.

Doubtlessly, there are other approaches beyond the grouping mentioned above; at point 2 particularly, there are some who use a local social organization for the term (Newby, 1980). In concurrence with the CB definition, the writer of the study quoted the definition established by the Depok School (Gazali (Eds), 2002):

The Broadcasting Institution which gives significant recognition to the supervisory and evaluative roles by its community members by means of a supervisory institution which is built exclusively for the purpose, intended to explain only one particular community, and hence has a restricted coverage zone.

In concurrence with the CB coverage zone, this medium is mentioned as Low Power Broadcasting; whereas, there are people who call it Low Power TV, Low Power Radio, or directly as Low Power FM. When referring to the Depok School's underlying principle regarding the significant availability requirements towards the oversight and evaluation by the community members, the smaller/more limited the coverage zone of the CB, the lesser the members of the community that are assisted. Consequently, the concept of representing the community members in the Community Broadcasting Supervisory Institution (CBSI) that will be formed is relatively harder. The second reason is that the smaller/more limited the coverage zone of the CBSI is, the cheaper the costs of establishment and operations are and the more easy-going for the daily management of the place is.

There are five connections that are seen to be related to the community media and its audience, namely 1)The relationship between community characteristics and individual characteristics in the community, 2)The relationship between the community media landscape and the media community usage, 3)The relationship between the community media landscape and the community media users, 4) The relationship between the community characteristics and the media community usage, 5)The relationship between the individual characteristics in the community and the media community usage (Jankowski & Prehn, 2002 : 37).

FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

Community-based communication system

The residents of Wiladeg's yearning for traditional entertainment is one of the encouragements of the establishment of an alternative communication medium. In this case, alternative means something that is dissimilar from most media which has been ridden by, on be half of the economic system (capitalist). At that time and at that point there were three people who can be averred to be the key figures in which the radio media are ultimately selected as the option.

According to Sukoco, the Headman of Wiladeg, the idea of establishing Wiladeg community radio genuinely came into view from the community. Three figures, namely Kusumo Prabowo (USC *Satu Nama* = One Name USC), Tri Wijanarko (Wiladeg village leader), and Sukoco (the Headman of Wiladeg) tried to build a breakthrough by broadcasting the First Suro Night (*Malam Satu Sura*) in 2002. At that time, Bikima Radio (now Sonora) lent them the broadcast equipment. This was possible since Kusumo was still working at Bikima. The notion of using the radio was in fact Kusumo's idea. Kusumo was by chance had been working industriously for some time in the radio. Wiladeg's residents met the broadcast premiere with an enthusiastic reaction. They were motivated to establish their own radio as well, without having to borrow the equipment from others. Wiladeg Radio stood independently, no longer borrowing from Bikima Radio. The equipment was simple, without any computers, merely using the pre-Amp tapes. The capital collected at the time was only three hundred thousand rupiah. Nevertheless, it was the social capital of Wiladeg's residents that had actually financed the establishment of Wiladeg Radio. Contributions from the residents were not made in the strain of money, but in the form of other things which could not be evaluated in terms of money, namely donated commodities, energy and expertise, for example, some people contributed iron, welders contributed their expertise by connecting iron to antennas, and teenagers who liked fiddling with electronics offered their creativity to meet the radio transmitter. These sorts of donations could not be measured with cash.

FM frequency was chosen for technical reasons because FM receiver was more easily found and kept by the residents than the AM/MW one. FM receiver devices begin to vary and are easy to hold, for instance in the cellular

phones or televisions. To ease the listeners, Wiladeg Radio managers often gave radios as presents.

According to Tanto, a technician of Wiladeg community radio, the radio broadcast bands are actually still numerous, but AM or MW in 535-1705 KHz frequency is usually vacuum since nobody is interested to broadcast within this band. For radio broadcasting, especially the ones placed on the coast which may cross a distant background, using AM is quite sufficient. There is also an allocation for radio band broadcasts in shortwaves (SW), namely on 2.300-2.495 MHz, 3.2-3.4 MHz, 3.9-4.0 MHz, 4.75-5.06 MHz, 5.95-6.20 MHz, 7.1-7.3 MHz, 9.5-9.9 MHz, 11.65-12.05 MHz, 13.6-13.8 MHz, 15.1-15.6 MHz, 17.55-17.9 MHz, 21.45-21.85 MHz frequencies, and 25.6-26.1 MHz for the highest. Apparently, it is still added to radio broadcasts via satellite and the Internet. In most major cities, FM bands are practically full, but many are vacant in small towns, urban districts or sub-territories. AM and SW bands are practically not used unfortunately, AM and SW transmitter equipment is actually much simpler and much less expensive than an FM transmitter. But indeed, to pass around the songs and entertainment, AM and SW does not as equally sound as FM.

The central question which should be conceived together is that is it correct that the existence of this community transmitter is a waste of frequency? How about a pattern of frequency allocation, frequency arrangement so that this community needs are satisfied? As stated by Tanto, the solution is really simple. If a frequency is occupied by a very powerful transmitter (i.e. 10-30 KiloWatt) with a range of tens, or maybe hundreds of kilometers, then the interests of many people have seized hold of by the only one transmitter.

The posture of mutual (and open) cooperation seems to have become a habit in Wiladeg Village; including in terms of determining the establishment of Wiladeg Radio. Having taken the broadcast on the night of *Satu Suro* 2002, the next day the citizens of Wiladeg held a town meeting deciding to set up the Wiladeg Community Radio. The procedure was relatively tight, but it was quite democratic, reflecting the needs of Wiladeg citizens, not merely the wishes of one or two people.

Even the experience for broadcasting was obtained autodidactically, clearly. There was not one Wiladeg citizen who possessed a basic training and accomplishments in the field of radio broadcasting. According to Sukoco, in the inaugural year of Wiladeg Radio, the radio show program was arranged plainly with due heed to the petition of the auditors. Here, some NGOs accompany work on Wiladeg radio contents in order to become more and more mature as a community radio. One of the NGOs that works quite intensively as part of the development of Wiladeg community radio is *Satu Nama* USC, the place where Kusumo now works.

The frames of cooperation with *Satu Nama* are more on human resource growth rather than physical aids. Sometimes, the community radio managers came to *Satu Nama* USC for learning about how to produce a show. Sometimes, *Satu Nama* USC also came to the Wiladeg village to provide training for Wiladeg residents.

Hence, the participation of NGOs in the growth of Wiladeg Radio is simply in mentoring contents (softwares), not physical assistance. In addition to NGOs, there is also a mentoring of the universities in Yogyakarta who cared about the existence of Wiladeg Radio.

Consciously, indeed Wiladeg citizens did not fix themselves with the interest of NGOs in the management of their radio. However, apparently, the need of the listeners was a top priority in the decision-making. Hence, when the offer of an NGO was not in accordance to the needs of Wiladeg citizens, the handler of the Wiladeg Radio would then cut ties with the NGO.

At one time, there was a cooperation with Jakarta Radio 68H for news, but it did not last long because the news broadcast is national news (read: Jakarta news) which did not answer the information needs of Wiladeg community. On this foundation, the managers of Wiladeg Radio limited themselves with the assistance of NGOs which was done in material forms. The implied message of Sukoco indicated that Wiladeg citizens wanted to be independent; they did not want to be dependent on outsiders. The radio must survive without attempting to acquire financial aid 'from the outside'. Hence, they devised a mechanism so that Wiladeg radio community was like wise funded by the village revenue and budget.

The yearnings of Wiladeg residents on traditional culture or art activities are the foundation of the manager's decision to use the radio to broadcast the activities. This opportunity is clearly visible to the operators of Wiladeg Community Radio. Cultural tradition programs are then matched by including information that addresses the demands of the Wiladeg villagers. The (government) of other villages sometimes opposes the openness of Wiladeg Radio. Transparency of the village government does not cause a substantial problem when the receiving set is placed in the village hall complex. In Wiladeg, culturally the village hall is placed as a public arena which can be accessed by any villagers, unlike 'Siti Hinggil' (High Soil) which is considered sacred to the laymen. In addition to the radio's standing in the village hall, other facilities are also there in the village hall complex. This is what makes Wiladeg village hall operates not only as the command center of the village administration, but also the center of activities for the Wiladeg villagers.

One of the factors supporting the existence of Wiladeg community radio is the strong network of community radios. Community radios in Yogyakarta are netted in Yogyakarta Community Radio Network (YCRN). In addition to YCRN, there is also a set of institutions which cares about community radios, joining in backing up the web of community radios. This form of the net is unique and cannot be found in other areas; it entirely takes place in Yogyakarta.

The effectiveness of this network causes each community radio not to miss the information about all the latest developments (in particular regarding the regulation of community broadcasting). The radio managers call it the 'leakage'. From the start of the debate until the enactment of the Broadcasting Law, unarguably, Wiladeg radio managers did not miss the information. Even today, the information on the matter of the dismissal of government

regulations on Community Radio can still be accessed.

The lid of openness is inherent in Wiladeg Village, which takes in an area of 645 hectares and a population of 4600 inhabitants. The existence of community radio is very helpful in the process of openness in that location. In community mobilization, the village officials act quite tactically. By inviting the village local figures, they gather the residents to discuss about the organization of the community radio. Consequently, the citizen enthusiastically accepted the proposal. With a budget of just three thousand rupiah plus the efforts of the citizens themselves, WCR or Wiladeg Community Radio could be established. The residents chose the studio placement to be in the village hall. At that place, they gather and create some kind of a 'playground'. They are not at ill-ease, because they feel they possess it. Since it is founded in the village hall, the electricity and water bills are handled by the village.

At first, the format of the event was arranged like the one of the commercial radio. However, the residents did not like it. Then it was replaced with cultural events, such as puppet (*wayang*) performances, Javanese traditional music (*karawitan*), Village Cleaning (*Rasulan*) events, and earth alms, all of which were broadcast live. "We'll probably make it as a cultural radio" Sukoco said. Many ways were done to support the citizens. Once, the village held a Role Model Week. They invited people to pay land and building taxes in one day, accompanied by the enticing of a door prize plus *campursari* (Javanese musical genre) musical entertainment. The effect was *remarkable*. In a day, twenty million rupiah could be collected. By paying taxes in the amount of two thousand rupiah, one person could get the chance to win a prize of fifty thousand rupiah in the form of a radio. "That's one of our tricks to motivate the residents to be proactive in obeying government regulations," said Sukoco.

As expressed by H. Mubari, the master key to persuade the residents lies in the willingness of the village officials to open up. Moreover, Wiladeg villagers are approachable. Thus, the democratization process in the village is rolling. When the open process has proceeded, the village officials do not remain immobile, they attempt to educate citizens through the medium of radio. With the principle of from the people for the people, Wiladeg community radio was created as a means of channeling the aspirations of all parties.

The case is set up from talks with the residents. Direct cultural events, interactive dialogues, and information about the prices of daily necessities become the chief attractions. It is also in the interests of once commercial radio listeners who now have turned to listen to this radio which is located about forty minutes ride from downtown Yogyakarta. Accordingly, after passing through a long process, by not turning a blind eye to a dense wall of regulations, WCR gained positive results, primarily from an increase in the number of listeners, the skills in managing radio and broadcasting, as well as the critical level of looking at problems.

Community Empowerment by the Wiladeg Radio

Democracy is one of the decision-making models. One

key to a democratic government is to build communication with the citizens. This habit apparently has also been performed by the Wiladeg Village Chief in every village decision-making. It is a tradition that the decision-making concerning the choice of the entire village should be managed collectively. The Wiladeg radio's establishment, for example, was done and determined together.

The tradition of transparency in the village government does not stop at public decision-making only, but it also goes forward until it arrives at the point of putting forward the activity reports. Prior to the WCR, the Wiladeg Village Chief always made the rounds of the rural communities to report any activities that had been done in Wiladeg village upon the details of the budget used.

The habit of traveling to the village hall has started to diminish since the establishment of Wiladeg radio community. Putting forward a report of actions can be performed through the community radio, where residents usually gather per sub-village to listen to the broadcast together. The degree of transparency of Wiladeg village administration is indicated on the detailed budget report. It turned out for some of Wiladeg residents however, that the publication matter of village treasury was still seen as an inappropriate thing to manage. Never the less, the Wiladeg village government decided that information on the status of the village budget is the right of citizens to know because the money is, after all, accumulated from them. The existence of this radio serves to ease the flow of information between the village government and its citizens, and vice versa.

Once a week, *Ngudha Rasa* (a shoulder to cry on) event is held, in which case the contents simply feedback and complaints from Wiladeg villagers of service rendered by the village officials. At that event, there is no response or refutation from the village administration. There are only the voices of the villagers.

Sukoco, the village headman of Wiladeg, is very progressive. He is one of the village chiefs who has already applied a system of accountability and transparency in the village administration.

When the village chiefs of other villages were still unable to get away from the darkness of the New Order's regime style of governance, Sukoco had accommodated the voices of the citizens in every public decision-making. When Accountability Report (AR) still felt strange in the ears of the other village chiefs, Sukoco had already provided the Accountability Report in the style of the Wiladeg Village.

In this village, there is a tradition of village cleaning or "*rasulan*". In the event of this annual ritual, the village headman is obliged to submit any matters that have been done over the past year. On this occasion, citizens are free to submit their responses.

The presence of this community radio has become a medium that glues back the cohesiveness of the citizens which for so long has been disintegrated by the intervention of the television media. For several years, residents in this village were glued and "trapped" by the TV shows that had captivated the residents. They were more engrossed by the TV broadcasts rather than going out of their houses to socialize with other occupants. As a result, symptoms

of alienation took place in the village. Villagers had long since lost the media for joking and chatting. The pattern of encounters such as neighborhood association meetings, regular social gatherings, or Alquran recitals, on the other hand, tend to be formal and impersonal.

In addition, as a means to say hello, this radio is also used to broadcast the activity of the village. In certain events, they broadcast the *sholawatan* (chants for Prophet Muhammad) event, *karawitan*, and alive puppet show. Even villagers' meetings are broadcasted live. Despite the limited equipment, this radio is able to cover 80 % of the district of Gunung Kidul (note: Gunung Kidul region covers nearly half of the Special Region of Yogyakarta province). It signifies that the message conveyed by the broadcast can reach the outer most borders of the village and penetrate into the chambers of the citizens. Unknowingly, this radio has contributed to the democratization process in the area. It is apprehended that the collaboration between the head of government in the village and some members of the public in the management of the community radio can reduce this media's critical power to supervise the performance of the village administration. However, this idea was rejected by one of the administrators of Council of Community Broadcasting (CCB) and managers of WCR.

Behind the tangle of the community radio broadcasting regulations, to some extent, its existence has best owed to the democratization of learning for the community. The procedure is at least reflected in the existence of the WCR. In its history, WCR was built due to the needs of citizens for information. After going through numerous meetings, Wiladeg residents agreed to construct a radio that was set in the Wiladeg Village Hall.

Along its way, WCR confronted a variety of challenges (as noted above, particularly concerning licensing issues), funding issues, as well as other technical constraints. Still, the villagers also learned a great deal from the various trials. Until one day, without recognizing it, they had entered the stages of democratization. The people's enthusiasm which is nurtured by culture has indeed been created in the village. There was no participation of the NGOs here. This is purely because of the culture of the masses, and possibly because of the shape of the village governance that is fair and open, which thus provokes massive participations.

In the selection of WCR managers, for instance, the villagers have to conduct a meeting for the formation of the Council of Community Broadcasting (CCB). In fact, in 2002, there was no statute law governing the existence of a community radio.

"Well, we were also finalizing Government Regulation and Law, because we frequently met with Sofyan Djalil (then Minister of Communications and Information Technology), NGO friends and academics. Then, before the Law was ordained; we already knew what to prepare," said Sukoco, the Wiladeg Village Chief.

In the view of the Wiladeg citizens, communication radio is the surroundings in which the community is sited. In the community radio, the opportunities of community empowerment can be refined and accommodated. According to the Village Head, Sukoco, the state has never held this community information. "Starting from there, I ventured.

During the initial operation of the Community Radio, it had to be supported by Village Revenue and Budget (VRB) established at the meeting of the Village Trustees Council (VTC). The budget allocations were still little, less than 2% of the total VTC, while the Wiladeg village's income is only thirty million rupiah per year," said Sukoco.

Discussion on the allocation of funds was a difficult process. Trading off with the members of the Village Consultative Body (VCB) lied in the amount of the allocations of the funds. The idea of extracting dues per year was once mentioned, but it was deleted because the Village Revenue and Budget (VRB) was equal to the annual fee. "Two percent is for the annual operating costs. It excludes the electricity, water and telephone bills. While the lack of funds is taken through the Public Service Advertisement or voluntary donations," said Sukoco. The result was that the Wiladeg Community Radio was funded by the Village Revenue and Budget based on the accord that the presence of this radio was required. The village government then should give support, not merely in the means and infrastructure only. Since there is no source of definite funds, the budget is included in the Village Revenue and Budget, with one consideration. Even though the village government does not own the Wiladeg Community Radio, the village government has an involvement with this radio as well. Decisions are made through the Village Consultative Body meeting or *rembugdesa* (discussion done by village leaders) to agree on the amount of funds which is then submitted to the village government who knows the financial condition. There are at least portions provided for it. "At the time there was a village fund allocation from the district we tried to introduce into it although eventually it was not allowed." Said Sukoco.

Openness is also experienced with the surveillance by the Council of Broadcasting Community (CBC). The CBC itself is supporting the life and demise of the Wiladeg Community Radio. In short, the role of the Council of Broadcasting Community is in the mid line of the community and the mid line of its radio community. Conversely, the Council of Broadcasting Community also listens to the representatives of the masses. Then, the CBC holds meetings if there are urgent inputs.

The Wiladeg Community Radio often inserts issues related to the process of political education, such as the socialization of the Regent (*Bupati*) Election. By inviting the local General Election Commission, the community radio is establishing a workshop by adding zest to it with musical entertainment which is aired live. The funds are obtained by a joint venture with the General Election Commissions. This situation results in a domino effect. The residents are content because there are elements of culture involved in the field of political dialogues. What is interesting is that the local Village Chief did not cease to hand over the accountability meeting report to the Village Representative Body which is aired live through this radio. The Sub-District Head is apprehended by the openness for fear that the authority of the Village Chief might be shaken. "It does not matter to me. It is precisely through this radio that the accountability report can be heard in detail by the residents. And I do not need to come to every rural

community. This covers 70%-80% of the 4600 residents." Explained Sukoco.

And thus far, the Wiladeg Community Radio has never spoken only nice things about the Wiladeg Village administration, although it is managed and located in the Village Hall. The village government is simply delivering the programs of the village. Through an informal discussion the citizens receive the opportunity to assess the village administration. Then, if there is a village program that is not desirable, the public can directly question it.

"Therefore, the Wiladeg Community Radio is not a tool of the village government to suppress their citizens; the radio is precisely inviting the citizens to think critically," explained H. Mubari, M.Kes., the Wiladeg Village figure. On the desire for transparency and openness, the Wiladeg Community Radio also provides programs relating to the citizens' complaints against the service of an institution. And the director of the radio invites the concerned institution for a live broadcast interactively. These institutions can be the regency or the police. This informal discussion is held every 35 days on Friday *Kliwon*. The day is chosen as it coincides with the village cleansing program. Other village officials are displeased with the program issued by the Wiladeg Community Radio. As known, the Village Head has opened up chances for anyone to criticize his policies through live interactive. The process of openness in the village gets underway prior to the establishment of the Wiladeg Community Radio. In the presence of the Community Radio, the process of democratization in the village is actually simplified. The Wiladeg Community Radio incorporates all the elements of the community, from parents to children in its program menu. Women are also accommodated, for instance, by socializing the Family Welfare Program.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusion shows that when most community radios are still struggling in finding the form of the community they serve, the community radio in Wiladeg village is the only one accessible due to the strong trust that has already arisen among the villagers. On that point, there are four factors that bear witness the existence of the Wiladeg Community Radio. First, the social capital of Wiladeg residents is adequately secured. Second, their common views on the need for alternative information that cannot be obtained from other mass media. Third, a transparent government culture which makes it conducive to create a democratic civilization. Fourth, the networking support from other community radios, and networking with NGOs and universities as well, either with the ones from Yogyakarta or with other networks in Indonesia. In addition, the community empowerment is served after the presence of Wiladeg Radio primarily concerning the political and cultural empowerment. Community empowerment in the political sphere which is run by Wiladeg Community Radio by making the radio as the community control media on the performance of the village administration, while community empowerment in the cultural field is shown by constantly giving conducive room for the existence of Wiladeg local

culture through Wiladeg Radio. From these outcomes, it is anticipated that simply by involving the community in a comprehensive way, the Community Broadcasting Institution can build a more definite community broadcasting. This can correspond to the context of Indonesia, which is straining to fight for democratization and the journey towards “empowered” civil society. The CB should be capable to be in line with the socio-cultural processes which is distinctive in many diverse areas of Indonesia. Right from

the start, the CB should try to empower the communities and to permit them to become involved in the processes of operations and consumption of the texts. By that acting, the CB text content will be felt relatively very appropriate with the wants of the community. The CB will then get a particular position as a radio/television station that is free from the government’s and/or the business people’s (investors) interventions.

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Imposed Information Seeking on Street Children at UPTD “Kampung Anak Negeri” Institutions Surabaya City

Penyusun :

• **Fitri Mutia**

Library & Information
Department

Faculty of Social and
Political Sciences

Airlangga University

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Abstract

The number of street children in Surabaya continues to increase every year. This encourages Surabaya Social Department to continue implementing appropriate strategies to reduce the number of street children. One strategy is through assistance activities in the Regional Technical Implementation Unit (UPTD) “Kampung Anak Negeri” institutions Surabaya City. This social institution organizes training programs (education) which is expected to help the street children obtain information and knowledge that are useful as a preparation to adjust to the development of the information in society. The information age characterized by the ease in accessing information through information technology would be the rights and needs of each individual, including street children.

This study aims to describe the information seeking behavior on street children with the help of assistants that provide a number of questions related to the information to be found, by applying the six phases (IQ1-IQ6) Imposed Information Seeking model. The method used quantitative descriptive with a sample size of 32 people, consisting of all street children (15 children) and assistants (17) in UPTD “Kampung Anak Negeri”.

This study shows that at initiated (IQ1) phase, assistant staffs know a kind of information needed by the majority of street children which are associated with the development of hobbies such as music and sports (60.0%). At the beginning of information seeking process, almost all assistants stated that street children tended to ask them before finding the information they need (94.1%), therefore, assistants make preparation before determining the topic (keywords) of the information that children want to search prior to the seeking information process (82.4%) so that street children can find accurate information. A transferred phase (IQ2) is required to establish effective communication between the assistants with street children in UPTD “Kampung Anak Negeri” trying to use

a personal approach (47.1%), and vice versa; street children actively interact through learning activities or playing with assistant (60.0%).

At interpretative phase (IQ3), street children in UPTD have understood the scope of the information they need because they instantly search for information without any preparation (46.7%), but they still consider the valid and amenable information source (40.0%). Negotiated phase (IQ4) shows the strategy undertaken by the assistants to help the process of information seeking of street children, coordinating with other assistants (76.5%); they are also trying to help street children be more independent in the process of information seeking to obtain the appropriate information (70.6 %).

Processed phase (IQ5) is characterized by the ability of street children in the search for relevant information after obtaining the help of an intermediary agent (assistants and librarians) to determine the right keywords (40.0%), while the channel information that is accessed frequently are libraries (40.0%) because they are not given access to the internet. The act of street children after the information found is storing information by topic (40.0%), but if street children do not find the information in accordance with their needs, then they will ask the assistants to more quickly find needed information (46.7%). The last phase is evaluated (IQ6). Assistant staffs evaluate the process of information seeking of street children periodically to determine the suitability of the information obtained from the street children (76.5%). The way assistants performed in evaluating whether street children have discovered or not the information they need is by providing feedback questions (94.1%).

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of the increasing number of street children is a matter that seems to have become an integral part with the development of cities in Indonesia towards the city which is increasingly complex in many areas of life. In fact, the existence of street children becomes a social problem that is quite difficult to be resolved considering many aspects of the factors causing the emergence of such a phenomenon including economic, social, and cultural factors. The street children are children who mostly do activities in the street such as selling newspapers or becoming traders to help parents fill the needs of family life. They are not completely abandoned street children, who are homeless or do not have family, but they live in conditions of poor families.

In fact, every street child has the same rights as a human in general. In Indonesia, the issue of the rights of street children has been set in Act No. 4/1979 on Street

Children Welfare and the Law No.23/2002 on the Protection of Children which describes the right of every child to grow naturally and to obtain maintenance, servicing, care and protection aimed at the welfare of children. Regardless of shortcomings or limitations of every child, the welfare can be embodied by providing them the knowledge and skills to be able to play an active role and not a burden on the surrounding community.

A survey discovered that the number of street children in Surabaya City increased every year, as it can be seen from the data between 2011 to 2013, where in 2011 there were 45 street children; in 2012 there were 94 street children; and in 2013 there were 114 street children (Social Service Surabaya, 2014). When using the assumption of an increase of 10.6% per year, then the National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas) held by BPS and Ministry of Social Affairs Data Centre estimated that by the end of 2015, there were 300,000 street children in Indonesia.

The fact that the number of street children is increas-

ing every year spurs Social Service Surabaya to implement continually the right strategies in suppressing the number of street children. One of them is through assistance activities in a social institution under the auspices of city officials providing services to street children, namely Regional Technical Implementation Unit (UPTD) “Kampung Anak Negeri” Surabaya City. This institution has a primary activity which is providing assistance to street children who are still able to give education and guidance for the success of their lives in the future as well as organizing various beneficial activities for street children in order to avoid the emergence of broader social problems, for example, mental and spiritual guidance, the guidance of physical, social, interests and talents, skills, including the cognitive guidance organized by implementing educational programs (informal).

Education programs are expected to help street children acquire information and knowledge that are useful as a preparation for them to adapt to the development of today’s society which increasingly turned into an information society (Information Society). The amount of information available as well as a wide range of facilities that enable a person to access modern technology would not only be the right of some people, but also the rights and needs of each individual, including street children.

In public life that is filled with some scattered information, openness to information resources is an absolute thing to do. Every individual who is in information society must have the knowledge and ability to access and utilize information and make the information as an added value for improving the quality of life. The development of the society in the 21st century is that very glorifying information will directly impact the lives of street children, therefore this study becomes an interesting topic to be investigated and helpful as there are only few studies focusing on the issue of street children related to the process of information seeking.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this study, there are three elements discussed which are Imposed Information Seeking (imposed Query), street children, and a brief description of UPTD the “Kampung Anak Negeri” Surabaya City. The following describes the three elements.

1. Imposed Information Seeking (imposed Query)

Imposed Information seeking Model (imposed Query) was first introduced by Melissa Gross in 1995 who conducted studies in the field of information science by observing user’s behavior in public libraries and schools. The model is related to the behavior of a person’s information seeking activity but seekers (agents) do not know where the information can be obtained and how the process is in obtaining such information. Information seekers are usually trying to find various sources of information either manually (newspapers, books, reference collections in the

library) or digitally by going to certain sites (world wide web) in order to obtain information that is expected according to the goals or needs.

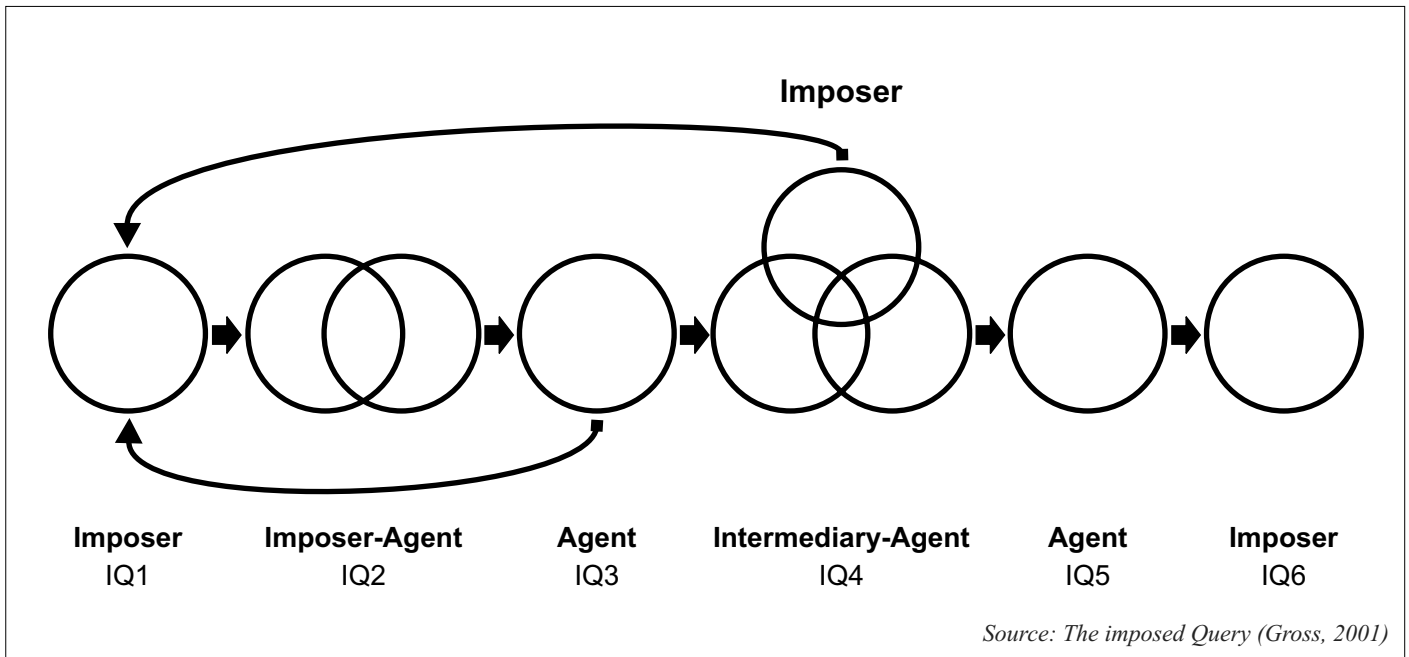
Imposed Query is a question that is owned by someone (agents, clients, users) where the question becomes the question for him self but asked through the intercession of others. Information seeking process in this model consists of six phases at the start of the onset of the question, the process of transfer and transactions carried out by imposers and ended with imposer evaluation of the response to the question of asker agent (Gross, 2001). For example, a student wants to know information about “Earth”, then a teacher asks questions that must be resolved by the student with the guidance of the teacher so that the answers obtained by street children are according to their information needs related to the issue of “Earth”.

A question posed was to obtain certain information which may be personal (derived from oneself) or a question given by (derived from) other people. Personal questions motivated the context of a person’s life and were delivered directly by an individual concerned to get answers for himself. In contrast to Imposed Query, which begins when someone prepares questions (imposer) asking others for answers, the answers to these questions are actually for people who look for answers (agents), not for the purposes of the author of the question (imposer).

According to Gross (in Fisher, 2006), the success of the Imposed Query is influenced by several variables including:

- The quality of questions from imposers to agents
- Characteristics of the agents, associated with the level of literacy skills (reading, ability to find information, ability of computer, communication skills), physical health, language, ability to empathize and understand the question;
- Characteristics of the relationship between imposers and agents, such as the presence of certain views or beliefs, the cultural dimension, psychological and power dynamics in the relationship between both;
- Imposers’ characteristics, related to communication skills, cognitive ability, the ability to cooperate with the agents;
- Characteristics of the information carriers, for example a person, a system or a specific resource, including professional competence, the ability to recognize the types of questions, opinions of professional, familiarity with the imposed questions and context behind them, their confidence in the imposers
- The availability, quality and adequacy of resources to the question.

Imposed Query Model consists of 6 phases (IQ1-IQ6) starting from the initiation phase (IQ1), transfer (IQ2), interpretation (IQ3), negotiations (IQ4), process (IQ5) and the last phase is the evaluation (IQ6). The illustration of the 6 phases are shown in the following figure:



In this study, a conceptual description of each phase is:

Initiated (IQ1): seeking process starts. On this step, assistant staffs (imposers) are aware of the information needs of street children. The initiation phase is characterized by feelings of uncertainty within imposers, so it is working to link the situation faced by its experience in the past related to searching the information needed by street children.

Transferred (IQ2): at this phase, assistant staffs sought to know and understand the street children information needs, identify questions that can answer their information needs, determine the appropriate resources so that it can help them choose information which is suitable with their needs.

Interpreted (IQ3): street children understand the scope of where the information needed can be found, feel optimistic about the possibility of obtaining the information which will suit their needs, and select the resources that have the correct information. The success at this phase is influenced by the ability of assistant staffs in directing street children on the type of information needed to consider several criteria, such as the major type of information needs, certain aspects that must be met so that the task can be completed, also the availability of resources, time and media.

Negotiated (IQ4): discussing selection of information more systematically with an intermediary (peer assistant and librarian), clarifying the questions, how to find the information needed, where information can be found, providing strategies that can be used to obtain information for street children.

Processed (IQ5): street children assess and select resources that are relevant to their information needs, are confident of the accuracy of the resources used, dig deeply to get the information needed.

Evaluated (IQ6): assistant staffs terminate the street children information seeking process by assessing whether the information obtained is in accordance with the requirements, whether the strategy used is appropriate, and considering the accuracy of the information obtained.

The process of information seeking for children is not as easy as adults finding information through the phase as it has been presented by other theorists about information behavior (Ellis, Taylor, Khulthau and so on). In children there are several aspects that affect their ability to find the exact information such as the development level of child, literacy, economic status, and permit that they must be obtained from older people.

2. Street children

The definition of street children according to the Ministry of Social Affairs (2010) is children aged 6-18 years, vulnerably working and living on the streets. It also mentioned that street children are children who skip or take advantage most of his time to perform daily activities on the streets included in the market environment, shopping centers and other crowded places.

Generally, street children are divided into three groups (Surbakti et al., In Suyanto, 2010): 1) children on the street, who have economic activities (child labor) on the street, but still have a strong relationship with their parents. Street children in this category work to help strengthen the economy of the family because the burden can not be resolved by both parents; 2) children of the street, who participate fully in the streets (social and economic). Among them there are those who relate to the parents with irregular frequency of meetings. Some are children who for some reasons (usually violence) run away from home; 3) children from families of the street, who come from families who live on the streets. They have pretty strong family ties but live from one place to another, live on the streets since they were babies, or under a bridge, wild houses along the railroad tracks, and so on.

According to Mohammad Farid (in Suyanto, 2010), the challenges of life faced by street children are different from the normal life of children in the community. Street children often live and thrive under pressure and are considered as disturbers; no body is on their side. Actually,

their behavior reflects the way society treats them, as well as the way society expects on their behavior.

Assistance provided by UPTD is a learning process that not only increases knowledge but also becomes beneficial to the survival of street children, so that in the future they should be able to be independent and live better than before. For example, interests or talents guidance are aimed at improving the ability of self and talent development to obtain productive skills that can be equipped in taking independent life. In addition, there is also a guidance which is aimed at improving the cognitive aspects of knowledge and thinking of street children so that they can cope with the tasks of life now and in the future.

3. UPTD “Kampung Anak Negeri”

UPTD “Kampung Anak Negeri” is located at Jl. Wonorejo No.130 Surabaya City, which consists of children who are affected by raids on the streets or because their parents neglect them so they were taken and given training in this institutions. If they still have parents or family, the UPTD will pass on to their families and provide some guidance to their parents and the children returning to the family. For children who no longer have parents or relatives who can be reached, than the institution (UPTD “Kampung Anak Negeri”) will take care of them.

The establishment of UPTD “Kampung Anak Negeri” in Surabaya is expected to reduce the number of street children, to improve the quality of their education and to eliminate crime in society. There are currently 15 street children who live in UPTD although the institution has the capacity for 32 children. For children who are at school age, the UPTD provides formal education for example in Kedung Baruk 1 primary school and 19 junior high school, which were selected to provide formal education. Meanwhile, children who have no formal education will get various training forms at UPTD.

Street children do not stay in these institutions for the rest of their lives, only until 18 years old or after graduating from high school. Assistance and training which are provided by UPTD are a learning process that not only increases knowledge but also becomes beneficial for children to survive and be independent. Street children are directed to improve their ability and talent to obtain productive skills that can be equipped in taking life and not being depended on others. There is also assistance to improve the cognitive aspects of the children’s knowledge and thinking, so that they can cope with the tasks of life and have a hope for a better life.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a descriptive quantitative method which is aimed to investigate the circumstances, conditions, or other things that have been mentioned (events, activities), and the results are presented in the form of research reports (Arikunto, 2010). This research was conducted at the Regional Technical Implementation Unit (UPTD) “Kampung Anak Negeri” Social Department of Surabaya City, as a social institution that is organized by

the government to address the problem of street children through an education and skills assistance. The population in this study is 32 people consisting of 15 street children who live in UPTD and 17 assistants (staffs UPTD). Street children who come from the raid officers on the streets generally have a poor family background while others have no family (their parents abandoned them), even there are also street children who have used drugs, liquor, and gambling. Given the limited number of population (32 people), the entire population becomes a sample in this study (saturated sample). Data in this study are collected using questionnaires as the main techniques, while probing, literature review and observation become a secondary technique.

DISCUSSION

A. Characteristics of Respondents

Respondents in this study consist of street children and assistant staffs at UPTD “Kampung Anak Negeri”. Based on the findings, it is known that street children in UPTD are entirely (15 street children) male. Their ages range from 12 to 14 years old, and their education level is junior high school counted for 10 people (66.7%). The numbered of assistant staffs are 15 people (88.2%) who are male and 2 people (11.8%) who are female. They aged 26-30 years (41.2%) and the education level of 10 assistant staffs is generally undergraduate level (58.8%).

B. The Imposed Information Seeking at UPTD “Kampung Anak Negeri” Surabaya City

The information seeking behavior on street children at UPTD “Kampung Anak Negeri” Surabaya City can be known through 6 phases (Q1-Q6) which are; initiated phase, transferred, interpreted, negotiated, processed and evaluated. Each of these phases is described as follows:

1. Initiated

Initial information seeking behavior of street children in UPTD “Kampung Anak Negeri” Surabaya City can be seen when an assistant staff is aware of the needs of street children to certain information. In the early phases, the assistant must know the type of information required by the street children, and in this study, this type of information needed by street children is mostly related to hobbies (such as music, sports); there are 9 children (60.0%), then the information about entrepreneurship 7 children (46.7%), information regarding the school and fiction collections (novels, short stories) respectively 4 children (26.7%). In the initial process of information seeking, almost 16 assistants (94.1%) also stated that street children tend to ask them before seeking the information they need, and only 1 assistant (5.9%) stated that street children would immediately find information without asking help from assistants. The assistant staffs tried to find the right resources to help street children find the information needed (related to hobbies) regarding his experience in seeking information.

Based on the data, that preparation is taken by assis-

tant so that street children can find accurate information is evidenced by 14 assistant staffs (82.4%) determining the topic (keywords) before making the information seeking process. Although 2 assistants (11.8%) report that they directly find information without having to specify the keyword, 1 assistant (5.9%) states that he determines the time and resources that will be used for information seeking. In order to support an accurate information seeking process for street children, the assistant staffs access a certain information channel, like 6 assistants (35.4%) choosing discussion forum, 5 assistants (29.4%) choosing the internet, 3 assistants (17.6%) looking for information in a bookstore, 2 assistants finding information through books that they have and 1 assistant (5.9%) asking the senior assistant for more information (expert). In this phase, assistants assess and choose which information sources are relevant to the information needs of street children by defining the topic and accessible information channels along with forms of information that will be used. According to Suharto (2002) in social assistance, education provides stems from the capacity of people to learn (street children) in the form of cooperation between social workers (staff assistants) with the client (street children) as a partner who has the potential and resources that could be used in the process accompaniment.

2. Transferred

At this phase, assistant staffs (imposers) discuss with street children about information they need. Therefore, it is necessary to build an effective communication between them so that the assistants can properly understand the information needs of street children. Based on the findings, some efforts made as many as 8 assistant staffs to establish communication with street children in UPTD “Kampung Anak Negeri” (47.1%) using a personal approach with street children; 5 assistants (29.4%) do activities together to facilitate communication, in addition to the 4 assistants (23.5%) who prefer to communicate explicitly (authoritarian) to street children to follow all the instructions given. On the other hand, street children also took the initiative to establish communication with assistants, such as 9 children (60%) who actively interact through learning activities or play with assistants, 4 children (26.7%) who communicate with assistant staffs if there is a particular need, and 1 child (6.7%) who is open with assistants as well as cooperates in completing an activity in UPTD.

Through effective communication, assistants can choose several ways to convey information related to things that street children require, which are performed by 8 assistants (47.1%) delivering information directly in the group, 5 assistants (29.4%) tailoring the needs of street children, and 4 assistants (23.5%) delivering information directly to the street children individually. Based on the data above, we can know that at transferred phase (IQ2), assistants sought to know and understand the information that street children needed, identify questions that can answer their information needs, determine the right resources by strengthening the communication between assistants and children, in which there are diverse forms of com-

munication so that children are expected to determine the source of information they need.

According to Effendy (2007), the communication process is the process of delivering thoughts or feelings by a person (communicator) to others (communicants). Communications will be successful if the mind is delivered with a sense of consciousness, in this case the assistants should be communicative than communicants (street children), and communicators (assistants) will have mutual understanding from language and meaning of conversation. As well as being informative, the communication process must also be persuasive because communication is not only intended to make other people understand and know, but also receive a conviction, do an activity, and others. In this study, communications between the assistants and street children are in the form of interpersonal communication (face to face) so that the response of street children would be immediately known by the assistants (immediate feedback). In contrast to mediated communication, where the feedback provided is delayed feedback and the mechanism of communication process needs to be planned in advance.

3. Interpreted

At this phase, street children understand the scope of the information required and feel optimistic about the possibility of obtaining the information in accordance with their needs. Street children in UPTD have understood the scope of the information they need. It is evident in their attempts prior to the seeking of information. The results showed that as many as 7 children (46.7%) stated that they immediately seek such information without any preparation; 5 children (33.3%) determine the topic (keywords) that they want to find; and 3 children (20.0%) expect the first few alternative locations where they can find information.

This is supported by the ability of assistants in directing street children on the type of information needed to consider several criteria, such as the major type of information needs, certain aspects that must be met in order for the task to be completed. So, at this phase street children obtain the information seeking appropriate needs, and select the resources that have the correct information. The main thing to be considered for street children in choosing the source of certain information is stated by 6 children (40.0%) that the resources should be valid and amenable, and 3 children (20.0%) use all resources regardless of being valid or not, using the resources that are often used by assistants and using the resources that are easy to obtain because it is provided by the assistants.

As an assistant, one of the main roles is to educate, playing an active role as an agent who give positive feedback based on his knowledge and experience as well as exchange ideas with the knowledge and experience of the people who accompany (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2010). Some of the tasks associated with the role of assistant staffs as educators are, for example, in raising awareness, conveying information and engaging in confrontation, as well as training for street children.

4. Negotiated

At this phase, an assistant discusses how to meet the information needs of street children with other parties such as peer assistant staffs or with the librarian in UPTD. The findings indicate that the strategy undertaken to help the process of information seeking of street children is done by 13 assistants (76.5%) doing some coordination with another assistant, and 2 assistants (11.8%) coordinating with the librarian, and another trying to find directly the information needed by street children. At this negotiated phase (IQ4), the assistants discuss the selection of information more systematically, in order to clarify the question, how to find the information needed, where information can be found, and to provide strategies that can be used to obtain information of street children.

Based on the data found, the actions are taken by the assistant staffs in an effort to help the street children to be more independent in the process of information seeking. There are 12 assistants (70.6%) teaching street children the steps to obtain the appropriate information, 3 assistants (17.6%) accustoming street children to visit the library, and 2 assistants (11.8%) teaching directly how to find information via the internet or in the library. This is also confirmed by the street children who do some ways to find the information they need. Among others, 5 children (33.3%) look to a variety of resources even though they do not know which sources are most correct; 4 children (26.7%) take advantage of the collection in the library; and 6 children (40.0%) seek information through the internet (with the help of the assistants).

The existence of special library UPTD “Kampung Anak Negeri” becomes the centers of information that can be utilized to develop the potential in children streets. The library located on an area of only 35m² with 2 shelves of collection has a number of books about 752 titles acquired from partnership with the City Library of Surabaya and grants from the surrounding community, even though that number has not shown the development of a collection at least 5% annually. Library services can be utilized by street children and the assistants like reading services, circulation services and information search services. This library is managed by a librarian with educational background in library and information science.

Street children in UPTD are generally able to find the resources in the library because the librarians always teach them how to access the collection by looking at the different color of the cover of each collection that shows the class of a particular subject. They are also engaged to assist the arrangement of the collection so that they are familiar with the librarianship activities. In general, the condition of special libraries in UPTD does not meet the standards of special libraries. This condition also affects the library role in supporting the learning process as well as facilities that match the information needs of street children.

5. Processed

At this phase, street children were able to determine the source of the information that is most relevant to their information needs and to be confident in the accuracy of

the information source used. Regarding the ability of street children in the search for relevant information after receiving assistance from the intermediary agents (assistants and librarians), it can be seen that there are 6 children (40.0%) who begin by determining the right keywords, 6 children (40.0%) who are able to determine the strategy appropriate because the instruction from the assistants is quite clear, 6 children (40.0%) who experience difficulties due to the limited media information provided by UPTD, and 2 children (13.3%) who choose other reasons.

The forms of information channels that are frequently accessed by street children are library (40.0%). They do not have free access to the internet, so if they need information from the internet, assistants will help find it. The act of street children after the information found indicates that as many as 6 children (40.0%) keep it by topic; 5 children (33.3%) share the information with others; and each of the 2 children (13.3%) does not keep the information, and some others never keep it.

However, if the street children do not find the information that is appropriate to their needs, 7 children (46.7%) ask some help from the assistants again to find the information needed more quickly, 5 children (33.3%) do further search independently to find information, 2 children (13.3%) postpone further search until there is a friend who invites seeking information together, and 1 child (6.7%) do not try to find more information.

6. Evaluated

At this phase, assistant staffs finish the street children information seeking process by assessing whether the information obtained is in accordance with the needs, and considering the up-to-dateness of the information. At this final phase, assistant staffs carry out an evaluation of street children information seeking process, where 13 assistants (76.5%) evaluate not regularly (if needed) to determine the compatibility between information obtained by the information needs of street children. The assistants evaluate whether or not street children have discovered the information they need, by providing feedback questions (16 assistants, 94.1%), and only 1 assistant (5.9%) does not pay attention to whether the information is appropriate or not because the most important is that they found information. Evaluation in education is a process of collecting data to determine the extent, in any case, and how the educational goals have been achieved. If they are not achieved, the cause must be figured out (Ralph Tyler in Suharsimi, 2012).

The process of information seeking shows that 6 children (40.0%) state that they find a lot of information, but they are still confused when deciding which one is most relevant, then 4 children (26.7%) state that the information they are looking for is not fully discovered and they need to find other sources, 3 children (20.0%) state that the information they seek is fully found and provides benefits and 2 children (13.3%) state that the information they are looking for can not be found or not relevant.

According to assistants, the ability of information seeking of street children tends to be still dependent on help from assistants to find the information they need. It is ex-

pressed by 12 assistants (70.6%), and only 5 assistants (29.4%) conclude that street children are able to determine their own keywords they need and find out the source of information that can be used. Besides, for street children in UPTD, the difficulties in seeking information are related to their limited ability which is expressed by 8 children (53.3%), while each of 3 children (20.0%) expresses it is because the limited resources in the UPTD library and also they are not allowed to access the internet; and 1 child (6.7%) state that no one guides him to find the right information.

CONCLUSION

In every phase of imposed information seeking (Q1-

Q6), it appears that the dependence of street children in the presence of assistant staffs to help them find valuable information tends to be very large as stated by 12 assistants (70.6%). Besides, it is highly influenced by the capacity of each street child in finding the information which of course depends on educational backgrounds of street children in UPTD "Kampung Anak Negeri". Therefore, a smart child can usually find the information themselves, but the less intelligent ones tend to have difficulties. Even there is a good relationship between assistants (as imposers) and street children (as agents) in UPTD, but the agents' educational background (characteristic of agents) becomes one aspect which is already stated by Gross (1995) when she pointed some variables that influence the success of imposed information seeking behavior.

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The Role of Higher Education Library to Optimize Scholarly Communication Through Google Scholar

Penyusun :

• **Dewi
Puspitasari**

Library
Universitas Airlangga

Keywords :

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google scholar, higher
education library.*

Abstract

One of the main agenda of universities is to increase the number of publications in order to achieve the position of world class university. Therefore, universities must have and manage data publications produced. Universities can utilize multiple web search engines that index the full text or metadata of scholarly literature across an array of publishing formats and disciplines. Because of this, universities know how many publications have been produced, how many posts of the academic community have been cited, and etc. The task to manage data publication is a part of library's job that is called scholarly communication. The web search engine that can be used is google scholar.

Google scholar is a Google service that easily provides for anyone to search the literature and scientific publications. Google scholar users can search across many disciplines and sources from one place: peer-reviewed papers, theses, books, abstracts, and articles, from academic publishers, professional societies, online repositories, universities and other academic organizations. Google Scholar has the facility to calculate Citation Index which covers the calculation of the number of citations, h-index and index of citations i10 the author's work. Therefore, Google Scholar provides a simple way for researchers or authors to keep track of citations to articles created. Researchers can check who is citing publications, graph citations over time, and calculate the metric quote.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the role of college libraries in scholarly communication managing academic community through google scholar descriptively. The method of writing this article is the study of literature that is collecting and analyzing secondary data. The conclusion of this discussion is that google scholar tools that can be utilized

include my citation, my library and metric. Meanwhile, the library's role in the optimization of scholarly communication through google scholar is to provide training and advising the use of google scholar in addition to collect data publications and report to the university leader. Libraries can be an equal partner for lecturers, researchers and students in producing scientific papers. Libraries can serve as a data provider and provide advice to the researchers.

INTRODUCTION

The development of science and technology that has been realized is so powerful. Innovation and breakthroughs happen in the field of science and information. The changes have had a significant impact on a college. Universities in an era now have more stringent demands than in the previous era. The demands of international university have become the main agenda for each college. The demand is certainly in need of the contribution and support of all components of the college. World-class universities can be realized by the number of papers produced. There are several steps that must be passed by each person to give birth to such works, from collecting reading materials, formulating the research problem, conducting research, and preparing research reports. The scientific work can be a thesis, dissertation, research reports or scientific articles.

The scientific work is not only to stop the cycle of research and writing of research results. After a scientific work has been arranged, the task of universities is to initiate researchers to publish it. Publication of scientific works is an important agenda for academics, not only as a prerequisite in itself but it is also done for the development of a particular science and for the progress of a nation. The scholarly publication can be read and enjoyed by the academic community both internally and externally.

Publication of scientific works, especially for students is reinforced by Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan No. 49/2014 which regulates liability of master and doctoral level students to publish papers in accredited scientific journals or international scientific journals. The publication process for scientific work has consciously or unconsciously spawned a cycle known as the scholarly communication or scientific communication.

Scholarly communication or scientific communication is a part of the communication that occurs commonly in human beings. The essential point of scientific communication and non scientific communication is the subject of the communication. The subject of scholarly communication is communication within the scientific community (researchers, professors, students, and librarians). Scholarly communication of scientific communication is a system through research and scientific papers. This occurs because the system a process that occurs after an article is written.

This cycle happens because the process of producing scientific work is not a light thing because it will involve several parties. Scholarly communication or scientific communication can involve several parties; among other

are researchers, reviewer articles, readers of the article, the parties quoting articles for research purposes and libraries. The more people who write articles and the more the process of quoting the case then it is in the form of data that must be followed by the development of the college. Universities through the library can manage the data of publications produced by the academic community.

Universities can utilize multiple indexing machines to know how many publications have been produced, how many posts of the academic community have been quoted and so forth. The task to manage data publication is a part of a task library with scholarly term communication. One indexing machine that can be used is google scholar. Google scholar is one of google products that is free for access or no charge. Google scholar is an alternative indexing machine that can be used by the academic community. Universities through the library can utilize google scholar for various purposes that support the academic activities. Based on the above, the author tries to discuss further how the role of college libraries is in optimizing communication through google scholar scholarly.

RESEARCH METHODS

This paper is a result of thinking a critical analysis of the existing theories about the scholarly communication or scientific communication. The study in this article focuses on the implementation of the concept of scholarly communication or scientific communication. Thus, data collection is done with the study of literature. The method used is the study of literature, namely collecting and analyzing secondary data.

DISCUSSION

Scholarly Communication

Communication is a means for people to communicate information to other parties. Then, the term scholarly communication or scientific communication comes. Scholarly communication is communication that is generally associated with research activities in the academic part. American Library Association (2003) stipulates that scholarly communication is the system through research, and other scholarly roommates writings are created, evaluated for quality, disseminated to the scholarly community, and preserved for future use. The system includes both formal means of communication, such as publication in peer-re-

viewed journals, and informal channels, such as electronic listservs.

ALA (American Library Association) clearly categorizes scientific communication as a system through research and scientific papers. Research and scientific papers have assessed (evaluation) quality and disseminated to the scientific community and been preserved for the sake of the future. Meanwhile, according to Siswandi (2009), scientific communication itself is a rotating groove consciously or unconsciously perceiving influence among scientists, and it has actually been going for a long time. Scientific communication is a part of the cultural tradition of academic environment that is researching and writing scientific papers.

In the past, when the scientific journals still print the form, and the scientific community still does not know the digitization of scientific journals, scientists formally use a printed journal to communicate the results of their scientific work. Scientific communication that occurs is when a manufacturer of information will generate a lot of posts, articles, monographs, research results, ideas, ideas, inventions, and theories which are then communicated in various forms of media. Thus, scientific communication (scholarly or scientific communication) is a communication which is generally related to research activities or investigation, particularly in the academic environment (Kurniawan, 2011).

Swan in Siswadi (2009) finding the process of scientific writing in the journal also raises awareness among scientists about the rights to the intellectual work of the articles they write. The entire articles are rechecked by the partners (peer review) to control the quality and validity of published articles whether they are feasible or not in a publication such as scientific journals.

In this digital era, scientific communication experiences a shift in meaning because of changing conditions. A writer usually communicates his knowledge to the public through formal recording media such as books, journals, proceedings, and others. Media is currently developing various kinds. Authors use information technology development in the communication process so that scientific communication is interactively conducted through cyberspace (cyberspace). Researchers can choose the activity discussions, lectures, and brainstorming. Correspondence is also conducted through the medium of blogs, wiki's, online forums, social networking, mailing lists, bulletin boards, video streaming, and also takes advantage of the indexing machines like Scopus, thomsonreuters or google scholar.

Prahastuti cites the opinion of Kirez in Siswandi (2009) on some functions of scholarly communication:

- a. Certification functions are related to the ratification quality of research and scientific standards in research programs.
- b. Functions of registration/enrollment link specific research by individual scientists who later claim priority to the research. This function is closely linked to the protection of ownership and reward systems, and the wide reach will affect the social dynamics in

the system;

- c. The function of consciousness leads to a need for information;
- d. Archiving function is the function associated with the storage and accessibility of information.

In line with these opinions, Kauffer and Charley in (Fjallbrant, 1997: 28) reveal several important aspects related to the activity of scientific communication, namely:

- a. Ownership of ideas (ownership of an idea). A writer is exclusively said to own the rights to his writings directly. According to the Law of the Republic of Indonesia number 19 of 2002, it is stated that the exclusive rights are special rights for creators and recipients which are the right to publish or reproduce their creations as well as members' permission to do so without reducing restrictions according to applicable laws.
- b. Recognition of social (societal recognition for the author). The concept of authorship (authorship) in the academic tradition which is crucial for the credibility of the author lies in his writings. Prahastuti in (Siswadi, 2009: 2) says that a scientist must establish his position as a scientist, among others, said through his research contributions. By "social", scientists have produced the credibility of the article. Scientific contribution of the academic community (scholarly community) can be informal and formal that is manifested in the form of issue/publication of journals and proceedings.
- c. Claims against the new invention (claiming priority for a discovery). The tradition of academic authorship allows the creation of a claim for a discovery of the theory, technology, new methods which are able to be scientifically defensible. Fjallbrant (1997: 29) says formal scientific communication in an academic environment is closely related to the process of diffusion of ideas and findings whose influence depends on the wide range of scientific communication.
- d. The recognition among readers and writers (establishing an accredited community of authors and readers). The relation between the writers and the readers in the scientific sphere will create a form of recognition of certain scientific subjects. This process also runs at the level of scientific communication between producers and consumers of information.

Scientific communication can be summed to serve to guarantee the quality of a scientific work related to the development of science and technology. Scientific communication is a system that is invisible to the eye but can provide signposts, protection for writers and readers as well as parties who will conduct advanced research. Scientific communication includes protection of all matters related to ownership, sustainability awards and scientific work, including advanced development for the sake of science that

will require information that already exists. All the results obtained with intellectual work in scientific communication along with the dynamics of its development requires storage and archiving functions systematically with the main aim to ease retrieval of scientific information related therein.

Fjallbrant in Kurniawan (2011) identifies in more detail some of the components which are interconnected and closely linked in the user information in the system of scientific communication:

1. Scientists who have a desire to publish their works, in the group of writers and become a major producer of a work;
2. Other scientists who read the works coming from major producers and are classified as a group of readers;
3. Students who are positioned as readers;
4. Group of other readers who are interested in scientific works grouped as readers;
5. The issuer classified as a second producer who publishes the works of the scientific community (first producer);
6. Libraries that play a role in collecting and disseminating journals and scholarly books to readers and serves as a facilitator for his readers.
7. Sellers who sell books and scientific journals to readers and are functioning also as facilitators;
8. The organization that handles the formal recognition of the research findings and the author of a document. The organization is classified as a consumer.
9. The group of industries that utilize research results, classified as a consumer.
10. Institute of academic evaluation and selection of staff, classified as a facilitator of consumer and production.
11. Religious groups, which affect the implementation and floating science in the 17th century and 18.

The above parties have their respective roles and interests of the existing articles. Scientists are professors or researchers who are the authors giving birth to scientific work in the early days. Then, there are students as a group of readers as well as those who will carry out further research. Cycle of scientific communication will continue through citations and reading the paper for research and further study. The library is an agency interested to disseminate and preserve the scientific work, including paper.

Google Scholar

Google Scholar was launched in 2004. It provides free service. Google Scholar includes online journals of scientific publications. It provides a simple way to broadly search for scholarly literature. A person can search across many disciplines and sources from one place: peer-reviewed papers, theses, books, abstracts and articles from academic publishers, professional societies, online reposi-

tories, universities and other academic organizations. Google scholar will help someone identify the most relevant research from all academic research.

Google scholar aims to develop such articles by researchers, with regard to the completeness of the text of each article, author, publication featuring articles, and frequency of use of article citations in other scholarly literature. The most relevant results will always appear on the first page. Data base that Google scholar has reaches thousands of records. This amount is more than enough to be able to find a variety of information on scientific papers, research reports, articles, and journals. Benefits of google scholar utilization is very large because of many scientific journals that can be used for free.

Google scholar works by uploading the first author of scientific papers in pdf format through the website of the college or the place where the writer worked. Google scholar will provide information on the article by sending a link. Its citation index is also shown in the search results. Generally, works that have a citation index the most will appear at the top. Thus, the results of the article can be accessed free of charge.

All keys in google scholar in principle can be used free of charge or no charge. Therefore, the academic community college can take advantage of google scholar easily, for example, to get references on education and scientific research. Google Scholar will help a person to build a portfolio that will be visible to track record of a person in the academic field. Based on the portfolio, Google Scholar will provide value in the form of h-index, i10 - index. Based on the above, there are some features that can be exploited via Google Scholar in the academic world. These features are:

1. Search the scientific literature of the door www.scholar.google.com or www.scholar.google.co.id
2. Find further work - related to scientific papers, authors, publication
3. Find the complete document
4. Keep abreast of the latest research
5. Build an online library according to the popular areas of interest
6. Build a profile of researchers by including the publication of scientific papers
7. Get to know who is citing research publications
8. Get to know the h-index, i10 - a writer or a researcher index
9. Get to know the h-index, i10 - index a scientific journal
10. Promote the citation index of articles written by researchers

Tools In Google Scholar include several things:

1. My library
My library is a tool in google scholar where everyone can build a personal library online. My library in google scholar gives the facility to save the oceans scientific literature. Besides, my library provides fa-

ILITIES to create a bibliography effectively.

2. My citation

Everyone can create a profile in google scholar through my citation tools. My citation can be used by students, faculties, researchers and librarians to build a list of all papers produced and the number of citations (citation). The number of citations is how many people cite the author's work. The more an article is cited, the higher the value/score is achieved in owner profile.

3. Google Scholar Citations provide a simple way for authors to track their article citations. You can check who is citing your publications, graph citations over time, and compute several citation metrics. You can also make your profile public, so they can appear in Google Scholar results when people search for your name.

Best of all, it is quick to set up and simple to maintain - even if you have written hundreds of articles, and even if your name is shared by several different scholars. You can add groups of related articles, not just one article at a time; and your citation metrics are computed and updated automatically as Google Scholar finds new citations to your work on the web. You can choose to have a list of articles updated automatically or review the updates yourself, or manually update your articles at any time.

4. Alert

5. Tools alerts on google scholar have the same functionality as other alerts on electronic journals. Through alerts, everyone can follow the latest development in a field that is in google scholar periodically and up to date. If it has been setting up alerts so any existing script or the most recent posts in a certain field, this text will be sent to the email in question.

6. Metric

Metric as the name implies is the scales. This metric is a metric Google Scholar provides as an easy way for authors to quickly measure the visibility and influence of the recent articles in scientific publications. Scholar Metrics summarize new citations to many publications to help authors as they consider where to publish their new research. Based on the metrics originally designed to measure the impact of the author, a list of journals indexed in Google Scholar also serves as an indicator of the impact of the journal, giving five years of h-index and h-median.

7. Settings

Setting is a tool that will facilitate the profile owners to manage the display google scholar of the language, literature links, accounts and additional buttons in google scholar.

Higher Education Library is an important element in the process of scholarly communication in particular through google scholar. The roles of college libraries include:

1. Training and consultation regarding the use of google scholar

Not necessarily the whole academic community is aware of the existence and benefits of google scholar. Libraries can be a "pioneer" in providing training and consulting on the use of google scholar. Through the training, participants are given materials on the utilization of the buttons in google scholar. The training can be conducted on a scheduled basis and can be followed by the entire academic community. In addition, the library can provide consultation for the academic community that will build profiles on google scholar. These consultations nature can be run on demand. Training does not just stop in introducing the benefits and buttons available in the google scholar only. Further training materials contain ways to increase the value of h-index, i10 - index via file upload so that articles can be indexed by google scholar.

2. Collecting data publications and reports to the president of the university

Libraries collect data through google scholar publications regularly. Data publication includes names of lecturers, researchers, students who have a profile on google scholar affiliated with the university. In addition, the data may contain h-index, i10 - the index of an author. So, the authors or researchers who have the h-index, i10 - the highest index will be displayed at the top when keyword of the university is inserted. Data on the number of helpful publications for the institutions are used to develop the research and development of human resources in university scale.

3. Providing advice for researchers when it would do further research or publication to international journals

Librarians who have been running this position included in the embedded librarians are librarians who have built collaborations with researchers.

CONCLUSION

Google scholar is a part of Google service that provides easily for anyone to search the literature and scientific publications. The benefits of google scholar among others are that it is able to search the scientific literature on the door www.scholar.google.com or www.scholar.google.co.id, to find more work related to scientific papers, authors, publication, to find the complete document, to follow recent research developments, to build an online library according to the popular areas of interest, to build a profile of researchers by including the publication of scientific works, to know who is citing research publications, to know the h-index, i10 - index of a writer or a researcher, to know the h-index, i10 - index of a scientific journal, and to increase the citation index of articles written by researchers. There

are three roles of university libraries in the optimization of scholarly communication: training and consultation regarding the use google scholar, collecting data publica-

tions and reports to the university, and giving advice to researchers when it would do further research or going on a publication to international journals.

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